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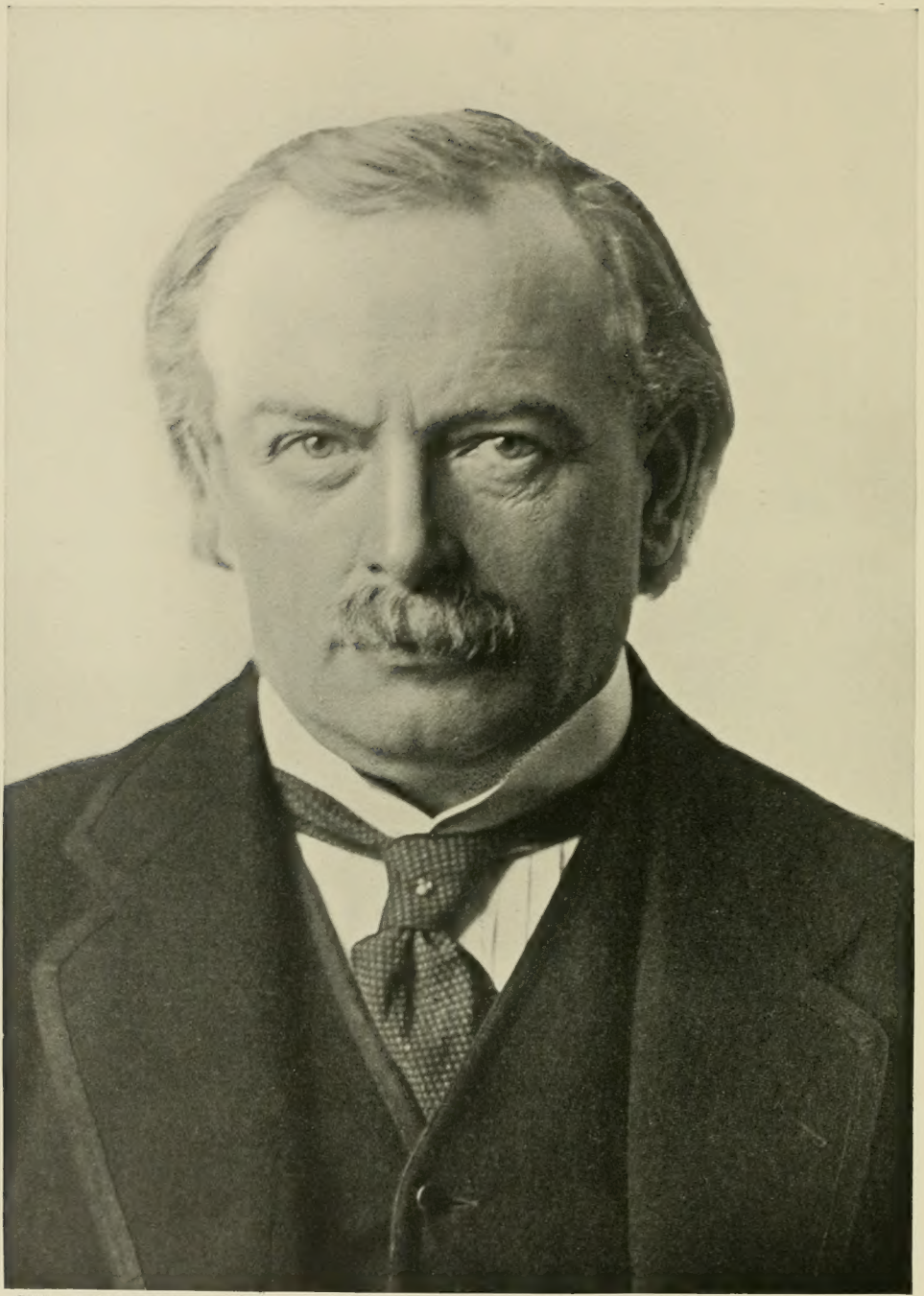
# THE GREAT WORLD WAR







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*The Right Hon. David Lloyd George.  
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury*



# THE GREAT WORLD WAR

## A HISTORY

Q.B.  
727

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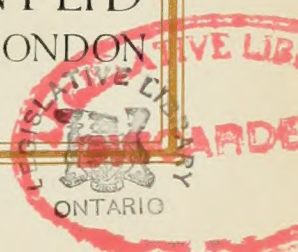
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## NOTE

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(Vol. IX)



## PREFACE

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The present volume completes a task which could never have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion without the generous co-operation of readers in all parts of the globe. In the first place, therefore, the editor's cordial thanks are due to those subscribers whose encouragement alone made it possible, at a time when publishing of any description was carried on in face of almost insuperable difficulties, to continue the work long after it had passed the size and scope originally mapped out for it. Planned at the beginning to be completed in four volumes—when hopes were high that the war would be of comparatively brief duration—the history grew with the increasing magnitude of the conflict. Readers, however, readily fell in with the proposals to “carry on”, so that the work should not suffer by undue compression; and the editor has thus been able to continue on the lines laid down at the start, seeking always to preserve the true balancing of every phase, and as far as possible to bring it into relationship with the World War as a whole. Throughout there has been no hurried attempt to keep pace in print with the rush of epoch-making events. At all costs it was determined to fulfil our promise that the record should not be “a mere collection of disjointed narratives hastily put together, to be as hastily read and hastily cast aside”; and, though there has been considerable delay in consequence in bringing out the concluding volumes, the permanent value of the work has thereby been increased. It has also enabled us to include the terms of the Peace Treaties, not only with Germany but also with Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, the last of which has only been signed while the present volume is passing through the press, nearly two years after the conclusion of the Armistice with Germany. To read the text of these treaties, with all their conflicting interests in every part of the world, is to understand some of the difficulties which have dogged the footsteps of the Allied statesmen in the prolonged course of their peace negotiations both at home and abroad.

The time to pass final judgment on the actual conduct of the war will not come for many years. It is doubtful, indeed, if Britain's mighty share in it can ever be adequately told. The best efforts of history can hardly hope to

be worthy of its glory. But whatever the faults of the present narrative may be, and no one is more conscious of its shortcomings than the editor, *The Great World War* must always retain its place as a contemporary record, written while the moving events were fresh in memory, and often based on information which, apart from being the most reliable of its kind, has since become scattered and difficult to trace. In the early stages of the war it was possible to add more incident to the story; names and places could be mentioned in connection with honours won on the battle-field; but after a time all official awards were published without date or place, lest the enemy should thus find a clue to the likely position of the unit to which the soldier in question belonged; and it became no longer possible to rescue some of these countless deeds of heroism from being buried in the files of the *London Gazette*. Hence the absence of names in connection with many gallant acts recorded in the later volumes, with such rare exceptions as those immortalized in the dispatches of Sir Douglas Haig and other commanding officers.

To the censorship is also due the fact that we were unable to publish the later naval chapters in their true chronological order, thus reserving them for their present place of honour in the concluding volume. No history of the war, however, could more fittingly close than with a record intended to serve as a tribute to the "Silent Service" on the sea, which made possible the crowning victories of British arms on land.

It only remains for the editor to thank those contributors whose unfailing help has done so much to lighten his labours, as well as the publishers, printers, and map-makers, all of whom, equally conscious of the great need of accuracy in every detail, have spared no pains to make the work worthy of a permanent place in the history of what it is hoped may be the last Great War.

FRANK A. MUMBY.



# CONTENTS

## VOLUME IX

CHAPTER	Page
I. THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND - - - - -	1
II. THE BLOCKADE - - - - -	32
III. THE MYSTERY SHIPS AND THE CLOSING OF ZEEBRUGGE AND OSTEND -	49
IV. THE LAST YEAR AT SEA - - - - -	69
V. THE END OF THE NAVAL WAR - - - - -	87
VI. THE END OF THE EAST AFRICAN CAMPAIGN - - - - -	113
VII. CONDITIONS OF THE ARMISTICE WITH GERMANY - - - - -	130
VIII. CLOSING PHASES OF THE AERIAL WAR - - - - -	135
GENERAL SYNOPSIS OF BRITISH AIR EFFORT DURING THE WAR - -	140
IX. THE ARMISTICE PERIOD (November, 1918-July, 1919) - - -	151
X. THE DOWNFALL OF AUTOCRACY - - - - -	168
PEACE TREATIES	
GERMANY - - - - -	185
AUSTRIA - - - - -	272
BULGARIA - - - - -	280
TURKEY - - - - -	285
APPENDIX: BRITAIN'S SHARE IN THE WAR - - - - -	295
INDEX - - - - -	297
INDEX TO PORTRAITS - - - - -	339





# LIST OF PLATES

---

## VOLUME IX

---

### PORTRAITS

THE RT. HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY - - - - -	<i>Frontispiece</i>
VICE-ADMIRAL SIR ROSSLYN WEMYSS, K.C.B., FIRST SEA LORD -	<i>Facing p. 112</i>
MARSHAL FOCH, GENERALISSIMO OF THE ALLIED ARMIES ON THE WESTERN FRONT - - - - -	„ 224

---

### COLOURED MAPS

BATTLE OF JUTLAND. DEPLOYMENT OF THE BATTLE FLEET ON MAY 31, 1916 - - - - -	<i>Facing p. 16</i>
THE THEATRE OF WAR ON THE WESTERN FRONT. MAP SHOWING THE MAIN BATTLE LINES FROM SEPTEMBER, 1914, TO NOVEMBER, 1918 - - - - -	„ 132
THE PARTITION OF EUROPE UNDER TREATIES OF PARIS, JUNE, 1919 -	„ 192





# THE GREAT WORLD WAR

## VOLUME IX

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### CHAPTER I

#### THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

The Relative Forces—Bases of Operation—German Passivity—The Task of Sir John Jellicoe—Modern Blockade—Mines, Torpedoes, Submarines—Disposition of the Grand Fleet—The Scene of the Battle—Cruising Order of the Grand Fleet—The German Cruisers sighted—First Phase of the Battle—Loss of the *Queen Mary* and *Indefatigable*—Second Phase of the Battle—Movements of the Battle Fleet—Its Entry into the Battle—Loss of the *Invincible*—Third Phase of the Battle—Loss of the *Defence* and *Warrior*—The Difficulties of Deployment—Injury to *Warspite* and *Marlborough*—Loss of the *Black Prince*—Gallant Deeds—The *Onslow* and *Defender*—The Pursuit—German Losses—Night Actions—Escape of the Germans—The Relative Losses—List of Honours.

FROM the beginning of the war until the date of the Battle of Jutland (May 31, 1916) the Grand Fleet was engaged partly in providing the foundation of Great Britain's whole power on the sea; partly in confining the German High Sea Fleet to its own coasts, and thereby rendering the blockade possible; partly in perfecting its preparations for the desired but uncertain encounter with the enemy's main naval forces. We are concerned in this chapter only with that part of its work which comes under the third head. The subject can best be divided into three divisions—the strength of the Grand Fleet; its disposition; the mea-

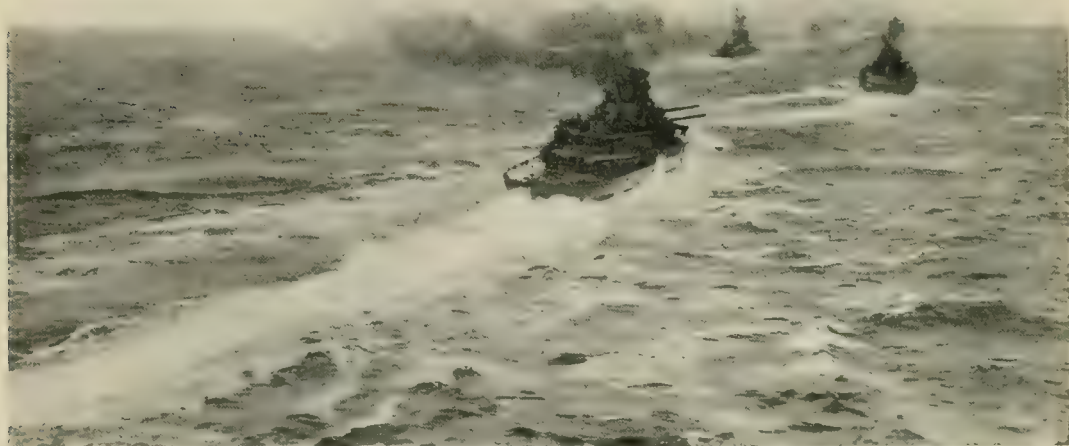
sures taken to secure it against losses in detail under submarine attack.

When the war began, in August, 1914, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Jellicoe, had with him 20 Dreadnoughts, 8 pre-Dreadnoughts, 4 battle cruisers, 12 light cruisers, 42 destroyers, and 9 cruisers—in all, 95 surface ships and vessels. The German High Sea Fleet was estimated to contain 13 Dreadnoughts, 16 pre-Dreadnoughts, 3 battle cruisers, 15 light cruisers, 88 destroyers, 1 air-ship, and 2 cruisers—or 137 surface craft and 1 air-ship. When we look at the sum total only, it may appear strange that the Germans, who were fond of speaking of the offensive as most con-

genial to them, did not attack at once. They must have known that delay would be to their disadvantage, since it would give the greater shipbuilding resources of the British navy time to produce their effect.

But apart from the fact that numbers are by no means a good test of naval strength, there is one obvious consideration which goes far, even if

raw hands. The British navy was manned by a permanent professional corps, which had been mobilized for the review just before the war. It had therefore an overwhelming advantage in what is by far the most important of all the elements of strength. Every month of delay in bringing on a battle told against Germany, because the British Empire could build more



With the Super-Dreadnoughts at Sea: a fleet evolution in progress

Official Photograph

it does not go all the way, to account for the passivity of the High Sea Fleet during the earlier part of the war. The German navy was a conscript navy. It relied on the men who had been partially trained, and had then passed into the merchant service, to fill up the crews of its warships when war broke out. But a large, perhaps the larger, part of these men were in trading ships abroad when war began. They were therefore not available, and it must have been necessary to replace them by

vessels—and build them faster. By October, 1915, Sir John Jellicoe's fleet had increased to 25 Dreadnoughts, 10 pre-Dreadnoughts, 10 battle cruisers, 25 light cruisers, 66 destroyers, and 15 cruisers—151 of all classes. The German High Sea Fleet was counted at 17 Dreadnoughts, 16 pre-Dreadnoughts, 4 battle cruisers, 15 light cruisers, 88 destroyers, and 12 air-ships—a total of 140 when we deduct the air-ships, which could render only auxiliary service. The British was now the most numerous, and its

superiority was most marked in the heaviest battleships and battle cruisers, of which it had 45 to the German 37; and the British pre-Dreadnoughts were more powerful ships than the Germans of the same standing.

From the date when the German Government began to create a powerful navy, it had become obvious that Great Britain could not long rest content with those naval bases in the Channel, at Chatham, and even at Harwich which had been sufficient in former naval wars with the French or the Dutch. A new establishment was made at Rosyth, on the north side of the Firth of Forth, in the county of Fife. But other stations from which the enemy could be watched, and from which our ships could start to attack, or repel attack, were needed still farther to the north. One was found in the Cromarty Firth, a fiord which runs inland on the west side of the Moray Firth. It possesses many advantages, for it is nearly landlocked; the entrance is narrow, and therefore easily fortified against assault from without, whether by surface craft or submarines. But Cromarty Firth opens only to the east, and was therefore of first-rate excellence only for cruisers or squadrons meant to operate in the North Sea. An anchorage was needed which would leave the fleet using it the option of moving either to east or west as the circumstances might require. There is one still farther to the north, which imposed itself on the choice of the Admiralty by its natural merits. It is the stretch of landlocked water surrounded, on the north by the mainland island of

the Orkneys, on the west, south, and east by the lesser islands, Hoy and South Ronaldshay, with the little islets which lie about and between them. The Pentland Firth, which separates the Orkneys from Caithness on the mainland, connects the Atlantic with the North Sea, and therefore secures an ample range of action to east or west to a fleet which made its head-quarters at Scapa Flow. The Orkneys are separated from the Shetlands, the most northerly land of Great Britain, by the Fair Island Channel, which also connects the Atlantic and North Sea.

In all these respects the anchorages just named supply the British fleet with almost perfect bases of operations against an enemy who must needs start from, and return to, the Atlantic ports of the German Empire. Operating from them it was admirably placed to bar his way to the Atlantic, and blockade his trade. But this is an aspect of the situation which will be better treated when we deal with the blockade as a whole. On the other hand, the Grand Fleet had to contend with certain conditions of a far less favourable character. The length of the winter nights in high latitudes made the work of cruising and watching doubly anxious. The North Sea is often hazy, so that the range of vision is very limited, commonly not more than a mile by night, and even by day not more than 5 miles, and sometimes only 2. Then the coasts of the Orkneys and Shetlands, and the passages between them, are swept by strong irregular tides which run at as much as 10 miles an hour. The



currents are always strong, and during the prevalence of westerly storms in the Atlantic are extremely violent.

At the beginning of the war none of these bases—not even Rosyth—was in a state of effectual defence against submarine attack—a fact which added largely to the anxieties of the Commander-in-Chief. If the German High Sea Fleet had been ready and willing to seek battle, Sir John Jellicoe would have had every right to meet it half-way. If it had been possible to seek the enemy at his own bases, and there force battle on him, that course would have been more acceptable to the British navy. But this line could have been taken only if there had been a reasonable prospect that the enemy would be destroyed. If such a full measure of success had appeared to be attainable, the venture would have been justified, even if it did entail heavy losses on the British fleet. In view, however, of the thoroughness and strength of the German coast defences, and in view also of the probability that the High Sea Fleet could withdraw into the Baltic through the Kiel Canal, the bold method of direct attack was considered too hazardous. It would probably have led to a heavy loss, without inflicting such damage on the enemy as would have afforded a just compensation. The margin of strength enjoyed by the British Fleet, though amply sufficient to justify it in accepting battle in the open sea, was not large enough to permit it to risk great sacrifices without a clear prospect of corresponding success in reducing the strength of the enemy.

Since the High Sea Fleet would not seek “a stricken field”, and could not be reached behind its defences, one policy only could be adopted by Sir John Jellicoe. He must keep watch and ward (watch on the movements of the enemy and ward over our shipping and coasts) and wait an opportunity for offensive action. And this it was incumbent on him to do in the conditions imposed upon him by the nature of modern ships, and the powers of the craft and the weapons at the command of the enemy. When fleets were moved by the wind, and had no danger to guard against save what could be seen on the surface, the task, though trying in its way, was comparatively easy. If Sir John Jellicoe had commanded a fleet of the old type he could have cruised with his battleships close to the German coast. He could have made his watch continuous by sending the ships of his fleet back to port in detachments, to renew their food and their supply of water. But it was not possible for him to adopt the course which had been followed by Admiral Duncan off the Texel, or by Cornwallis and Lord St. Vincent off Brest. They could be always at sea and in sight of the enemy's coast, save during brief intervals of stormy weather, which suspended the need for blockade with ships, because they also made it impossible for the enemy to get to sea.

Sir John had no such simple task to meet. His ships were dependent on the coal they carried in their bunkers for their motive power. Every moment during which they

were in motion diminished their store. There are obvious reasons why a war-ship (or even a passenger-carrying liner, or trading vessel) cannot afford to use up its coal till it has just as much left as will carry it to the nearest port. Every vessel must retain a reserve to be drawn on in case it becomes necessary to develop the power of her engines to the utmost. When a steamer has to be

mines introduces a condition absolutely unknown to the old sailing fleets. Modern battleships can no longer rely on their own strength. Their very size tells against them. The larger they are, and the deeper they are in the water, the greater is the risk they will come in contact with a mine. And, however, powerful they may be in armour and armament above, they are very vulnerable below. There-

fore a modern battle fleet must rely on the assistance of swarms of small craft which can go before and about them to sweep the mines away.

The torpedo is worse than the mine, for it can be sent through the water at a great rate. A boldly handled destroyer, favoured by haze or the darkness, might get within striking

distance of a battleship. One well-handled blow with a torpedo launched from the destroyer might cripple, even if it did not sink, the larger opponent who was immeasurably her superior in tonnage, armour, and armament. Therefore the mighty battleship, which needs the protection of the mine-sweeper against the mine, is in equal need of destroyers as a guard against other destroyers with their torpedoes.

Worse still, because more secret, and therefore more deadly, was the attack by submarines. The German U-boats had not in the early months of the war



Cribb, Southsea

With the Fifth Battle Squadron in the North Sea: H.M.S. *Implacable*

driven at something beyond her "economic speed" (that is to say, the best rate at which one can be moved with the most thrifty use of coal), the expenditure of fuel increases at a greater ratio than the speed attained. A war-ship must needs retain the power to go at her highest rate for considerable intervals of battle, pursuit, or flight. Therefore the coal must never be allowed to sink to a bare minimum. It must be often replenished, and this entails the need for frequent returns to a base of supply.

Then the modern practice of laying

attained to the level either of numbers or of individual capacity, which they reached later on. Yet they had a formidable range of action, and they were enterprising.

One other condition weighed on the Grand Fleet, not so heavily as those named yet not without effect. The German raids on the east coast carried out with cruisers did not constitute a direct peril to the Grand Fleet; but they did menace interests which the Grand Fleet was there to safeguard. It therefore became necessary to keep a part of the battle-force in a position from which assistance could be rapidly dispatched for the relief of the east-coast towns whenever they were assailed.

These being the conditions in which the Grand Fleet must work, and the obligations it had to meet, and putting aside details which belong to the blockade, we can see the movements of the fleet in their main lines from the beginning of the war in August, 1914, down to the end of May, 1916. Changes had to be made to meet varying calls, but on the whole, and by the necessities of the case, the course taken was as follows. The Grand Fleet remained farthest north and farthest out. With it went the needful mine-sweepers and the destroyer guard of forty vessels. But the Grand Fleet could not be kept in one body. The call to stand by near at hand if German raids, either for invasion or mere destruction, were made on the east coast enforced a division which entailed a certain but, as the course of events showed, not a serious risk. The eight battleships

of the King Edward VII class, four cruisers of the 3rd Squadron, and the battle cruisers under Sir David Beatty were based on Rosyth. The Dreadnoughts of the Grand Fleet were sent away to the north, as being the most powerful, the newest, and those which it was most advisable to keep in reserve for the decisive blow. Cruiser squadrons were disposed to guard this reserve, the general principle being that the largest should be nearest the fleet and farthest from the enemy, while the smaller should be nearer the enemy to keep watch and give warning. The cruisers and destroyers stationed in Harwich under Admiral Tyrwhitt belonged after a fashion to the Grand Fleet, but they were subject to direct orders from the Admiralty, and Sir John Jellicoe did not rely on their co-operation.

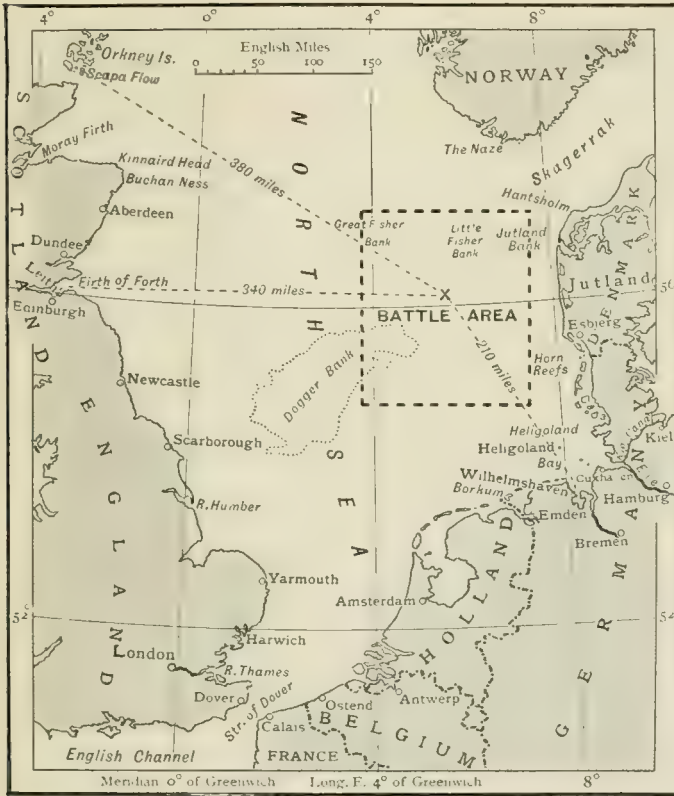
The battleships did not remain passive at Scapa Flow. Submarine peril compelled Sir John for a time to withdraw to Lough Swilly, on the north coast of Ireland. But the battle fleet was at all times the potential support of all other elements of the Grand Fleet, which, properly speaking, includes every kind of vessel under Sir John Jellicoe's immediate command. The whole was kept in good training and perfected in practice by periodical sweeps of the North Sea, carried out by all classes of vessels acting together, each in its place and function, so that perfect familiarity might be obtained with the work to be done. It must be borne in mind that as the watch on the Germans had to be kept from a distance, they could not be closely confined to port



like the blockaded ships of former times. They had a space along their own coast in which they were free to move, and their command of the Kiel Canal gave them safe access to the Baltic, where they had no dangerous attack to fear.

upper and lower lines of this oblong, marked by Saint Abb's Head and Ringkiöbing Fiord. Its whole breadth is here only 345 miles. The waters are everywhere shallow, and more particularly on the eastern side. On the Little Fisher Bank, and the Jutland Bank,

depth is about 10 fathoms, increasing to 20 or so in depressions between the sands. As the fathom is 6 feet, it will be seen that the lesser of these depths (60 feet) is not quite equal to the beam of such a ship as the *Queen Mary*, while the longer (120 feet) is not much more than a sixth of her total length. The whole coast of Jutland is more or less pestered by sand-banks. The Jutland Bank proper lies at the north end of the peninsula near Hanstholm. At the south-eastern corner a string of sands, rocks, and shallows, collectively known as the Horn Reef, projects for 25 miles from Blaavand Point. The whole breadth



The Scene of the Battle of Jutland, May 31-June 1, 1916

The scene of the battle on May 31, 1916, was the middle and eastern side of an oblong of which the four corners are marked by Aberdeen and the Farne Islands on the coast of Northumberland on the west, and on the other side of the sea by Hanstholm and Blaavand Point on the coast of Jutland. The North Sea is at its narrowest at a point between these

of the oblong, from north to south, is a little under two degrees of latitude—that is to say, 120 nautical or 138 statute miles. Heligoland, with its mined and protected bight—the starting-place and the refuge of the Germans—lies about 60 statute miles south of the Horn Reef. These distances, depths, and bearings are essential to an understanding of the battle.

On May 30 the Grand Fleet put to sea to carry out one of its periodical sweeps, from Scapa, Cromarty, and Rosyth. The point of concentration for the battle fleet was lat.  $57.45^{\circ}$  N. and long.  $4.15^{\circ}$  E. Sir David Beatty with the battle-cruiser fleet, and the 5th Battle Squadron which started from Rosyth, was ordered to go to lat.  $56.40^{\circ}$  N., long.  $5^{\circ}$  E., where he would be in contact with the main battle fleet and a little to the south of it. At 2 p.m. on May 31 the battle fleet was in lat.  $57.57^{\circ}$  N., long.  $3.45^{\circ}$  E., i.e. between the north end of Jutland and Aberdeen. It was divided into six divisions. The ships composing each division were in line ahead—that is to say, they followed one behind the other, with the flagship of the officer commanding at the head. The divisions steamed beside or abreast of one another. Counting from left to right, or from east to west, they were composed and commanded as follows. The *King George V*, flagship of Vice-Admiral Sir M. Jerram,<sup>1</sup> the *Ajax*, *Centurion*, and *Erin* made the 1st Division; the second was led by Rear-Admiral A. C. Leveson in the *Orion*, followed by the *Monarch*, *Conqueror*, and *Thunderer*; Sir John Jellicoe, Commander-in-Chief, led the 3rd Division in his flagship the *Iron Duke*, followed by the *Royal Oak*, *Superb* (flagship of Rear-Admiral A. L. Duff), and the *Canada*; the 4th Division was composed of the *Benbow* (flagship of Vice-Admiral Sir

Doveton Sturdee), the *Bellerophon*, *Temeraire*, and *Vanguard*; the 5th Division, led by Rear-Admiral Gaunt, in the *Colossus*, included the *Collingwood*, *Neptune*, and *St. Vincent*. Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Burney, second in command of the Grand Fleet, in the *Marlborough*, led the *Revenge*, *Heracles*, and *Agincourt*. The six divisions were screened by the 4th, 11th, and 12th Flotillas and the 4th Light-cruiser Squadron, which were three miles ahead. A line of cruisers, *Cochrane*, *Shannon*, *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Duke of Edinburgh*, *Black Prince*, and *Warrior*, were 16 miles ahead in a line drawn from east to west.

At 2 p.m. of May 31 the battle-cruiser fleet, under the command of Sir David Beatty in the *Lion*, supported by the 5th Battle Squadron (Rear-Admiral Sir H. Evan-Thomas in the *Barham*), was to the south of Sir John Jellicoe in lat.  $56.46^{\circ}$  N., and long.  $4.40^{\circ}$  E. Sir David Beatty was to the south with the 1st Battle-cruiser Squadron. The commander of the squadron (Sir David commanded the whole battle-cruiser fleet) was Rear-Admiral O. de B. Brock in the *Princess Royal*. The light cruiser *Champion* and ten destroyers of the 13th Flotilla acted as a screen. The 2nd Battle-cruiser Squadron, led by Rear-Admiral W. Pakenham, was to the east-north-east of the *Lion*, screened by six destroyers. The 5th Battle Squadron was 5 miles to the west-north-west of the *Lion*, screened by the light cruiser *Fearless* and nine destroyers of the 1st Flotilla. They were all in line ahead, and were steering to the northward to close the main fleet. A screen

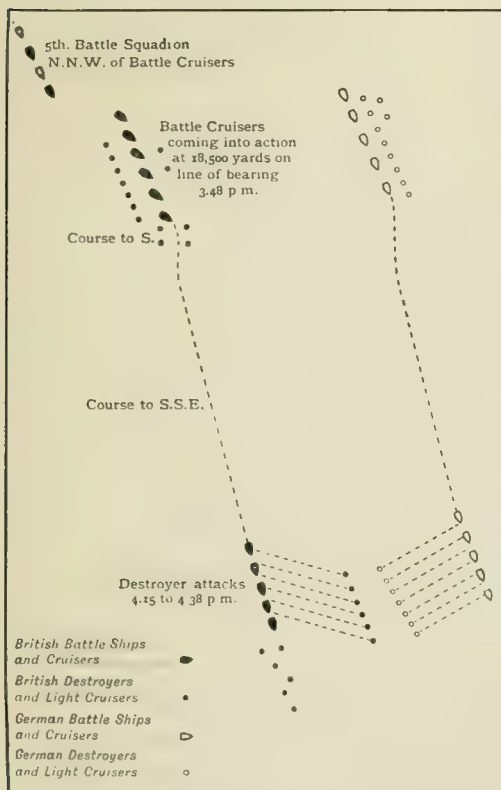
<sup>1</sup> The fleet was divided for administrative purposes into squadrons, which were then subdivided into divisions. But, as the order was by divisions, it is not necessary to name the squadrons here.

of light cruisers was to the south of Sir David Beatty, drawn from east to west. The rate of speed was  $19\frac{1}{2}$  knots.

The total force Sir David had with him, though but a minor part of the Grand Fleet, was in itself a powerful

Thomas's squadron — the *Barham*, *Malaya*, *Warspite*, and *Valiant*—were of the same scale of tonnage as the larger battle cruisers, and carried each eight 15-inch guns. The weight of the projectiles fired by the pieces is 760 pounds for the 12-inch guns, 1400 for the 13.5-inch guns, and about a ton for the 15-inch guns.

As the advance force guarded the main fleet, so it was itself covered by its light craft. While it steamed to the north its scouts were sweeping the waters to the east, where German vessels might be expected to be found, if they were at sea. And they were; for while the British Grand Fleet was sweeping through the centre of the North Sea, the German North Sea Fleet had come up along the coasts of Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland on a parallel course. Its advanced force of five battle cruisers, commanded by Admiral von Hipper, had reached as far north as the Skager-Rack. The main fleet was at a distance, as subsequent events showed, of some 50 miles to the south. At 2.20 p.m. (British summer time) the presence of this squadron was reported to Sir David Beatty by Commodore Evelyn S. Alexander Sinclair, who was scouting to the east in the *Galatea*, a light cruiser of 3700 tons. The German report states that the British scouts were first sighted at a point 90 miles west of Hanstholm about 4.30 (Berlin standard time). German official time is 54 minutes in advance of our standard or winter time. When we use summer time there is therefore an apparent discrepancy of nearly two hours. The British detached force was to the west of the



Map illustrating the First Phase of the Battle of Jutland, till the main German Battle Fleet came up

force. Four of the six battle cruisers, vessels of 26,000 tons and upwards—the *Lion*, Sir David's flagship, the *Queen Mary*, the *Princess Royal*, and the *Tiger*—carried eight 13.5-inch guns. The *Indefatigable* and the *New Zealand*, of 16,000 and 18,000 tons respectively, carried eight 12-inch guns. The four battleships of Sir H. Evan-





Drawn by S. Begg

The Battle of Jutland—the First Phase: British Battle Cruisers encountering the German High Seas Fleet

German squadron and at a considerable distance.

The course of the British squadrons was at once altered from north to south-south-east. This direction was taken in order to head the Germans in the neighbourhood of the Horn Reef, since they must stand well out to sea to clear the obstruction on their way back to their refuge at Heligoland. As the battle-cruiser squadrons, followed by the 5th Battle Squadron, swung round, the 1st and 3rd Light-cruiser Squadrons spread themselves in a fan, and without waiting for orders scouted to the eastward for the enemy and guarded the big vessels from submarine attack. At 2.25 the *Galatea* reported the enemy as being in considerable force. On sighting our scouts the Germans had pursued to the north-west, and on this line they approached the British squadrons. At 2.35 smoke was seen by Sir David's look-outs to the east, and the course was at once altered from south-south-east to east, and then to north-east. From the direction in which the smoke was seen it was obvious that the enemy was in a position and at a distance which made it possible to force action on him at once without going to the latitude of the Horn Reef to intercept him. The greater average speed of the British squadrons—25 knots to 22—gave Sir David the option of forcing or avoiding action as he chose. It was desirable to obtain the utmost amount of information as to the enemy's force and disposition, so at 2.45 Lieutenant-Commander C. G. Robinson of the *Engadine* was ordered to send up the sea-plane which

his vessel was appointed to carry. It was sent off at 3.8 in charge of Flight-Lieutenant T. J. Rutland, R.N., as pilot, and Assistant-Paymaster G. S. Trewin, R.N., as observer. The sea was calm, with light breezes from the south-east, but the day was cloudy, and the clouds were low. The sea-plane had to fly at no greater height than 900 feet, and to approach within 3000 yards in order to get a useful view of the enemy. Her reports were coolly made, though she was hotly fired at, and began to reach the British flagship at 3.30.

At that moment speed was increased to the maximum, 25 knots, and the line of battle was formed: the 1st Battle-cruiser Squadron leading, the 2nd behind, while the 13th and 9th Flotillas went ahead. The 5th Battle Squadron was to the north-north-west of Sir David Beatty, and at a distance of 10,000 yards (about 6 miles). The enemy was sighted to the east at a distance of 23,000 yards (13 miles), and the British squadrons altered course from north-east to east-south-east. The enemy, on discovering that Sir David was behind the light cruisers they were pursuing, had turned to the southward to seek the aid of the battle-ships which they knew were coming northward to support them. The visibility was good at this moment, and the sun, which was declining to the west, was behind the British ships. But as they turned east-south-east, tearing along at 25 knots and in a south-east breeze, the smoke drifted back from each ship over the vessel behind her. It would tend to confuse the view of those who were directing

the course of each and of the look-outs. So Sir David ordered his squadrons to change from a line ahead to a line of bearing—that is to say, they no longer followed one another on the same line, but formed at a slant, like the nearly-closed laths of a Venetian blind, only that there was a space between the ships. In close battle formation of two cables' length (400 yards, measured from centre to centre) this would leave about 200 yards between the ships in the line. As the British vessels were headed to east-south-east the 2nd Light-cruiser Squadron came in and took station ahead. It was at 3.48 that fire was opened practically simultaneously by the two opponents at a range of 18,000 yards (about 10 miles).

For the space of an hour the engagement was hotly conducted along a wavering line, which went successively east-south-east, then south, then south-south-east, the British ships engaging on the port (or left) and the Germans on the starboard (right) side. The superiority in number—six battle cruisers to five—the greater weight of his 13.4 guns, and the support he received from the 5th Battle Squadron, which came into action with its 15-inch guns, or some of them, at 4.8, though at a great range, 20,000 yards (11 miles), would seem to have given Sir David Beatty an overwhelming advantage. But there was a condition which aided the Germans. The breeze from the east was beginning to bring up a haze, and, though in sight, they were not so sharply visible as the British ships, which therefore presented the

better target. Of this the enemy took full and destructive advantage. The great *Queen Mary* and the less powerful but still important *Indefatigable* were blown up, with almost total loss of their crews. Captain Charles F. Sowerby of the *Queen Mary* and Captain Cecil J. Prowse of the *Indefatigable* perished with their ships. By the loss of these vessels the British battle-cruiser squadrons sank from a superiority of six to five to an inferiority of four to five. The *Indefatigable* was destroyed before, and the *Queen Mary* after, the 5th Battle Squadron began to come into action. The *Indefatigable* was struck by several projectiles of a salvo in a line with the after turret, and an explosion was caused in a magazine. She fell out of the line and began to sink. A second salvo struck her forward, and she turned over and went down. A single salvo destroyed the *Queen Mary*. She blew up and vanished in the dense cloud of smoke produced by the explosion—save for such fragments as were hurled on the deck of the *Tiger*, which followed her in the line. In spite of the relief which these well-delivered or fortunate blows afforded him, Admiral von Hipper was hard pressed. The fire of his ships was observed to slacken.

Throughout the battle the Germans made an energetic use of their destroyers, and, as it seemed to observers in the British fleet, of their submarines—though they deny that any of these craft were employed by them in the action. Admiral von Hipper had recourse to his torpedo-using craft to fend off the British attack. It is not

now as it was in the days when only "ships fit to lie in a line of battle" were directly engaged. The smaller craft with their torpedoes are not only busy but often foremost in the line operating between the big ships. Thus the destroyers *Landrail* (Lieutenant-Commander Francis E. H. G. Hobard), of the 9th Flotilla, and *Lydiard* (Commander Malcolm L. Goldsmith) steamed on the port or engaged side

Edward B. S. Bingham), *Nomad* (Lieutenant-Commander Paul Whitfield), *Nicator* (Lieutenant-Commander Jack E. A. Mocatta, *Narborough* (Lieutenant-Commander Geoffrey Corlett), *Pelican* (Lieutenant-Commander Kenneth A. Beattie), *Petard* (Lieutenant-Commander Evelyn C. O. Thomson), and *Obdurate* (Lieutenant-Commander Montague (C. B. Legge). With these eight went two destroyers

of the 10th Flotilla, the *Moorsom* (Commander John C. Hodgson), and *Morris* (Lieutenant-Commander Edward S. Graham). Two of the 9th Flotilla, the *Turbulent* (Lieutenant-Commander Dudley Stuart), and *Terzagant* (Lieutenant-Commander Cuthbert D. Blake), completed the list.

As the whole swarm of ships, big and little, was sweeping past to the south-south-east, the destroyers which shot out from the two sides could not merely steer at a right angle to their respective lines. The opponent would have crossed their bows before they could reach him. They had to go ahead at an acute angle towards their target in order to overtake or forestall it. The two bodies of destroyers thus converged on one another, and fought an action between the lines of battle cruisers. In this swift conflict of rapidly-moving vessels the Germans lost two destroyers, and their attempt



Cribb, Southsea

H.M.S. *Queen Mary*, blown up with almost total loss of her crew in the Battle of Jutland

of Sir David Beatty to fend off submarine attacks, and did good service, though the smoke blowing westward from them was an inconvenience. The auxiliaries and guards, which are also at critical moments the supports of the great ships, moved out on both sides at the same time (4.15), passing between the big vessels and striking at their enemy. One light cruiser and fifteen destroyers came out from the German line to beat back the British approach. They were met by eight destroyers of the 13th Flotilla, the *Nestor* (Commander the Hon.



to win a position from which they could launch torpedoes at the British battle cruisers was baffled.

It was now the turn of Sir David's destroyers to assail the German cruisers. But the whole, we must never forget, big ships and small, were tearing to the south-south-east at a rate of well over 20 miles an hour. Our destroyers, after disposing of their immediate foes, had to gain on the Germans in order to reach a position from which they could launch torpedoes at a target which was racing past. They must fire from ahead of the object they aimed at. Many of them could not attain the necessary speed, and therefore could not secure the position. But three, the *Nestor*, the *Nomad*, and the *Nicator*, broke through and pushed the attack home. In the very act of assailing the German line they came under the fire of the enemy's secondary armament—the smaller guns which are used to dispose of such vessels as they are, while the great guns are kept for the big ships. The *Nomad* was heavily hit, and Lieutenant Whitfield had the misfortune to find that he was stopped between the lines. The *Nestor* and *Nicator* went on and tried for position, but at that moment the course of the combatants was reversed and a new situation arose.

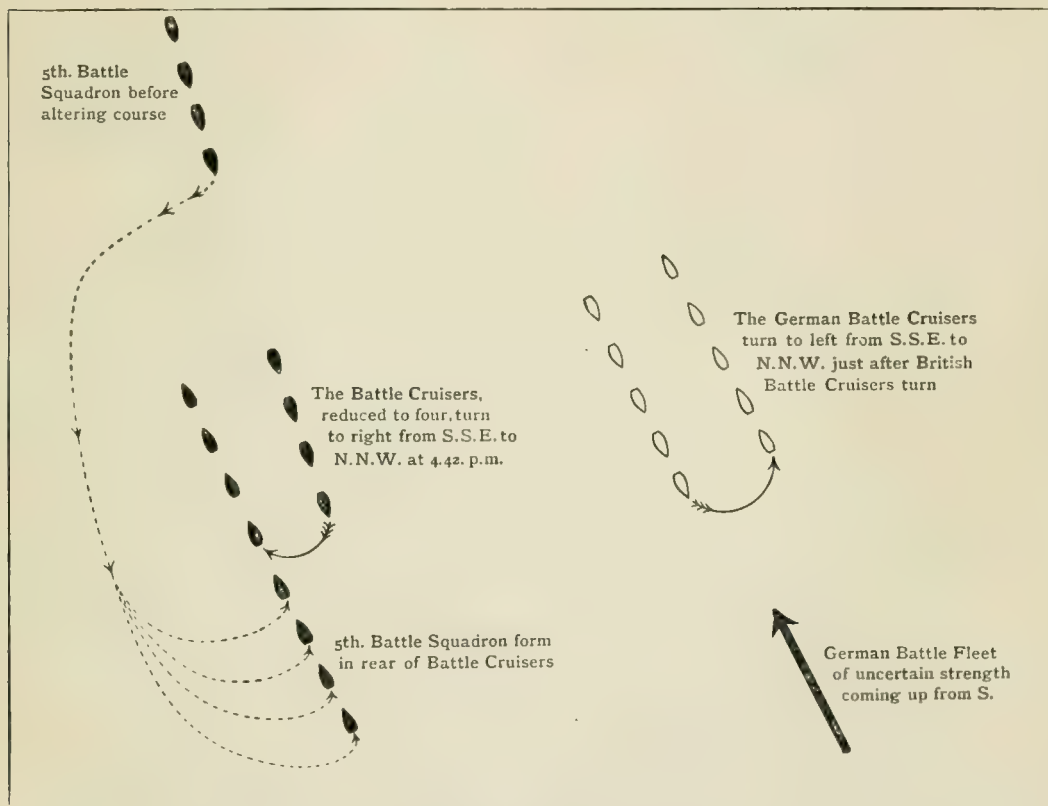
At 4.38—less than half an hour after the destroyer action began—Commodore Goodenough, who was scouting ahead in the *Southampton*, reported that the German Battle Fleet was in sight to the south. The two swarms of war vessels, those coming down and those coming up, were near-

ing one another at a combined speed of 40 to 50 miles. In fact, the German main fleet was sighted from the *Lion* four minutes after the *Southampton's* report was received. If Sir David had gone farther on he would have brought his battle cruisers under the fire of the German battleships. The moment he saw them he reversed his course (turned sixteen points is the technical term). The movement was "in succession", that is to say, the *Lion* at the head turned first to starboard (to the right) and away from the enemy. If she had turned to port she must have placed herself between the ships behind her and the enemy, whereby she would have masked the fire of her own friends. Then each of the succeeding battle cruisers turned where the *Lion* had turned. The squadrons, now consisting of four, stood to the north. As they did so they began to approach the 5th Battle Squadron, which had hitherto been at some distance behind them. The gap was rapidly closed. As it was the function of the battle squadron to support Sir David Beatty it did not turn and take station ahead of him, but, acting by signal from the *Lion*, passed outside, to the west, and then turned—the *Barham*, Rear-Admiral Evan-Thomas's flagship, turning first and the following three "in succession"—and so again formed the rear of the line. Here they were so placed as to shield the battle cruisers from the weight of the German battleships.

As the enemy claims to have brought 27 vessels into action against 36 British there must have been 22 of them in the fleet which had now come up.

Even if they were disposed in the closest order, two cables' length measured from the centre of each ship, which for vessels moving at a high rate of speed is dangerously near, they must have stretched for 5 miles. Immediately after Sir David Beatty turned

*Lion* would be on the bow a little farther forward than the leading German, and the three battle cruisers behind him placed similarly to the enemy. Then, in the rear of these four, the 5th Battle Squadron, now in such a position that it could fire both at the last of the



The Second Phase of the Jutland Battle: the reversion of course from S.S.E. to N.N.W. on the appearance on the scene of the main German battle fleet

to the north, and while the 5th Battle Squadron was taking station behind him, the German battle cruisers also reversed their course, and took their place in the van of their whole line.

We have now to figure to ourselves Sir David Beatty in the *Lion* leading his four battle cruisers parallel to the German battle cruisers, but so that the

enemy's battle cruisers and the first of his battleships.

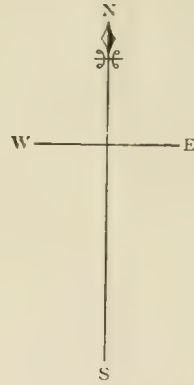
The reader will have seen that up to this stage Sir David had been able to achieve what every capable leader in war aims at doing. He had concentrated a superior force at the point of attack. Though the 5th Battle Squadron had fired only at a great

range in the first part of the encounter, it was using all its guns before the course was changed. When it also altered course it was closely engaged. Yet during this stage of the battle the British loss was heavier than the German. The *Queen Mary* and the *Indefatigable* were gone. Admiral von Hipper's five had been mauled, and just when the destroyer action began the third ship in his line was seen to be on fire. But "on fire" and "out of action" are not synonymous terms, and the five Germans were still firing as they formed the van in the new course. After the ships hitherto engaged had run from 20 to 30 miles from north to south they and the new-comers were now steaming back to the starting-point of the battle. We do but justice to our own seamen when we note that the power to manœuvre, the gunnery, the judgment and decision shown by our enemy in handling his ships were such as rendered all success achieved against him honourable.

While these evolutions of the big ships which form the groundwork of the battle were taking place, the light craft had been active. We have seen that when the *Nestor* and *Nicator* had been deprived of the support of the crippled *Nomad* they had pushed resolutely on to tackle the leading German battle cruisers. In the rapid movements of this crisis, when the Germans were concentrating and Admiral von Hipper was reversing his course, they came under the fire of the secondary armament of the enemy's leading battleships. The *Nestor*, which was ahead, was heavily hit and swung

to starboard. Lieutenant-Commander Mocatta passed boldly to port of her, between her and the enemy, but could not secure a position from which to fire a torpedo, and regained the 13th Flotilla. The crippled *Nestor* was necessarily left to be destroyed by the Germans, and Captain Bingham became a prisoner. As the German battle cruisers turned north those British destroyers which had, as we have seen, failed to secure a good point from which to launch torpedoes, fell pat to receive them. The *Petard*, *Nerissa*, *Turbulent*, *Termagant*, were able to assail the enemy. The *Nerissa* claimed that a torpedo launched by her struck the enemy's rear ship. The 2nd Light-cruiser Squadron, which had been ahead of Sir David Beatty, prolonged its course to the south, and left open the space which the 5th Battle Squadron occupied on the new course. Other light squadrons came in. The 1st and 3rd Light-cruiser Squadrons, which had hitherto followed, took station on the *Lion's* starboard bow. The 2nd, after making room for Sir H. Evan-Thomas, came back and took its place on the port or disengaged side of the British battle cruisers.

It was about five o'clock (summer time, 6.54 Berlin standard time) that the return north began. The haze was thickening to the east, and the rays of the sinking sun were rendering the British ships clearly visible, while the enemy was frequently obscured. Yet, as the 5th Battle Squadron was now in full action, the Germans began to suffer heavily. One of their battle cruisers was seen from the *Lion* to be



ORDER OF  
WHILE

FLEET WHEN DEPLOYED

5TH. DIV.  
St. Vi

6TH. DIV.  
Agincourt

meraire

Bellerophon

Benbow (F.)

Canada

Superb (F.)

Royal Oak

Iron Duke (F.)

Thunderer

Conqueror

Monarch

Orion (F.)

Erin

Centurion

Ajax

King George V. (F.)

POSITION OF 5TH  
SQUADRON, WHEN  
STATION ASTERN

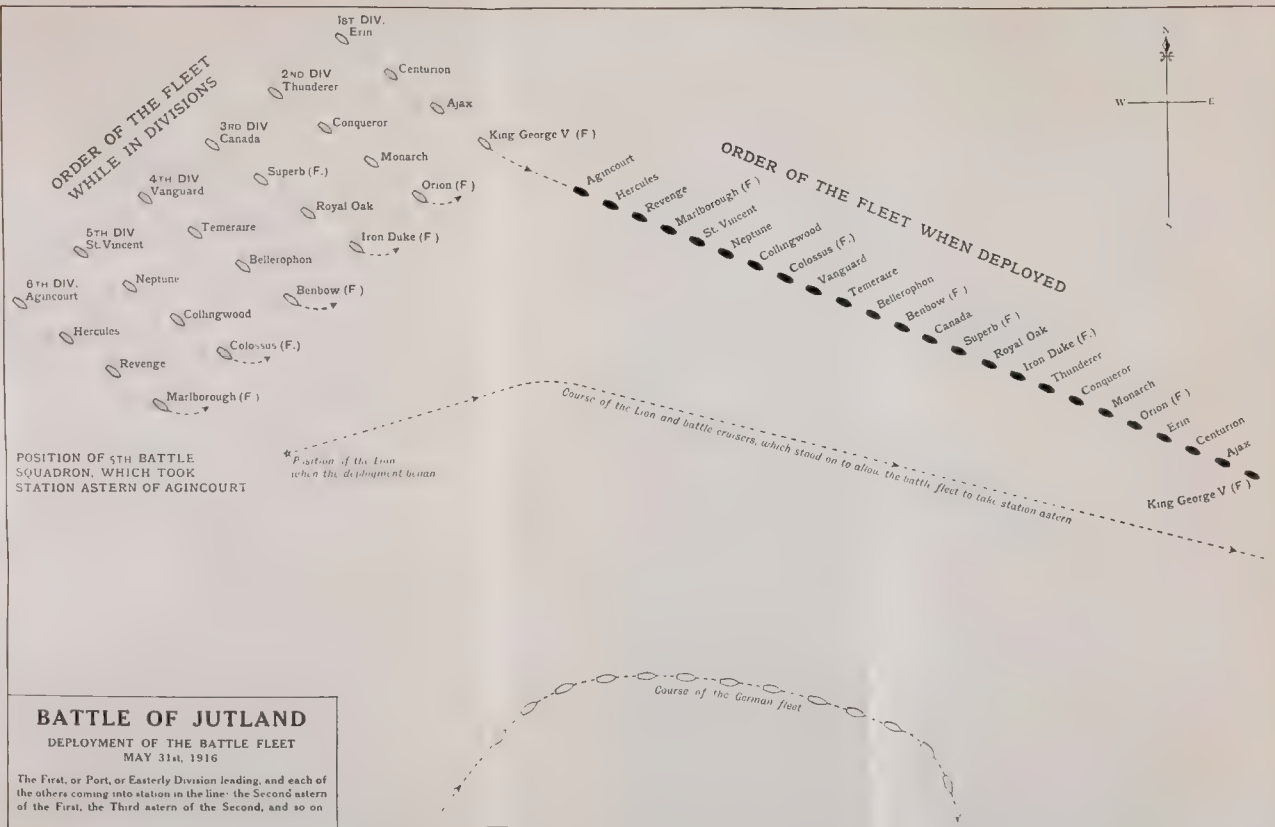
How the battle fleet to take station astern

BATTLE

DEPLOYMENT

The First, or Port, of  
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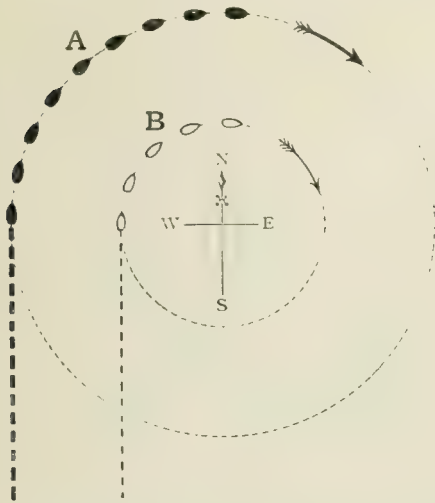


driven out of the line, and others showed signs of increasing injury. The destroyers were active. The *Moresby* scored a hit on the sixth in the enemy line, which must have been one of their battleships. When all alike were moving rapidly to the north-north-west, and the mist was thickening to the east, exact observation was impossible, and it could not be known with certainty whether the

of fire. As the British headed them the Germans must turn to the east to keep their guns bearing on the British. Thus the two would tend to move in concentric circles, the German inside and the British outside.

By so rounding the enemy Sir David Beatty would gain in several ways. By placing himself on the east he would win the advantage hitherto enjoyed by the enemy of having a better view of the foe. He would put his ships where they would be in the enemy's line of retreat south-south-east to Heligoland, and he would be ready to form the van of the united British fleet when Sir John Jellicoe came up, as he would shortly do. At 5.35, while Sir David was turning to north-north-east, he knew that the British Grand Fleet was coming on N. 16 W. of him. To put it less technically, the Grand Fleet was where the point of the minute hand of a watch is at just less than three minutes to midday, supposing twelve o'clock to be the north. At that time Sir David turned from north-north-east to north-east, and the Germans began to turn also.

We must now leave the British advanced squadrons engaged in putting the head of the German line "in chancery", and turn to the main fleet. News that the Germans had been sighted to the east at 2.20 was of course at once given to the Commander-in-Chief, and he was kept regularly informed of the course taken by the squadrons operating to the south. So long as the advance force was moving in that direction the distance which separated it from the main



General Character of a Circling Movement

The fire of the outer line converges and concentrates. The fire of the inner line diverges and tends to be scattered. "A" in the sketch represents the British fleet, "B" the German fleet

flames and clouds of smoke seen from different ships in the British line came from the same wounded enemy or from more than one. As the average speed of the four British battle cruisers was greater than that of the Germans (25 knots to 22) Sir David could gain on them till he could turn eastward as he drew ahead and could cross their course, and this he did at about six o'clock. By crossing their route he gained an opportunity of putting their leading ship in a semicircle

body of the fleet was increased rather than diminished. Until the German Commander-in-Chief, Admiral von Scheer, followed Sir David Beatty northward there was not even any certainty that the enemy was prepared to accept battle. From five o'clock onwards the separated parts of the British fleet were approaching one another at their combined speed. The battleships and cruisers with Sir John Jellicoe came on at their utmost speed, and indeed at a higher rate than could have been calculated on, the engine-room staffs working so well that some of the older battleships exceeded their trial speeds. All together they rushed ahead in the mist, which was now increasing and covering the sea before them.

First in the order of steaming went the 3rd Battle-cruiser Squadron under Rear-Admiral Hood in the *Invincible*. It was at 5.30, just before Sir David Beatty turned to the east, that flashes of fire were seen to glare in the mist. When seeing was impossible there was nothing left to do but to feel the way. Indeed, for a time which may be estimated at half an hour, the utmost caution had to be exercised in effecting the concentration of the whole fleet, lest brother should smite brother in the dark. Rear-Admiral Hood sent the *Chester* (Captain Robert N. Lawson) ahead of him to reconnoitre at 5.15. But the German van was also preceded by light cruisers and destroyers. The scouts of both sides met, and a few minutes of hot encounter followed in which the *Chester* suffered casualties. She rejoined the 3rd Battle Squadron, which came on

sweeping aside the small German craft. The British loomed "shadow-like" out of the mist before the eyes of the German skirmishers, who sighted both Rear-Admiral Hood's squadron and the main fleet behind. They made out "a long line of at least twenty-five battleships which first on a north-west to west course sought a junction with



Rear-Admiral the Hon. H. L. A. Hood, lost with  
H.M.S. *Invincible* in the Battle of Jutland  
(From a photograph by Russell & Sons, Southsea)

the British battle cruisers and 'Queen Elizabeths', and then turned to an east-south-east course". That, at any rate, is what the Germans say that they saw—an ominous sight for them.

We have to realize that when the two fleets are counted together, and all their numbers are included, a number of ships which must be estimated in hundreds were approaching in close order and at high speed, turning and

twisting in the pall of thick air on the surface of the water. They must, taken all together, have stretched over 12, perhaps 15, miles, in conditions of weather which did not permit of a clear view for more than 4. It was not in the power of the most keen-eyed observer to judge comprehensively of the order or place of friend or enemy. And when it is remembered that we hear of only one British ship, the destroyer *Sparrowhawk*, and of one small German cruiser, the *Elbing*, as having been destroyed by collision, it must be allowed that the level of seamanlike handling of the ships—that is to say, of exact observation, quick decision, and precise movement—was very high on both sides.

In these trying conditions Sir David Beatty had to move on, curling round the head of the German line and forcing it to turn also so as to reach his own place in the van and leave room for Sir John Jellicoe's main fleet to come into action behind him. About six o'clock he had cleared the head of the Germans. Twenty minutes later Rear-Admiral Hood, with the 3rd Battle-cruiser Squadron, appeared out of the mist on his port bow, and by his order ranged ahead of him. Rear-Admiral Hood pushed on so eagerly that he came within 8000 yards of the enemy and forced the leading ship to flinch away. But the success was dearly bought. A German shell struck Rear-Admiral Hood's flagship, the *Invincible* (Captain Arthur L. Cay), and exploded in the shaft up which the ammunition was served. The fire penetrated the powder-maga-

zine. It blew up, and the *Invincible* was literally torn in two. The fore part went down by the bow, the after part by the stern, and the broken middles remained projecting out of the water.

Sir David had come round to an east-south-east course to support the 3rd Squadron. The 5th Battle Squadron was still astern of him. The object was to force the enemy to bend westward so as to allow the British fleet to place itself between him and the land, and therefore close his line of retreat to the Heligoland Bight. As the movement developed, the courses of the two fleets came to approximate to concentric circles, the Germans inside and the British outside. But as the light continued to thicken till the enemy was not visible at more than 4 miles, and his van was lost to sight for a time altogether, what we may call the outer or British curve was not constructed without much feeling of the way and some breaches of continuity.

If the reader will place himself in imagination at the point round which the Germans were being compelled to turn about six o'clock, and will suppose himself to be looking to the east, he would have before him, though they would not be visible, these forces and these movements. Nearest him are the Germans. Their battle cruisers—reduced from five to three by losses suffered as Sir David put them in chancery—would come first, and behind them the battleships following them as they turned. If he could look over the Germans he would see in the distance beyond them and



opposite their leading ships the battle cruisers of Sir David Beatty—first the 3rd Squadron of three commanded by Rear-Admiral Hood, and then the four survivors of the six which had formed the 1st and 2nd Squadrons. Following them the 5th Battle Squadron would be in hot action with the German cruiser and the leading battleships of the enemy. Beyond Sir David and Rear-Admiral Evan-Thomas he would have before him the main British fleet with Sir John Jellicoe, preceded by the cruiser (not battle-cruiser) squadrons of Rear-Admirals Heath and Arbuthnot. Ahead, on either side, behind, between these hostile squadrons would swarm the light cruisers and destroyers of both sides, scouting, reporting, attacking or trying to attack, beating off or trying to beat off hostile assaults; and the whole not stopping for a moment, but all sweeping along in a huge whirl as the driving clouds and curtains of sea-mist fly before a circling hurricane.

It would seem like one wild scene of frantic disorderly agitation. Yet even in the apparent anarchy of a hurricane the clouds obey a law enforced by the wind. So all this multitude of racing ships would be obeying a law. The outer would be sweeping to embrace and crush the inner, the great ships on definite lines, and the small craft thrown out to whirl in lateral eddies. Narrative is doomed to be consecutive, but the events it records are often simultaneous, and unless we make the needful effort to keep that fact ever present to our minds the most honest effort to tell

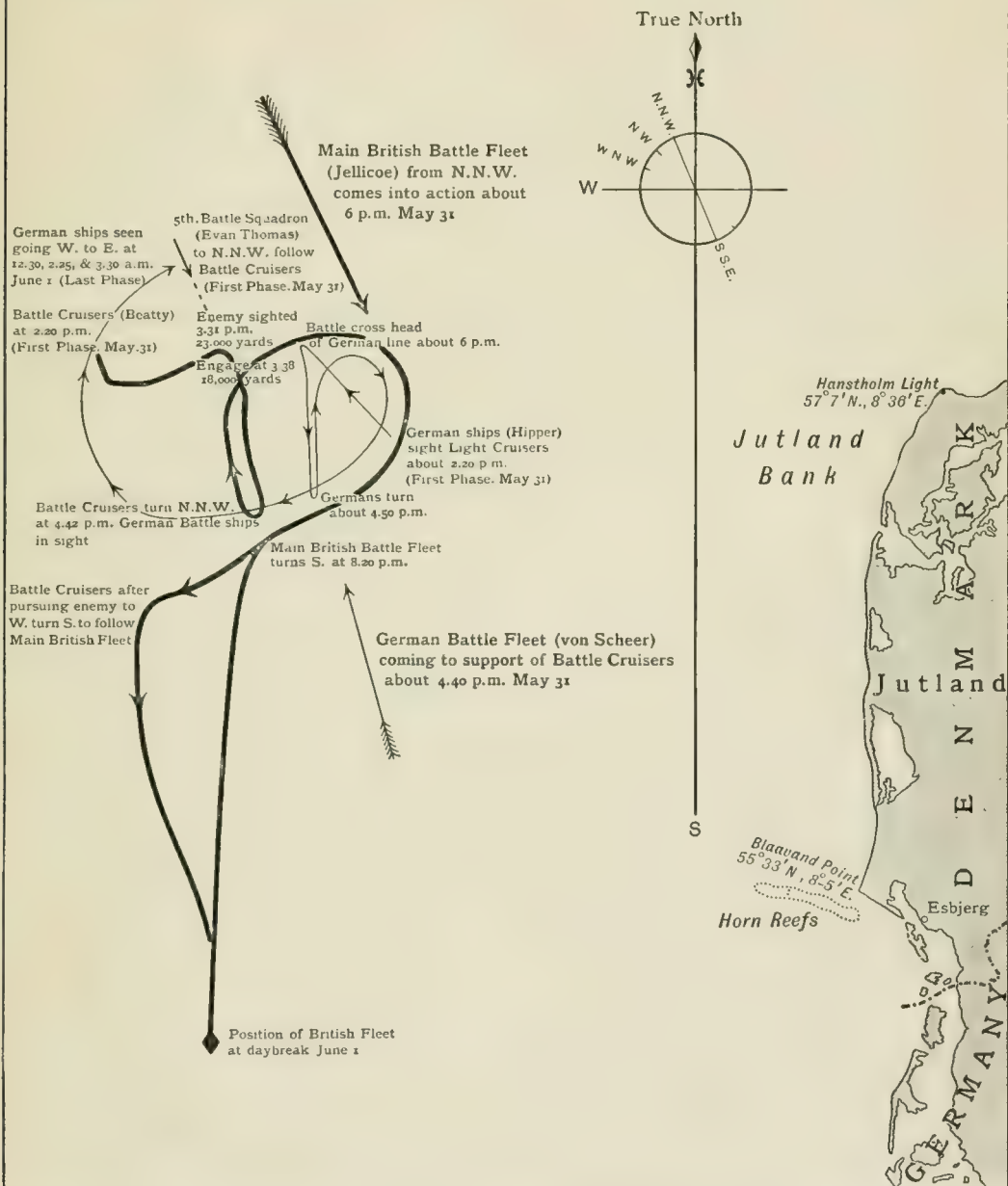
the truth must needs convey a false impression.

About and after six o'clock Sir John Jellicoe's immediate task was to bring the main fleet into battle behind the battle cruisers without causing a collision or some fatal error which would have drawn the fire of British ships on one another. The cruisers of Rear-Admirals Heath and Arbuthnot felt the way ahead of the main fleet. In the confusing obscurity of the mist they swept aside the light German craft, and then, whether carried too far by their own ardour or misled by limited vision, they came under the fire of German battleships. Rear-Admiral Arbuthnot perished in his flagship the *Defence*, and the *Warrior*, torn by a German salvo—one instantaneous smashing volley of great guns—was mortally wounded. The two drifted between the contending lines, the *Defence* sinking rapidly and the *Warrior* destined to sink after being painfully kept afloat for a time. The *Engadine*, having done her part of a carrier of sea-planes, helped to tow the dying ship for a space, and then to rescue her crew.

While the head of the German line was being forced to turn to the east before turning round to southward, and so to west, the battleships were coming up behind, still heading to north-east, till they also bore round to their right as they came in contact with the British fire. Sir John Jellicoe deployed his line into action soon after six.

The course to be taken in the deployment presented a problem of some difficulty. We have seen that

# The Battle of JUTLAND BANK May 31-June 1, 1916



Map showing the Approximate Positions of the British and German Fleets at Various Stages of the Battle

the battleships under Admiral Jellicoe's immediate direction were arranged in six divisions, moving parallel to one another, and placed from east to west. It had been calculated that the enemy would be found to the east, and the most powerful ships were put on that side when the fleet was going in cruising order. The ships could not make use of their guns while in this formation—except, of course, the leaders, which could fire ahead—without damaging one another. It was necessary to draw them into a line, one division behind the other, so that all would be free to use their guns. This could be done in one of two ways. Either the most easterly or left division would be ordered to lead and the rest fall in behind her, or the right—that is the westerly—division would lead and the others form the line behind it. When Sir John Jellicoe came within striking distance of the enemy he found his opponent to west and south of him. At a first glance it would seem that the most effective method would be to give the lead to the most westerly division, which was nearest the enemy. It could come into action at once.

But there was a serious defect in this method of deployment. If the 6th Division led, and the others fell in behind it, there would be an interval during which all the divisions to the east of it would be blanketed—that is to say, they would have friends between them and the enemy—and would not be able to use their guns. The 6th Division would probably have been exposed to a concentrated fire and open to submarine attack. It contained

some of the older ships, which had been placed there just because it was not relied on to meet the first brunt of the battle. And, as far as could be judged in the mist and dim light, the enemy would have an "overlap", or, in other words, the leading German ships would be beyond the point at which the 6th Division would come into action. Therefore they would be in a position to "cross the T", a term which means that they would pass across the line of advance of the other ships as they came up to take their station. And there was good reason to believe that the 6th Division would not be free to hold straight on, but must turn to the left—to port—to avoid collision. The result would probably have been a good deal of confusion. Admiral Jellicoe therefore decided to give the lead to the most easterly division. By so doing he incurred a certain delay, but he secured the advantage of bringing his whole fleet into action together.

Rear-Admiral Evan-Thomas, having seen the starboard wing of the main fleet on the port bow of his flagship was prepared to take station ahead of it. He concluded from what he could see that the 6th Division, which was on the starboard wing of the undeployed fleet, was to lead the whole into action. But observation immediately showed the task of leading was to fall to the 1st or Port Division, and that it would be necessary for him to take station at the rear of the line. He had to manœuvre, in order to take up his station, under a heavy fire from the German battleships. Throughout the whole action

till the last stage was reached the 5th Battle Squadron had more of the enemy's fire than any other. Now it came near to suffering a loss which would have been worse than any other incurred in the battle. The steering-gear of the *Warspite* jammed, and she, as the sea phrase has it, "took charge". Being out of control of her helm, she headed suddenly towards the enemy, and became for a few moments an easy target. Captain Edward M. Philpotts extricated her by skilful manœuvring.

At 6.17 the battle fleet began to come into action, led by the 1st Division (Vice-Admiral Sir M. Jeram). The other divisions had taken station according to their numerical order, counting from the 1st or Port Division to the 6th or Starboard Division. These changes of position and deployments were executed while the battle-cruiser squadrons were standing ahead. A gap was created between them and the battleships. Sir David Beatty ordered the 3rd Squadron to slacken speed and drop back to prolong the rear of the 1st and 2nd Squadrons. Thus the gap would be filled, and he would resume his place in the van, where he would be best able to press on the leading ships of the enemy, and also could best detect his course and report to the Commander-in-Chief.

Leaving the eddies of the storm aside for the moment, we can follow the main course of the fleets. The conflict of the main forces lasted from 6.17 to 8.20, and followed a course by south-east round to west. The ranges were from 9000 to 12,000 yards (5 to

7 miles roughly measured), and the fighting was always in the mist and was sometimes suspended from inability to see the enemy. Though the sun as it went down shone from below the clouds and threw the stronger light on the German ships, yet no more than three or four were visible together at one time in the van, and in the rear, from which they could be better seen, not more than eight or at the utmost twelve. At no time was the whole German line in sight. After 8.20 the enemy was totally lost to view. By this time the whole British fleet was to the east and south of the German, which had been forced out to sea westward and northward. Sir John Jellicoe had placed his superior force on the enemy's line of retreat. Sundown was at eight o'clock summer time on May 31. After that the diminishing twilight and the mist rendered it impossible to find the foe. At nine o'clock, so Sir John Jellicoe states in his dispatch:

"The enemy was entirely out of sight, and the threat of torpedo-boat destroyer attacks during the rapidly increasing darkness made it necessary for me to dispose the fleet for the night with a view to its safety from such attacks whilst providing for a renewal of action at daylight. I accordingly manœuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases, placing our flotillas in a position in which they would afford protection to the fleet from destroyer attack and at the same time be favourably situated for attacking the enemy's heavy ships."

The main fleet now turned to the south-west to keep on the enemy's line of retreat. Sir David Beatty was informed of the course. For the space



of half an hour or so he remained looking to the west and north for the enemy, who was lost to sight. Then he came on to the course of the main fleet. And now, having laid down the framework of the battle, we can turn back to six o'clock and look at the incidents in their respective places.

The account of the battle published by the German Government for the benefit of the public, and translated in the *Times* on July 3, states that Admiral von Scheer attacked a British force twice the size of his own fleet. The superiority in number of the British force, which was no doubt considerable, is here greatly exaggerated, and as for making an attack, he did, it is true, take the effectual way to bring on a battle when he followed the British battle cruisers to the north, but in the actual encounter the tactics of the German admiral were distinctly of the defensive order. In the first place he imitated the course followed by Admiral von Hipper during the first phase of the day's fighting. Thrice he launched his light cruisers and destroyers to assail the British line and cover his own. Sir John Jellicoe chivalrously acknowledges the gallantry with which these attacks were made. He mentions one German light cruiser as having earned the particular admiration of the British seamen as she passed along their line, crippled, battered, and sinking, but firing her one remaining gun to the last. Yet these destroyer and light-cruiser attacks were distinctly of the nature of charges made to cover a retreat. They were analogous to those

famous charges of cavalry which were made for the same motive in the old "manœuvre battles" of wars on land. That this was clearly the case is shown by the fact that the German destroyers were employed not only to attack the British line but to emit thick clouds of grey smoke which covered their own line from the sight of our gunners. Behind that screen the German battleships slipped away, "breaking distance" to confuse our aim, and edging off in retreat. The addition of the smoke to the mist greatly improved their chance of escape. Moreover, as the British ships were coming up to range themselves opposite the German van they were compelled to go towards the torpedoes launched by the German destroyers on their bow or from ahead. The leading British battle squadrons were naturally the most exposed. The *Marlborough* (Captain George P. Ross), the flagship of Sir Cecil Burney, was actually hit at 6.54 by a torpedo, and took a list to starboard; yet she resisted the shock, kept her place in the line, and maintained her fire at the enemy's battleships opposed to her. It was not until the day after the action that Sir Cecil transferred his flag to the *Revenge*, and the *Marlborough* was sent into port to repair damage. She beat off a submarine attack on the way home.

The conditions of the weather and the constant use of clouds of smoke as cover by the Germans were not favourable to gunnery. The Germans were at a disadvantage as the sun went down below the clouds and rendered them more visible—or less difficult to

see—than the British ships in the haze to the east of them. Their fire was not effective. On the other hand, some of them were seen to be damaged and set on fire, to be heeling over and drifting out of the line, by observers in the British ships.

We would naturally assume that in these conditions there would be more distinct evidence of loss suffered or inflicted among the vessels which were not kept in a fixed place in the line of battle—that is to say, the cruisers and torpedo craft—and this is what happened. The cruiser squadrons of Rear-Admiral Heath and Sir R. Arbuthnot (after his death in the *Defence*) supported Sir David Beatty, but could take comparatively little part in the remainder of the battles. Yet it was one of them, the *Black Prince* (Captain Thomas P. Bonham), which completed the sad list of the British losses. She perished in the dark, half an hour or a little more after sundown. Messages were received from her by wireless till after eight o'clock. At 8.40 a heavy shock was felt by the battle cruisers in the van. A prompt examination showed that it was not due to mine or collision with wreckage. What was felt was beyond all doubt the convulsion of the death-agony of the *Black Prince* as she perished in a huge explosion and in the dark.

Many gallant deeds were done which may for ever remain unrecorded. Of those seen and mentioned in the dispatches none was more worthy of the traditions of the British navy than the conduct of the *Onslow* destroyer (Lieutenant-Commander J.

C. Tovey). She was on the starboard bow of the *Lion*, in the very crisis of the whole battle, about six o'clock, and saw a German light cruiser at 6000 yards apparently about to make a torpedo attack. The *Onslow* assailed her, firing fifty-eight rounds, and closed to a convenient distance to launch her own torpedoes. When on the point of sending them out she was herself heavily struck by a shell amidships. Lieutenant-Commander Tovey, believing that his torpedoes were spoilt, was returning slowly, when he found that four were still intact. He fired them, and believed that they crossed the enemy's track. But the *Onslow* was crippled, and had to be towed out by the *Defender* (Lieutenant-Commander L. R. Palmer), which had herself already suffered severely by the enemy's fire. The *Defender* stuck to the *Onslow* and saved her—though the towing-rope parted twice—till she was relieved by tugs after midday on June 1. It was a fine feat performed in circumstances of the utmost peril, and is justly praised by Sir David Beatty.

In the last moments of the battle, when the enemy was slipping away to west and north-west, the cruisers of all classes were busy steaming and firing to head him. Then also they alternately saw him and lost sight of him. At 7.17 the battle cruisers sighted him to the north-north-west and engaged him. One of his ships was seen to be on fire, and one appeared to drop astern. Then the smoke-screen of his destroyers and the mist covered him, and he vanished.



Drawn by G. H. Davis

An Incident in the Battle of Jutland: all the batteries of H.M.S. *Invincible*—fourteen 12-in. guns—  
in action at once

Pursuit—for by now the battle was becoming a pursuit—was continued to the west, and at 8.20 the enemy was found again and re-engaged at 10,000 yards. The *Lion* headed the leading enemy, and saw him turn in flames and listing to port. The *Princess Royal* set fire to a four-funnelled battleship. The *New Zealand* (Captain John F. E. Greet) and the *Indomitable* saw the third in the enemy's line haul out flaming and heeling over at 8.35. Till 9.24 the pursuit was continued, and then the cruisers drew off in the dark and were put on the same southerly course as the main fleet.

The pursuit did not therefore cease. The destroyers, in the discharge of their double function of guards of our big ships and assailants of the enemy, followed him close. The 11th, 4th, and 12th Flotillas, under Commodore Hawkesley, Captains Charles J. Wintour, and Anselan J. B. Stirling, were closely engaged. The 4th Flotilla suffered severely, and Captain Wintour, who had brought his flotilla to a high state of order, perished in his ship, the *Tipperary*. Yet many torpedoes of ours were seen to take effect. The 12th Flotilla, commanded by Captain Anselan J. B. Stirling, made an admirable attack on six German battleships and some light cruisers, and damaged one of them. In a second attack, the *Mænad* (Commander John P. Campion) damaged another. While the flotillas were pressing on, the German light cruisers defended their battleships, and the *Onslaught* (Lieutenant-Commander Arthur G. Onslow, D.S.C.) was badly

mauled. She was brought home by Sub-Lieutenant Harry W. A. Hemmis and Midshipman Reginald G. Arnot, R.N.R., the only executive officers who were not disabled. In the 11th Flotilla the *Castor* (Commodore James R. P. Hawkesley) sank an enemy destroyer at point-blank range.

During all these final engagements the enemy was constantly found to the northward. Half an hour after midnight, Captain James V. Farie in the *Champion*, which was now astern and to the north of the British fleet, saw a big German passing at great speed from west to east across the British rear. At 2.35 p.m., June 1, the *Moresby* sighted four German battleships on the same course, and, supported by the *Obdurate*, fired torpedoes. An explosion was heard. At 3.30 a.m. the *Champion* was once more engaged with four German destroyers—and that was the last that was seen of the enemy.

Next day (June 1) the mist continued, and it was not possible to see for more than 3 miles. The British fleet had stood to the southward till it was to south and west of the Horn Reef. No enemy appeared, though he was eagerly sought for. At 4 a.m. a Zeppelin reconnoitred our position, and, though engaged, got off. The information it gave was no doubt of great service to the German admiral. By 9 a.m. the destroyers had been called in, and the fleet was reunited. The sea was searched from the Horn Reef to the scene of the action, and a few survivors floating on wreckage were picked up. But no enemy could



be found, and, seeing that the German admiral had succeeded in carrying his defeated and battered fleet off to Heligoland, Sir John Jellicoe returned to his base.

The conditions of weather and light in which the battle was fought rendered it extremely difficult at the time to speak with confidence of the loss inflicted on the enemy. Our own loss we knew, and it was not concealed—six cruisers and eight destroyers. It was a heavy list, and carried with it the loss of thousands of lives more valuable than the ships, because they could not be replaced. Yet the whole number was not such as to weaken the superiority of the British fleet, nor was the number of vessels lost greater than had been expected when well-trained fleets, making use of the terribly destructive weapons of modern naval warfare, should meet in battle.

As the Germans concealed the destruction of one of their best vessels, the battle cruiser *Lutzow*, for some time, they laid themselves open to the charge that they had falsified their returns of losses on a large scale. Further information gathered during the war, and at the end, when concealment was no longer possible, showed that their list, as finally confessed, was accurate. It was not long: one pre-Dreadnought battleship, the *Pommern*; one battle cruiser, the *Lutzow*; four light cruisers, the *Elbing*, *Wiesbaden*, *Rostock*, and *Frauenlob*; with five destroyers—eleven vessels in all—seemed on the face of it to amount to less than the damage they had inflicted on the

Grand Fleet. Yet the Germans were beaten all through. Not only were the ships which escaped so severely battered as to be in most cases unfit for service till they had been thoroughly repaired, but the spirit of the crews was broken. They were forced to acknowledge that they could not hope to encounter the Grand Fleet with any prospect of success. Henceforward the German battle fleet made no attempt to keep the sea. It was confined to port, except during the operations about Riga, in the Baltic. The discipline of the crews was ruined by idleness and disappointment. They sank into the state of discontent which, after isolated outbreaks of disorder, culminated in general mutiny at the end of the war.

The rewards earned during the battle by our own officers and men were granted with a promptitude and on a scale which compares well with the too often tardy and grudging lists of honour conferred for naval services in former times. Sir John Jellicoe's supplementary dispatch of recommendations, published in the *London Gazette* of September 15, 1916, covered several pages. However desirous we may be to record the names of all who were conspicuous where all alike did their duty, considerations of space compel a strict selection and a classification in general terms. It is to be observed, to begin with, that in not a few cases Sir John Jellicoe named one of his subordinates as deserving of special recognition, but not for a particular honour, because he had been recently decorated for previous services.

Sometimes officers are named for early promotion, which, again, though it is not a mark of honour to be worn, is put on record. Early promotion is more valuable in a way than decorations, for it improves the recipient's chance of reaching the highest ranks in his line. Another feature of the list which is to be specially noted is its

First-class, William Holigan, who "acted with great courage when a shell burst in the canteen flat of the ship in which he was serving, killing and wounding about twenty men. He was knocked down and scorched about the head, but immediately plugged leaking pipes which had been shot away." There are many such in-

stances, and the fact that they are mentioned shows how far we have improved on the practices of the time when, according to Sir William Napier, no ray of glory fell on the uncommissioned man. Shipwright Holigan lives to wear his conspicuous-gallantry medal. The devotion of John Travers Cornwall, "Boy, First-Class", of H.M.S. *Chester*, could be rewarded only by the high but posthumous honour of the Victoria Cross. He died



One of the German Losses in the Battle of Jutland: the pre-Dreadnought battleship *Pommern*

catholic character. To be mentioned in dispatches was a piece of good fortune which at one time could not be hoped for except by those who held commissions. Sir John Jellicoe's list includes the names of many petty officers and men.

One example may be selected as typical, and also because it brings before us, in a peculiarly vivid way, the conditions in which men work in a naval action. It is that of Shipwright,

two days after he was "mortally wounded early in the action", but "remained standing alone at a most exposed post, quietly awaiting orders until the end of the action, with the gun's crew dead and wounded all around him". Cornwall will be recorded for ever as a type and an example.

Names must for the reason given above be sparingly repeated, but who would pass over the Victoria Cross,

unhappily posthumous, granted to Major F. J. W. Harvey, Royal Marine Light Infantry who, after he had been mortally wounded, and in his last breath, saved his ship from destruction by giving the order to flood the magazine. Nor ought the third Victoria Cross, given to Commander Bingham, of the *Nestor*, for his gallant leading of his destroyers against the German battle-ships, to be omitted. He lived, though a prisoner of war, to enjoy his reward. A sad proportion of the honours was given to the dead, as in the case of the K.C.B. granted to the memory of Rear-Admiral Arbuthnot, who ranked high in the opinion of naval officers. The order of merit granted by the King to Sir John Jellicoe himself—afterwards created Viscount Jellicoe—was the first conferred for active service in war, and the Grand Cross of the Bath of Sir David Beatty had been amply earned. But once more it is not possible to record all, and selection easily becomes invidious.

Shortly after the battle, His Majesty paid a visit to the Grand Fleet and, in the following terms, addressed representatives of units on parade:—

“Sir John Jellicoe, officers and men of the Grand Fleet. You have waited for nearly two years with most exemplary patience for the opportunity of meeting and engaging the enemy’s fleet. I can well understand how trying has been this period and how great must have been the relief when you knew, on May 31, that the enemy had been sighted.

“Unfavourable weather conditions and approaching darkness prevented that complete result which you all expected, but you did all that was possible in the circumstances: you drove the enemy into his

harbours; and inflicted on him very severe losses, and you added another page to the glorious traditions of the British navy.

“You could not do more, and for your splendid work I thank you.”

On the conclusion of his visit, the King sent a further message of congratulation to the Commander-in-Chief



John Travers Cornwall, “Boy, First-Class”, of H.M.S. *Chester*, awarded the Posthumous Honour of the Victoria Cross

of the Grand Fleet, assuring all ranks and ratings “that the name of the British navy never stood higher in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen, whose pride and confidence are unabated”, and finally wishing them good luck and God speed.

When we close the chapter, it is not pedantic, nor inappropriate, to pause for a moment and ask ourselves: “What is the moral, or the lesson, of the Battle of Jutland?” It had many aspects, but there is one which is of predominant value. What have the events of the end of



May, 1916, to tell us as to the possibility of an invasion of Great Britain? The question is still not superfluous, if only because many among us feared from the beginning that the Germans would find some means of landing troops on our coast, and there are not a few who continue to believe that they might have inflicted this injury



Rear-Admiral Sir R. R. Arbuthnot, Bart., awarded the Posthumous Honour of the K.C.B.  
(From a photograph by Russell & Sons, Southsea)

upon us if they had managed their affairs better, and had shown more spirit.

Yet nothing is more clearly proved by the story we have endeavoured to tell than just this, that so long as the British fleet is kept at a sufficient level of strength no enemy can come oversea to disembark soldiers on our shore. From the day the war began till the date when the German fleet

went back to the Heligoland Bight, battered, broken in spirit, and content to have escaped, the Grand Fleet hung over it as a perpetual menace. It came to sea only to practise, keeping near its place of refuge. When circumstances, which were accidental, brought the battle on, our enemy made a gallant fight. His gunnery inspired respect. He saved himself from total destruction by clever manœuvring. But he utterly failed to shake our hold on the North Sea. He came out of the encounter with the conviction that he must never risk another. And if this was the end of a meeting when his force was collected at its maximum strength, and when he was not hampered by transports, what probability is there that an invader could rely even on escaping when he was so burdened?

The geographical position of the British Isles confers an immense advantage on its fleet—the power to act from the centre to the circumference. Evasion of our fleet is impossible for an invader. He could succeed only if he had such a superiority of power as made it possible for him to guard the invading force against British attack while it was on the way. All our own, perhaps too infrequent, operations against our enemy's coast, or that part of Belgium which his troops occupied, were amply covered by the Grand Fleet. Only if our naval forces were allowed to sink so low that an opponent could overshadow them by dominating strength on the water would an invasion of Great Britain be within the bounds of possibility. D. H.



## CHAPTER II

## THE BLOCKADE

The Attitude of the British Government—The Nature of Blockade—The Declaration of London—The Kinds of Contraband The Legitimate Trade of Neutrals—Organization of the Blockade—Lord Robert Cecil as Minister of Blockade, and the Committees—Foreign Associations—The Parcel Post—The Blockade at Sea—The 10th Cruiser Squadron—Visit and Search—The Destruction of the *Grief*—The *King Edward VII*—The *Audacious*.

ON December 14, 1916, Lord Robert Cecil, who held the office of Minister of Blockade, which had been expressly created to meet the calls of the Great War, told the House of Commons that "our procedure was purposely made as little burdensome to neutrals as possible". By these words Lord Robert indicated one, and not the least, of the difficulties with which the Ministry of which he was a member had to contend. Blockade is a form of siege. It is meant to isolate a country just as a town is cut off from all communication with the outside when it is surrounded by an army. But there are wide differences between the two kindred operations. The process of investing a fortified town on land is comparatively simple. The persons directly affected are not relatively numerous, and they belong to one of the belligerent nations, with the generally trifling exception of such neutrals as may happen to be in the beleaguered place at the time. But a blockade is highly complicated, for the obvious reason that it cannot be enforced without much interference with the freedom of third parties—that is to say, of neutrals. An overbearing belligerent might adopt a line of action so vexatious to those neutrals

that they would be provoked to take part in the war as his enemies: simply because his excesses were intolerable.

This case arose in the Great War; for the United States were driven to participate in the conflict by the insufferable brutality of the methods adopted by Germany in order to enforce the submarine blockade. During all the earlier stages of the struggle the delicate task imposed on the British Government was how to conduct the blockade so as to render it effective, and to abstain from exasperating neutrals to the point at which they might come to think that they would lose as much by remaining at peace as by making an armed opposition to the measures which Great Britain took to assert its rights.

When reviewing the history of a blockade we have to consider: Firstly, the rules by which it was governed; secondly, the administrative machinery by which those rules were applied; thirdly, the coercive measures by which they were enforced. From the outbreak of hostilities until March, 1915, the British Government considered that it was bound by the "Declaration of London" of 1909.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We cannot go at length into the antecedents, or deal with the full scope of the "Declaration" in this

This document committed the Government to respect two rules. One was that an enemy's goods were not to be captured in a neutral ship unless they were contraband of war; the other was that the blockade must be "effective". The question as to what constitutes "effective blockade" may be left aside till we reach the



Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade  
(From a photograph by Swaine)

subject of coercive measures. The rule as to contraband is not so simple as it may look on a mere mention of the term. We must remember that no definition of "contraband" has ever been universally, or even generally, accepted. Belligerents have always striven to extend, and neutrals to limit, the list of articles so called.

place. The reader who may wish to pursue the subject will find them well set out in *British Rights at Sea under the Declaration of London*, by Mr. F. R. Bray (P. S. King & Son), 1911.

VOL. IX.

Moreover, there are many kinds of goods which have ever been classed as of doubtful, or double, use: that is to say, they are employed in peaceful industry, but can be applied to military purposes. There has at all times been great difficulty in deciding when such things were, or were not, contraband. Attempts have been made to class all kinds of contraband by putting such things as are primarily or solely of value for warlike purposes under the head of "absolute" contraband, while allowing those of doubtful use to be carried by neutrals to a belligerent country, unless they were bound to a port of war, arsenal, dockyard, or garrison town, where they would be at once applied to the support of armed forces.

This classification, which never was very clear, became futile in an age of universal military service, when a whole nation was mobilized, and when science had found ways of turning wellnigh every kind of material to some warlike purpose. During the short period in which the British Government was limited by the Declaration of London, many things were carried into Germany through neutral countries, and then turned to the maintenance and equipment of armies.

Again, doubts may easily arise as to the final destination of cargoes borne by a neutral ship. An American vessel, for instance, might convey a cargo of cotton to Sweden which was not intended to be used by the Swedes, but to be passed on to Germany. This is what has been defined by international lawyers and diplo-

matists as "continuous voyage". The name has long been familiar, and the doctrine of "continuous voyage" has led to a good deal of international discussion. Strong naval belligerents have claimed, and enforced, the right to intercept cargoes, or parts of cargoes, carried in neutral ships to neutral ports, when there was reason to believe that their ultimate destination was an enemy country. The leading modern case, which is proper to be quoted here because it was made a precedent, was that of the Mexican town, Matamoros, at the mouth of the Rio Grande del Norte, on the Gulf of Mexico. The Rio Grande marks the frontiers of the republics. Matamoros was in normal circumstances an insignificant place. During the War of Secession (1861-5) it suddenly became an emporium of vast quantities of goods for which there was no market in Mexico itself. There was but one explanation of their presence at Matamoros. They were taken there to be transferred to the Confederate States. Therefore the Federal Government insisted on intercepting them, as being, in fact, infringements of the blockade of the Confederate coast.

The German Government gave Britain ample justification for denouncing the Declaration of London by its decision to apply the submarine blockade, which came into operation in February, 1915. On March 11 of that year the British Government did denounce the declaration, and reverted to the old rule by which all enemy goods could be taken out of a neutral ship. With

these facts to guide us, we can see what was the nature of the task to be performed after March, 1915. The British Government had to put an end to the foreign trade of Germany as far as it could. The qualification, "as far as it could", must not be overlooked. So long as no Allied naval forces were operating in the Baltic, it was impossible to suspend trade between Germany and the Scandinavian States. But this was the least part of the administrative side of the blockade. As we could not wish to drive neutral powers to desperation, it was incumbent on us to allow legitimate neutral commerce to follow its normal course. The Allies could not have prevented Holland, Denmark, Sweden, or Norway from receiving any quantity of such goods as might be passed on to Germany—cotton, for instance, or food, or tea, or coffee—without inflicting all the evils of war on them, and thereby, perhaps, driving them to side with the enemy, and also without giving just cause of offence to other neutrals, notably to the United States. It was therefore necessary to provide that they should still be free to receive their normal supplies, while taking precautions to prevent the transmission of those imports, or part of them, to Germany.

When the Declaration of London was set aside it became necessary to frame a new general instruction to the officials and officers entrusted with the duty of enforcing the blockade. A series of meetings was held by the Allies in Paris in June, 1916. The results of these deliberations were



embodied in the "Maritime Rights Order in Council" of July 6 of that year. By the terms of this order it was settled that the contraband character of all goods should be presumed if they were consigned to an enemy, or agent of an enemy; or to a person in territory occupied by an

A vessel laden with contraband goods to the extent of more than half her cargo, in weight, value, volume, or freight, was also made liable to capture.

The British Government, on which fell the burden of enforcing the blockade in the North Sea, where the principal, if not the only serious, difficulties were to be found, was not provided with the administrative machinery needed to deal with a situation unknown in peace. The defect could not be made good at once, nor except by successive adaptations. Several departments—the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, the Customs, and the Law Courts—were all called on to share in conducting the blockade. The need for a directing authority to establish co-operation among them made itself felt before the end of 1915. In February, 1916, Lord Robert Cecil, Foreign Under-Secretary, was appointed Minister of Blockade, to "co-ordinate the work of the various committees and departments" concerned, and Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley de Chair was named as his naval adviser. The chief branches of the organization of which Lord Robert was the head (putting aside for the moment the part of the whole work done at sea) were these:—<sup>1</sup>

When vessels were brought in for detailed examination, on suspicion that they were carrying contraband, their papers, manifests, bills of lading,



Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley de Chair, Naval Adviser to the Minister of Blockade  
(From a photograph by Russell, London)

enemy; or to one who was known to have forwarded goods to an enemy from neutral territory; or if the ship's papers did not show the real consignee, or the cargo was consigned to order. The principle of continuous voyage was applied to all vessels. A ship which carried contraband articles consigned to a neutral port, and had her papers in order, which afterwards visited a belligerent port, was made liable to capture on the next voyage.

<sup>1</sup> They are described at length in the "Report drawn up by the Committee on the Administration of the Order in Council of March, 1915" (1916).—Presented to Parliament, February, 1917. Cd. 8469.



and all other relevant documents were overhauled by the custom-house officials, except in the Downs, where the duty fell on the naval officers. In the case of ships bound to the west or south, away from Germany, an analysis of the papers was sent by telegram, or, when the hour of dispatch was late, by train, to the Foreign Office and the Board of Customs. When they were bound to the eastward, i.e. towards Germany, the analysis was sent always by telegram to the Foreign Office, the Board of Customs, and the War Trade Intelligence Department. The function of this department was to collect, arrange, and preserve information from all sources, to keep *dossiers* for particular ships and traders. The report made by it was laid before the Contraband Committee, which sat at the Foreign Office, when the cargo was eastward bound. The committee was composed of representatives of the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and the Board of Trade. When the destination of the ship was to the west, the reference was to the "Enemy Exports Committee", which was composed of representatives of the same departments, and also sat at the Foreign Office.

The Contraband Committee was presided over by Mr. Ernest Pollock, K.C., M.P. The chairman of the Enemy Export Committee was, first, Commander Leverton Harris, R.N.V.R., and then, after June, 1916, Sir Alfred Bateman, K.C.M.G. The function of these committees was to decide as to whether or not there was occasion to send the ship before a

prize court. If there were cause, she was sent to a port of discharge under direction of the Admiralty marshal. The choice of a port presented difficulties arising out of such considerations as the size of the ship, the greater or less amount of space available in the harbour, the supply of labour, and the proximity of markets. These matters were viewed by the "Admiralty Committee for the Diversion of Ships", which worked with the "Port and Transit Committee", which was appointed to deal with "all the difficulties and congestion arising at ports in the United Kingdom, and to regulate the work and traffic thereat". At the port of discharge the suspected cargo would come under the jurisdiction of the Prize Courts, and be dealt with by the legal officials.

It will be obvious that the duties of all these committees and departments were arduous. They were overcome by daily sittings, by making it a rule that the day's work must be finished in the day, and, not least, by good will to spare neutrals as much as possible. In earlier days, and before the organization had been fully shaped and had settled into its stride, there were inevitable delays. So there were at congested ports. But the Ministry of Blockade could claim that, as a rule, the decision on each ship's papers was taken by 3 p.m., and that only in very exceptional cases were they kept for more than twenty-four hours. During six months of 1916 only ten vessels were sent to a port of discharge, while many, which were not disputed, were allowed to pass unexamined.

So far we have seen only the direct administrative action of the British Government in its own territory. But the blockade net was thrown much farther.<sup>1</sup> The desire of the British Government to leave the utmost possible freedom to the lawful trade of neutrals—that is to say, all they exported to sell on their own behalf, and all they imported for their own use—was sincere. The difficulty in the way of making a distinction was obvious, but it was diminished by the action of neutrals who were guided by a regard for their own interests. All were not equally amenable to reason. But on the whole the neutrals most directly concerned did make it possible for the British Government to treat them with consideration. They, in fact, co-operated with the British blockade. The method chosen was the formation of associations, of which the best known was the Netherland Oversea Trust. The bodies represented the commerce of their respective countries. They undertook to prevent the re-export of goods consigned through them, and native purchasers who bought through them were required to give security that they would not re-export their purchases. They also promised to return such parts of cargoes as had been suspected. It will be seen at once that arrangements of this character could not be made without some friction. There were passages of somewhat tart diplomatic correspondence both with Sweden and the United States. But these dif-

ferences did not in any case go to extremes.

What may be called a sub-section of the general question of blockade arose out of the abuse of the parcels post by German agents. It had been decided at the Hague Conference of 1907 that correspondence was to be held inviolable in war when carried in neutral ships. But when this pious opinion was put to the test of war it was soon found that the parcels post could be made a very convenient cover for contraband. In one case, for instance, it was discovered that 1302 parcels directed to Hamburg contained 437.510 kilos of rubber. In another, 400 revolvers bound for Germany via Amsterdam were discovered in 69 parcels. The Germans themselves had no hesitation in treating the parcels post as a form of trade. When the *Prinz Eitel Friederich* took the French packet *Floride*, her commander handed 144 sacks of letters directed to South America to American authorities, but he kept the parcels on the ground that they were trade, and fair prize. Most German cruiser captains did not even respect the letters. The Allies decided that parcels were liable to be intercepted, examined, and confiscated when the contraband character of their contents was shown. It is surely superfluous to labour to prove how essentially such a blockade as this differed from the indiscriminate destruction of merchant ships, Allied or neutral, carried out by the Germans on the plea that, as they were prevented by the British fleet from taking prizes or vessels suspected of carrying contraband into port, no

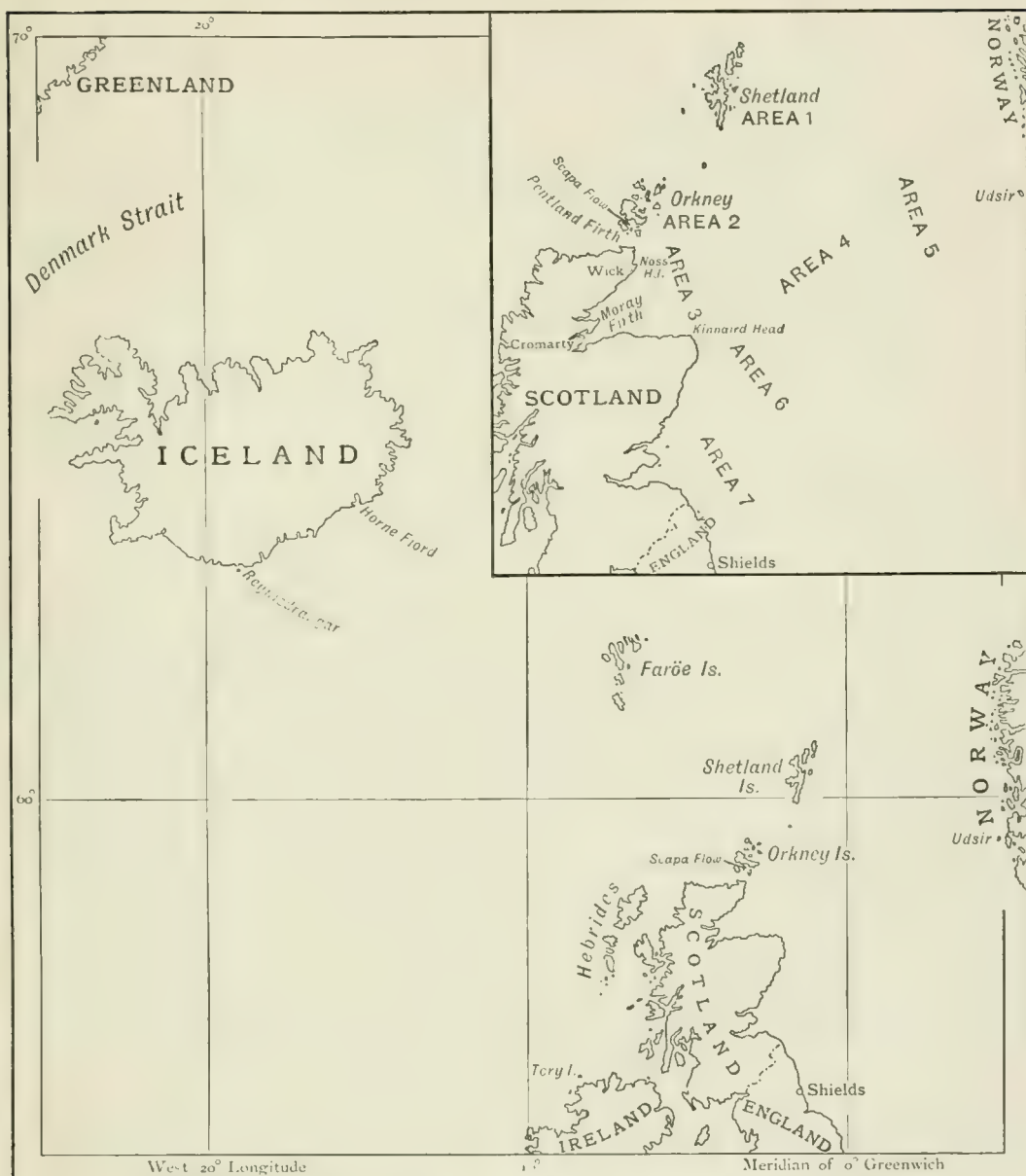
<sup>1</sup> Statement of Measures adopted to intercept the Seaborne Commerce of Germany. Cd. 8145.

other way of retaliating or of putting counter-pressure on the Allies was open to them.

However good the civic administration of a blockade may be, it can be made effective only on the water. We have to go on from ministers, departments, committees, and law courts, and look at the ships doing their work afloat. We understand, of course, that wherever an enemy had a coast it was subject to blockade. But few difficulties were to be encountered in the Adriatic or the Levant. The great and essential scene of operations was always the North Sea. Here the natural obstacles, the storms, the cold, the haze, were great. Here the German submarines were to be looked for. Our cruisers had to endure exposure and ever-threatening risk as they visited the eastward-bound ships on their way to Holland and the Scandinavian ports, or the outward-bound vessels which were going "north about" round Scotland or "south about" by the Channel.

The whole Grand Fleet was engaged in maintaining the blockade. The battle of May 31, 1916, was a part of it, since the fight was fought to drive the German North Sea Fleet, or as much of it as could escape destruction, back to port, and keep it shut in. But in the more limited sense in which we are using the word at this moment, then it meant these measures which were taken to intercept ships actually carrying supplies. This part of a general duty fell naturally to the cruisers. But many of them were primarily employed in covering the battleships and watching the enemy:

which also was blockade. The interception of supplies was carried out by them only incidentally. But the 10th Cruiser Squadron, commanded in the earlier part of the war by Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley de Chair, was immediately and expressly appointed to stop the carrying of contraband of war to Germany. It was formed to begin with by cruisers of the *Edgar* class, vessels of 7350 tons and 12,000 indicated horse-power, with deck armour of 5.1 inches and of 6 inches on the gun positions. They carried two 9.2-inch guns, a secondary armament of 12- and 3-pounders, were credited with a speed of 20 knots, and had four torpedo-tubes. But the *Edgars* were about twenty years old, and were found to be unequal to their task—even unseaworthy, at least for such work as they were set to do. The Admiralty from the first commissioned three armed merchant ships—the *Mantua*, *Alsatian*, and *Oceanic* (which was lost by shipwreck in September, 1914)—to co-operate with the men-of-war. In the November gales of 1914 the *Edgars* showed so many signs of weakness, while cruising between the Shetland and Farøe Islands, that they were first ordered in for thorough repair, and then discarded. The crews were utilized to commission armed merchant ships. Admiral de Chair hoisted his flag in the *Alsatian*, as commander of the armed merchant ships which now replaced the *Edgars* and henceforward formed the 10th Cruiser Squadron. The number of these vessels was raised to eighteen and then to twenty-four. They were based on Liverpool, where Rear-



Map showing the Scope of the Operations of the 10th Cruiser Squadron

Admiral H. H. Stileman was in command as senior naval officer.

We have first to see where they acted, and then how. The days when blockade could be maintained by stationing ships just off, and within

sight of, the port to be watched, are gone. Mines and submarines have made that simple method impossible. Therefore the 10th Cruiser Squadron had to lie farther off. Until the middle of 1915 it was stationed in detach-



ments from the north-west of the Hebrides up to the Farøe Islands, and round the north of the Shetlands to the territorial waters of Norway. Experience of the enterprise of the German submarines showed the necessity for putting the cordon farther back. Henceforward, therefore, the 10th Cruiser Squadron patrolled a belt of water defined by a line drawn from the north of the Orkneys to the east of Horne Fiord, in Iceland; and by another line from off Tory Island, on the north-west of Ireland, to Reynisdrangar, on the south coast of Iceland. In summer-time, when the seas are open, a detachment of the squadron was stationed in the Denmark Strait between Iceland and Greenland. All other squadrons would, of course, have their stations assigned them, which again would be modified according to the length of the days, the season, the particular object to be attained. Lord Jellicoe, in his history of the Grand Fleet, has told how the northern and central parts of the North Sea were divided into areas at the beginning of the war. We can take the scheme as giving, so to speak, the board on which the pieces were moved according to the state of the game.<sup>1</sup>

Area No. 1.—Covering the route round the north end of the Shetland Islands from the southward and eastward.

Area No. 2.—Covering the Fair Island Channel to south-eastward working down to the line Kinnaird Head-Udsire.

Area No. 3.—South-eastward from the north-east end of the Orkneys to latitude of Kinnaird Head, with a width of about

50 miles from the line Ross Head-Kinnaird Head.

Area No. 4.—South-eastward 120 miles from the line Kinnaird Head-Udsire Light-house between 70 and 140 miles from Kinnaird Head. (Udsire Island is on the south-west coast of Norway below Hardanger Fiord.)

Area No. 5.—South-eastward 120 miles from the line Kinnaird Head-Udsire Light-house between Area 4 and Norwegian territorial waters.

Area No. 6.—South-eastward 120 miles from the line Kinnaird Head-Udsire Light-house between 20 and 70 miles from Kinnaird Head.

Area No. 7.—Between lat. 55.20° N. and 57.30° N. and between 50 and 150 miles from the English coast.

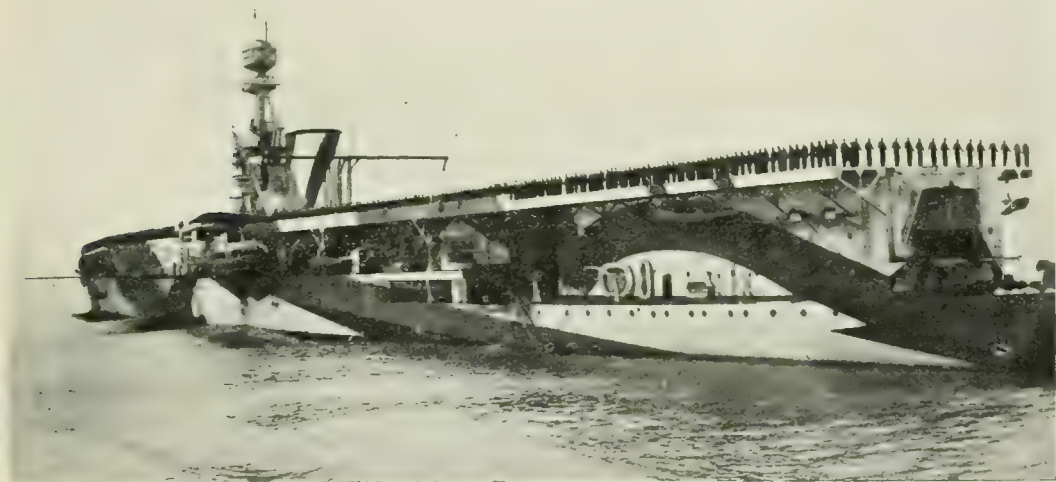
Steamships must renew their coal at frequent intervals; all ships must renew their water- and food-supplies; and, when subjected to the severe strain of cruising in the cold and stormy North Sea, need periodical relief. Therefore it could never happen that all the vessels forming a squadron were together on the cruising-ground at one time. From a third to a half were always either on their way to the base to coal and renew supplies, or in the base, or returning to their stations. The headquarters of the whole Grand Fleet were at Scapa Flow. There were subsidiary head-quarters in the Moray Firth, and in the long and narrow Cromarty Firth which opens out of it on the west, as also in the Firth of Forth at Rosyth. The waters on these coasts are not placid. They are moved by tides which have a great rise and fall, and run at the rate of 10 knots an hour. A vessel coming

<sup>1</sup> *The Grand Fleet, 1914-1916.* By Admiral Viscount Jellicoe. (Cassell, 1919.)

out from landlocked waters and meeting one of these tides may be turned round. When a tide is reinforced by the pressure of a gale on the surface—and especially a great storm from the north-west—then violent currents, or, as it were, rapid rivers, are found in the sea. A “race” is the English and a “raz” is the French name for one of these streams. The local word

eloquent on these perils than a torrent of rhetoric.<sup>1</sup>

During the month (February, 1915) the destroyer *Erne* was wrecked off Rattray Head on the Aberdeen coast and became a total loss; the *Goldfinch* went ashore in a fog in the north of the Orkneys, and was also lost; the *Sparrowhawk* also went ashore, but was got off, though considerably damaged. The armed merchant cruiser



New Craft and Camouflage in the Great War: the aerodrome-ship H.M.S. *Furious*

is a “roost”. Sumburgh Roost, which runs past Sumburgh Head, the most southerly point of the Shetlands, is so powerful that even a strong steamer cannot make way against its pressure. To handle a ship amid all these dangers, on rocky coasts, in thick weather, and in the dark long nights of winter, is a severe test of seamanship.

All the skill and spirit of the Grand Fleet could not always avail to avert disaster. One short paragraph from Lord Jellicoe’s history, with its unadorned statement of fact, is far more

*Clan McNaughton*, of the 10th Cruiser Squadron, was lost with all hands during the month, the supposition being that she foundered in one of the numerous heavy gales. Although a prolonged search was carried out, only a certain amount of wreckage was found. The loss of this ship and her efficient ship’s company brought once more into prominence the excellent work of the 10th Cruiser Squadron, and the risks to which the ships were exposed.

On this vast theatre, all the way from the Hebrides to the north-west

<sup>1</sup> *The Grand Fleet*, p. 200.

of Iceland, the 10th Cruiser Squadron was vigilantly watching for, and diligently examining, all comers. The vessels would be strung out at a distance of 20 miles from one another across the trade route. In fair weather nothing—or at the worst very little—could pass unseen. In thick weather, when it was impossible to see more than a mile or two, there could not be the same security; but as the squadron was enlarged to its full strength, and as practice made perfect, the number of passing vessels which eluded visit became small. In most cases a neutral visited at sea was found to have nothing about him to arouse suspicion. In that case he was allowed to continue his voyage. When there was reason to believe that contraband was being carried

in, or German produce was being carried out, then the vessel was sent into Lerwick or Kirkwall to be dealt with in the way already specified. Neutral Governments, including that of the United States, made some protest against our decision to send vessels into port to be searched. They alleged that they were subjected to needless loss and delay. There was, however, no alternative. Search at sea could be carried out when trade was conducted by small sailing vessels of 150 tons or less, and when there was no submarine menace; it had become impossible

when merchant ships measure thousands of tons, and are laden with proportionate cargoes of the most varied character.

Visit and search soon, as might be expected, became a trial of wits between the neutral who was trying to run contraband and the belligerent who was on the outlook to stop it. The officers and men of the 10th Squadron grew quick at detecting the



Cleared for Action: one of the battleships of the Grand Fleet in the North Sea

artful devices of the smuggler of contraband—his double bottoms, hollow masts stuffed with forbidden goods, and his packets of rubber or cotton which had been faked to look like something else. The “Muckle Flugga Hussars”, as the men of the 10th Squadron were nicknamed, from the headland in Uist, the most northerly of the Shetlands, included a large proportion of merchant seamen, whose experience must have been extremely useful.

The squadron was also lucky in that it included many men of the



Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve. For the pursuit of contraband was no mere sport. It entailed a great deal of boarding of ships in all weathers; which is dangerous work, and one for which the Newfoundlanders were well prepared, whereas the naval seamen have comparatively little practice in the handling of boats. Apart from this, too, there was a standing peril to be guarded against. What security could there be that the trader was not acting in collusion with a German submarine? While the cruiser was stopped to overhaul the merchant ship she became a target to the U-boat. Care, and ever more care, had to be taken to guard against this risk. The number of visits made varied widely, from, say, between thirty and forty to over a hundred and thirty in a week. The difference was due to variations in the conditions. In winter there was little daylight and much fog. Moreover, there were fewer ships coming and going. There can be no absolute security that some vessels carrying contraband did not slip through to the end. But what they brought in was a drop in the bucket of German needs. The enemy's outward trade was stopped, and the result of the war shows that his importations were so reduced that he was exhausted. Part of our success in wearing him down by exhaustion of supplies was due to those arrangements with neutral trusts of which we have already spoken. Part beyond all question was due to the paralysation of German agriculture and industry by the withdrawal of so high a proportion of its male population for military service. But the

trusts would not have been agreed to if the blockade at sea had not been so effective—and in that case Germany could have continued to draw supplies from abroad. The 10th Cruiser Squadron was the chief instrument of that blockade.

The squadron was not allowed to do its work unmolested. Submarine attack was at all times a possible danger, though it was diminished when the cruising-ground was drawn back towards the west. There was far less probability of interruption by German vessels acting on the surface. They had to pass the patrol in the North Sea itself. Yet even this was a possibility, as was well proved in February, 1916. Information "from neutral sources"—that is to say from spies—warned the Commander-in-Chief that an enemy vessel was about to make an attempt to pass into the North Sea—and through it—for the purpose of renewing the commerce-destroying operations of the *Möwe*. She might be designed to lay mines, but the example of the *Möwe* herself shows that the same vessel could do both. As not uncommonly happened, the report came rather late. The informant did not learn what was brewing till the vessel had started. It was a matter of course that she would begin her dash at dark, so as to make full use of the long February night to elude observation in the North Sea. The best chance for meeting her would be to watch for her on the route she must needs take—that is to say, north about by the Shetlands. If she was successful in escaping our cruisers in the North Sea, she would reach the



open waters beyond Shetland in daylight.

The blockade net was soon laid. The *Patia* and *Columbella* of the 10th Squadron, were ordered to patrol a line running north-east from beyond Shetland. The *Alcantara* and *Andes*, already in those waters on a special patrol, were warned. Two ships of the 1st Light-cruiser Squadron, and four destroyers, left Rosyth at 8 p.m., on February 28 to patrol between the Orkneys and the north point of Jutland. Early next day the *Comus* and *Calliope*, which were already out on patrol work, were sent north to watch. The *Blanche*, which also was already out, was sent on the same mission. The *Minotaur* and a destroyer took a position in the Fair Island Channel between Shetland and Orkney. Measures were also taken to guard against the possibility that the intruder on the blockade would lay mines on the approaches to the Pentland Firth. If the assailant was not to enjoy astounding good fortune he could hardly fail to be seen, and when seen his destruction was certain unless he proved to be very powerful indeed.

The German vessel which tried this adventure was the disguised raider *Greif*, another commerce-destroyer of the *Möwe* order.<sup>1</sup> She carried four 5.9-inch guns, and was fitted with two torpedo-tubes, and was not more than a match for one of the armed merchant ships of the 10th Squadron. If she failed to pass unseen her only chance was to take advantage of a surprise. And that is what she tried to do. The

manner of the attempt and the result show how dangerous it might well be to attempt to visit a seeming neutral.<sup>2</sup>

The *Greif* was sighted, at 8.55 a.m. on February 29, by the *Andes* (Captain G. B. Young, R.N.). Her character was guessed at from her movements, and Captain Young immediately spread the warning by wireless. The *Alcantara* was not in sight of the *Andes* at that time, but she sighted her at 9.10 a.m., and joined in the pursuit. At 9.15 she signalled to *Greif* to stop. The raider was showing Norwegian colours, and the Norwegian flag was painted on her side. It was necessary to verify her nationality before treating her as hostile. The signal had been made at a distance of 6000 yards. The *Greif* answered by signalling that she was the Norwegian S.S. *Reno* from Rio to Trondjhem. The *Greif's* captain did not, of course, suppose that this reply would be accepted. He knew that his ship would be visited and her real character detected at once. But he hoped to draw the *Alcantara* nearer, so that he could have a target close and very visible when he opened fire. He succeeded. It would be most inconvenient and a great waste of time to send a boat for such a distance as 6000 yards. Captain Wardle closed the *Greif* to a distance of 2500, and began to lower a boat. At that moment the *Greif* threw her

<sup>2</sup> Some reference has already been made, in Vol. V, Chapter XVII, to the action with the *Greif*; but the information available when that chapter was written was of necessity lacking in detail. Therefore we think it due to our readers to repeat the story by the light of the fuller knowledge provided by Lord Jellicoe's *Grand Fleet*. The observation applies to the ampler account given in this chapter to the loss of the *King Edward VII*, which has also been mentioned in the same chapter

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XVII, Vol. V, for the *Möwe*.

Norwegian colours and flagstaff overboard and hoisted German colours. Then she opened fire. Her captain had gained what he aimed at, namely, the advantage of delivering the first broadside at a distance, and in circumstances which were all in his favour.<sup>1</sup>

His ingenuity met with a certain measure of reward. His first shots cut all the communications in the

by a torpedo between the engine-rooms, which began to fill. By 10.15 the *Greif* was ablaze and stopped. Both ships were in fact destroyed in about half an hour. The crews took to the boats. Meanwhile, the signal of the *Andes* had brought up the cruisers at full speed. The *Comus* (Captain Alan G. Hotham) came up first. The *Munster* picked up the crew of the *Alcantara*, while the *Comus* sank the *Greif*, which was still afloat with her colours flying, though in a blaze. The *Calliope* and the *Magic* arrived at 1 p.m. Two hundred and nine of the German crew, of whom many were wounded, were saved. The British loss was 5 officers and 65 men.

The *Greif* shared the fate of the unsuccessful blockade-

breaker. And this exceptional incident illustrates the wonderful mobility of a well-appointed steam naval force. The cruisers named were all concentrated at the point where they were needed from longish distances and in a few hours.

Something has been said elsewhere<sup>2</sup> as to the effect which the activity of the German submarines had on the movements of the Grand Fleet, and the measures which had to be taken to protect its bases. How the mine played its part is well shown by the circumstances of the loss of the



H.M.S. *King Edward VII*, sunk by a mine on January 6, 1916

*Alcantara*, and Captain Wardle had great difficulty in passing his orders. But the *Greif's* fire was returned at once, and both vessels stood ahead hotly engaged. The *Andes* took part in the action at a greater distance. The result was such as to show that vessels not expressly built for war are utterly unfit to bear the strokes of modern weapons. The action began at 9.40. In less than twenty minutes the *Alcantara* was struck

<sup>1</sup> The action of the German captain as to the flag was technically correct. The fact that the Norwegian flag was painted on the side of his ship proved nothing. But his device was smart in the worst sense of the word.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1: "The Battle of Jutland".

*King Edward VII* and of the *Audacious*.

Captain Dohna Schlodien, of the *Möwe*, has told, in the account of his cruise which he published, how he laid mines in the approaches to Scapa Flow. He claims that one of them caused the British navy the loss of the *King Edward VII*. However that may be, there can be no doubt that this fine ship, one of the best of the pre-Dreadnoughts, did perish on a mine laid by some German vessel. It was comparatively easy to strew these explosives during the long dark nights of winter. Our own navy proved how effectually the work could be done when it mined the approaches to the Heligoland Bight, mostly in 1917. The Germans, who would naturally calculate that the eastern approaches to the Pentland Firth would be the more closely watched, used their submarines to lay mines on the western side of the islands. Men-of-war and merchant ships alike were to be found as much on one side as the other. The loss was a loss wherever it was incurred. The *Möwe* scattered mines widely between Cape Wrath and Strathie Point during the night of January 1 or 2. Her captain was materially helped by the fact, which he himself notes, that the lights on Cape Wrath and the Sule Skerry Island were indispensable to our necessary trade, and were therefore kept burning.

The *King Edward VII* left Scapa Flow for Belfast to refit on January 6, 1916, at 7 a.m. At 10 a.m., when she was in latitude 58.43° N., and longitude

4.12° W., she struck a mine, which exploded under the starboard engine-room. The supposition that the blow had been delivered by a submarine with a torpedo was natural. But Captain Maclachlan was convinced on second thoughts that the damage was done by a mine. No doubt remained, when German mines were washed ashore, that this was the case. The wound was mortal, and might have been so in any weather. As a heavy gale was blowing at the time, and the sea was rising, the explosion produced its full effect. The *King Edward VII* heeled over, and, labouring in the sea, began to fill. Wireless messages had summoned help. The *Kempenfelt* light cruiser, and her flotilla of destroyers, were at once sent to assist, together with the tug *Melita*. Attempts were made by the tug and the *Kempenfelt* to tow her, but she was beginning to lie low, and had become unmanageable. The cables parted, and, as she was heeling over more and more, Captain Maclachlan was compelled to recognize that she must be left. The ship's company was taken off without loss by the destroyers *Musketeer*, *Marne*, *Fortune*, and *Nessus*. They had to be brought alongside the sinking ship in a rough sea. Great skill in handling was called for, and it was shown. The *Musketeer* was badly damaged, but did her work. At 8.10 p.m. the *King Edward VII* turned over and sank—in sight of the tug and the *Nessus*, which stood by on the mere chance that it might be possible to save her.

The loss of the *King Edward VII*



revealed the danger for all traffic in those waters. It was true that a vessel might pass over the mine-field and touch nothing. The *Africa* had passed only a few hours before the loss. But the peril was there. It was necessary to divert all traffic and set the mine-sweepers at work from their anchorages between Strathie Point and Cape Wrath or Loch Eribol. For days they were unable to do anything against the storms which blew till the 21st. In the meantime the mere threat of the mines barred the way. The story of the loss of the *King Edward VII* illustrates the toil of the blockade with peculiar thoroughness. The submarine was bad. It was always a possible cause of disaster, and all men were on the look-out for its blows. Merchant shippers often reported having seen periscopes which turned out to be only fishermen's bladders. The mine was worse, for it could not be seen at all. But the most constant pressure, that which was heavy in itself and aggravated all other perils, came from the thick weather, the storms, the tides, and the rocky coast.

The fate of the *Audacious* was made the subject of so much talk—and, one must add, so much useless muttering—that it stands rather apart. This large new battleship, completed in 1913, of 23,000 tons, carrying ten 13-inch guns, struck on a mine while the 2nd Battle Squadron, to which she belonged, was engaged in preparing for practice on October 27, 1914. She was in the act of turning. The explosion

flooded the port engine-room, and partially flooded the centre room. A submarine had been sighted by the *Monarch* earlier in the day, and there was a suspicion that the injury had been inflicted by a torpedo. The other ships of the squadron were kept clear of her. All destroyers, tugs, trawlers, and small craft at hand were at once sent out from Lough Swilly and Loch-na-Keal (for the fleet was then on the north coast of Ireland) to aid her. The collier *Thornhill*, laden with towing-hawsers, was sent under protection of the armed boarding-steamer *Cambria*, and the hospital ship *Soudan*, to help if she sank or men were wounded. It was a peculiar circumstance in this misfortune that the S.S. *Olympic*, on her way from the United States, was a witness. Captain Haddock, of the *Olympic*, gave his assistance to tow the injured ship in. But on this occasion also a heavy sea was running, and the hawsers parted. Captain Dampier, of the *Audacious*, aided by Sir Lewis Bayly, of the 1st Battle Squadron, who volunteered his assistance, together with a few officers and men, remained with her while any hope survived that she could be saved. They were taken off at 7.15, when it was becoming clear that she was sinking by the stern. Her end is still, and probably always will be, unexplained. She blew up at 9 p.m. with great violence and sank. No lives were lost—thanks to the prompt help given and the good management of all concerned.

The attempt which was made to conceal the loss of the *Audacious* was





The Loss of H.M.S. *Audacious*: rescuing the crew before the battleship sank

wellnigh as mysterious, for the facts were known to the passengers in the S.S. *Olympic*, who could not be kept from talking. In a very short time

the fate of the ship was public property in every country in the world—except that to which she belonged.

D. H.

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## CHAPTER III

THE MYSTERY SHIPS AND THE CLOSING OF  
ZEEBRUGGE AND OSTEND

Two Ways with Submarines—The Mystery Ships or "Q" Boats—The Method The *Farnborough*—The *Dunraven*—Zeebrugge and Ostend—The Nature of the Operation—The Objective—German Defences—Character of the Points to be attacked—The Choice of Men and Ships—The Training—Needful Conditions—Composition of the Attacking Force—First Attack on Ostend—The Main Attack on Zeebrugge—The Mole and Viaduct—Respective Shares of the *Vindictive*, *Daffodil*, *Iris II*, the Submarines, and Blocking Ships—The Preparatory Bombardment—Clearing the Way—The Fight on the Mole—The Breaking of the Viaduct—The Closing of the Canal—Second Attack on Ostend—The Port—The Immolation of the *Vindictive*.

WE have had much to say of submarines in dealing with the naval side of the war; and this has been inevitable. These craft possess powers the use and the abuse of which constituted what proved newest and most effective in the struggle on and under the sea. When we stand far enough off from our subject to be able to survey it as a whole, we see clearly certain things which, when events have made us wise, convey a reproach. We ought to have foreseen them. The sinking of the three cruisers in September, 1914, came as a surprise. It ought, so we now feel, not to have been one. Sir John Jellicoe, as he then was, had given warning after manœuvres, and Sir Percy Scott had raised the alarm in the *Times* on the very eve of the war. Old and glorious traditions coming down from ages when war was confined to the surface of the sea pre-occupied us, pardonably it may be, but to our hurt. And when the disastrous fate of the *Cressys* had shocked our confidence, still we did not realize how right Sir Percy Scott

had been when he predicted the use which would be made of the submarine as an instrument for the destruction of commerce. We made the proper answer in the end, but tentatively, and not with speed.

For the moment we will put aside consideration of some of the measures we took. The vigilant watch kept by surface ships, the netting of passages and ports, convoy for our trade, have not been neglected in previous chapters. In this we will deal with two aspects of our defensive policy. They were of very different degrees of dignity and efficacy. One, the use of disguised armed ships to overreach the submarine, was in reality little better than a measure of evasion. The other was the far more effectual method of the destruction of the ports from which the enemy sailed.

The method of evasion might be practised, pure and simple, by merely painting ships so as to make them more difficult to see. It was a rather poor device, and could be useful only while it was new. The enemy soon found out what was being done, and

was no longer to be misled. Another and more ingenious way to "best" the submarine was the employment of the so-called "Q" boats. To take a vessel built for trade, to arm her with a concealed battery, to put a crew of trained men into her, then to behave so as to mislead the submarine commander into the belief that he had before him a helpless trader, and finally to destroy the commerce-destroyer, that it was to be a "Q" boat. The device of using disguised ships to deceive is an old one. Sir Charles Wager, early in the eighteenth century, availed himself of it, quite legitimately, to entrap the pirates on the coast of Africa. Privateers did the same, not so legitimately, and it was turned to the most wicked purpose by slavers and for piracy. The end in these cases justifies the means; to disguise for an honourable purpose is praiseworthy, but not when the end to be reached is in itself base. In the warfare against the ruthless German submarines it was as fair as when it was practised by Sir Charles Wager.

How far it succeeded is another question. Lieutenant-Commander Harold Auten, V.C., R.N.R., who has every right to be heard as an authority, states a fact that must arouse doubts:—<sup>1</sup>

"Several 'Q' boats were lost in 1917 with all hands. In March, 1918 the majority of the converted sloops were paid off from the service, their disguises removed, and classed as patrol vessels, while only a few of the smaller merchant

'Q' vessels were left to carry on the work. Their mission at this period of the war was extremely dangerous; the Hun knew all about them, he knew what he had to expect, and it required a great deal of practice, training, and organization to sink a submarine."

Yet this work, full of adventure, and calling for displays of nerve and ingenuity, gave an opening for some fine feats of gallant men. Two incidents in the career of Captain Gordon Campbell, who won the V.C. in "Q"-boat work, will serve to show the nature of the service. In September, 1915, he was appointed to command an old tramp steamer, the *Lodorer*, renamed the *Farnborough*, a vessel of 2050 tons. She was armed with five 12-pounders and two



The Disguise of a "Mystery Ship" Commander: Lieutenant-Commander Harold Auten, V.C., D.S.O., mounting a hidden hatchway to the bridge

<sup>1</sup> "Q"-Boat Adventures. The exploits of the famous mystery ships, by a "Q" boat commander. Lieutenant-Commander Harold Auten, V.C., R.N.R. (1919.)





Commander Gordon Campbell, V.C., D.S.O., commanding the "Mystery ship" *Dunraven*  
(From a photograph by Russell & Sons, Southsea)

6-pounders, which were fitted low down, so that they could be kept hidden till the screens were cast off, and fire could be opened whenever a submarine was well within range. To bring the enemy to expose himself was the essential condition of success. It was therefore an indispensable precaution that no member of the crew should wear uniform. When the vessel was fired at, or even when she was struck by a torpedo, a part of the crew, who had rehearsed the performance, pretended to lower a boat and leave her in a panic. The remainder hid themselves below. When the submarine drew near, to verify the name and tonnage, the disguise of the guns was thrown aside, and she was fired on. It will be seen at once that, even when the ruse succeeded,

the "Q" ship might very well not survive her triumph.

While the *Farnborough* was cruising to the south-west of Ireland a torpedo was seen—or rather its track was seen—to cross her bow. The crew were summoned to quarters, and the play was performed with every appearance of sincerity. The German commander, who can have had no suspicion as to the character of the *Farnborough*, rose to the surface, and bore down on her. So soon as the assailant had reached the point at which Captain Campbell knew that he could be fired on with effect, the disguise was thrown aside and the German was rapidly sunk. In this case the process was complete. But it was not long before the enemy began to suspect what was prepared for him. He grew more cautious, and he also became more disposed than ever to sink at sight with the torpedo, and without showing himself on the surface. The game, which was always dangerous, now became perilous in the extreme.

How hazardous it was can be seen from the action in which Captain Campbell justly won his V.C. He was then in command of the *Dunraven*, and was crossing the Bay of Biscay. His ship was largely filled by timber—to make her more buoyant in case she was torpedoed—and therefore was more liable to burn. At 11 a.m. a submarine was sighted on the horizon. It submerged, then rose to the surface at a distance of 5000 yards, and opened fire. Answer was made with the one small gun which the *Dunraven* carried astern. She was struck aft, and set ablaze. Everything was



done to augment the volume of smoke, and the enemy was tempted to come on. A panic party left the ship, and when the confident submarine had come close up, the concealed guns were uncovered and fire was opened. The *Dunraven* was blazing, and was red hot. The discharge did not cripple the enemy, who dived. It was rightly calculated that he would discharge a torpedo. Captain Campbell sent out a wireless message to all ships not to approach to within 30 miles of his position, and waited for the torpedo. It came in about twenty minutes, and the *Dunraven* was hit on the engine room. A second panic party left the ship. But Captain Campbell and the gun's crew remained in circumstances of the greatest danger, and in pain from the heat of the ship. He hoped that the German would show again. The submarine did rise once more, but though two torpedoes were launched at him neither struck. The enemy made off. Captain Campbell then appealed by wireless for help. It came, and the crew of the *Dunraven* was rescued. Nothing could have been finer than the conduct of Captain Campbell and his men. But it will be seen that the result of the encounter was that the *Dunraven* was lost, and that the German commander must have gone off with the assurance that he had destroyed a "Q" ship.<sup>1</sup>

By the beginning of 1918 the Admiralty had come to the conclusion that the services rendered by the



A "Mystery ship" Torpedoed: a "panic party" preparing to abandon ship while the hidden gunners stood to their guns

"Q" boats did not compensate their cost, or justify the exposure of valuable officers and men to extreme risks. It now, rather late in the day, decided that the most effectual of all ways to stop the submarines was to destroy the ports from which they started. Zeebrugge and Ostend were the bases of those of the enemy's destroyers and U boats which were most dangerous in the North Sea and the Channel. A scheme for closing both was drawn up by Sir Roger Keyes, with the support of Sir John Jellicoe, who became First Sea Lord in November, 1916. Sir Roger, who was then the Director of the Plans Division, was very properly entrusted

<sup>1</sup> For a much fuller account of these vessels, their achievements, and their fates than can be given here, the reader may be referred to Lieutenant-Commander Auten's most manly and readable book.

with the task of applying his own ideas.

In his dispatch of May 9, 1918, in which Sir Roger Keyes gives his official account of the attacks on Zeebrugge and Ostend during the night of April 22-23 of that year, he says: "Success would have been impossible without the eager and generous co-operation of the Grand Fleet, the neighbouring commands and dock-yards, and the Harwich force". We must bear these words in mind, and give them the widest significance, if we wish to understand the true meaning of this, the most brilliant single operation of the naval war. It was a feat such as could have been carried out only by a fleet which possessed the unchallenged command of the sea. Naval attacks on our enemy's ports

are not possible, or they cannot, at least, be attempted without extreme rashness, save when the assailant is well secured against interruption from the sea. It was because they were so covered that the gallant officers and men under the command of Sir Roger Keyes were free to perform an act of daring not surpassed by any even in the history of the British navy. Sir Roger notes, when he comes to describe the action, that "The Harwich forces, under Rear-Admiral Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt, K.C.B., D.S.O., was posted to cover the operation and prevent interference from the northward, which relieved me of all concern on that score". That the Grand Fleet contributed a body of picked officers and men to Admiral Keyes' command was the least part of its share in the achievement. It covered Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt, and thereby rendered the attack a safe undertaking. At no time in the whole course of the war could the Germans have tried to do on our coast what the navy did at Zeebrugge without incurring certain destruction. To appear for a few minutes off Yarmouth or some other port, fire a few score shells, and run was within their power; but to carry out a regular assault, pushed home during hours, was not within their reach.

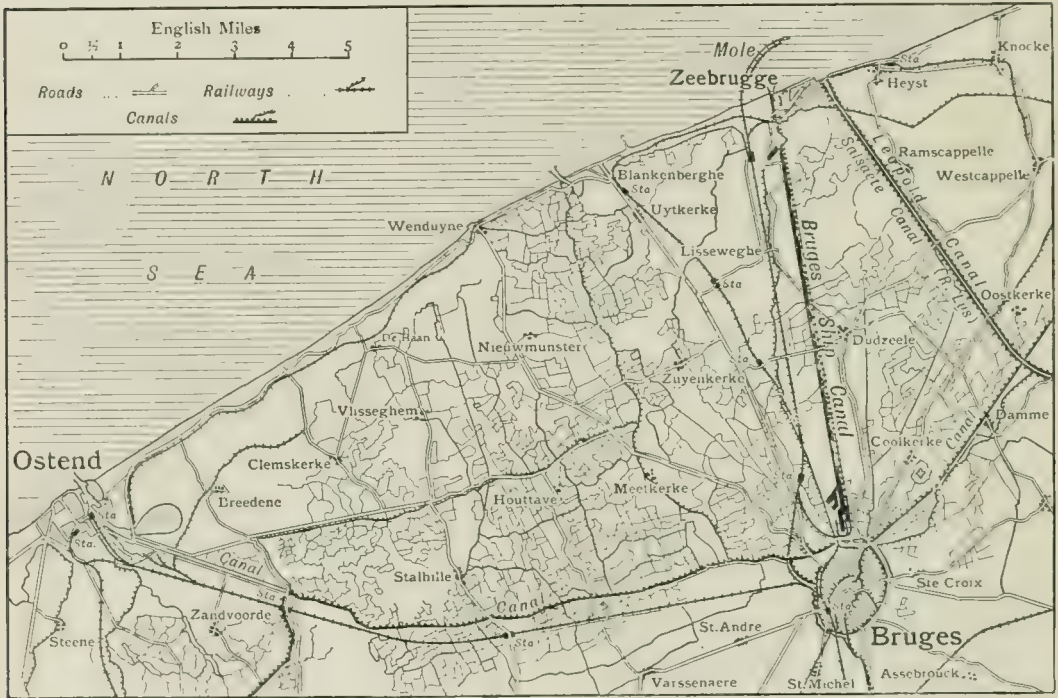
As far back as 1915 Sir John Jellicoe (as he then was), supported by Sir Lewis Bayly, had seen the advantage to be obtained by a well-executed and thoroughly-carried-out raid on Zeebrugge. He had begun the needful preparations during his tenure of office at the Admiralty.



Vice-Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, K.C.B., who planned and superintended the attacks on Zeebrugge and Ostend (From a photograph by Russell, London)

The feat was one of which it may be said, in the words of General Monk, that "if it had not been done on the nick it would not have been done at all". And in this case "the nick" had to be prepared for, and carefully chosen. Certain conditions were indispensable. The tide must suit, the

been in possession of the Belgian coast from a little to the west of Ostend as far as the Dutch frontier to the north-east. They had hoped to reach as far as Calais. If they had prospered to their desire they would not only have been able to stop all traffic through the Straits of Dover,



Map showing the Canal System connecting Zeebrugge and Ostend with Bruges

weather must be calm, and there must be no fog. A calm sea and a clear sky were not enough unless they coincided with a tide at flood. On two occasions before the night of the 22nd the British force was ready to start, but was baulked because the three favourable conditions failed to combine.

We must begin by showing what it was that was to be attacked, and why. Since 1914 the Germans had

but could have rendered all transport of troops and stores across Channel if not impossible, at any rate much more dangerous. Even the part of the coast which they were able to hold served them as a base of extreme value for destroyer and submarine enterprises. Bruges was their headquarters and dock. It lies inland, but being connected by small canals with Ostend directly to the west, and by a ship canal 8 miles long to Zee-



brugge, to the north-west, was a convenient starting-place for such craft as could be used in this kind of naval warfare. The 12 miles of coast which forms the base of the triangle with Bruges at the apex had been heavily fortified by them with over 225 guns. Of these guns 136 were of from 6-inch to 15-inch calibre—and the great pieces had a range of 42,000

an operation must be, and how uncertain of full success. But it was not necessary to beat down the German defensive line on the coast. Enough would be done if the two exits from the canals, Ostend and Zeebrugge, could be closed. If this could be done by sudden blows, and by surprise, the German Head-quarters at Bruges would be effectually shut in. The

COMPOSITION OF THE ZEEBRUGGE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

From	Monitors	Light Cruisers.	Leaders.	T.B.D.'s, <sup>1</sup>	M.L.'s, <sup>2</sup>	C.M.B.'s, <sup>3</sup>	Picket-boats.	Parent Ships, &c.	Blocking-ships.	Submarines	Mine-sweepers.	Auxiliary Craft.	Besides those belonging to Ships in Preceding Columns.	
													Officers	Men.
Grand Fleet (exclusive of Royal Marines) ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27	365
Hawwich Force -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Covering squadron ... ..	—	7	2	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
For operations... ..	—	—	1	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dover Patrol ... ..	8	1	4	17	36	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Portsmouth ... ..	—	—	—	—	10	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
The Nore... ..	—	—	—	—	12	—	1	1	4	—	—	1	9	41
Plymouth... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	467
Royal Australian Navy ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	8
French Navy ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	10
Dover experimental base ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Royal Marine Artillery ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	87
Royal Marine Light Infantry ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	58
... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	660
Total ... ..	8	8	7	45	62	24	1	3	5	2	1	2	82	1698

<sup>1</sup> Torpedo boat destroyers.

<sup>2</sup> Motor launches.

<sup>3</sup> Coastal motor-boat.

yards—about 24 miles. Thirty-five German torpedo-craft, or perhaps a few more, and about thirty submarines were based on Bruges.

A daylight attack on such a position so fortified, would have been a great undertaking. The attempt to break down these defences by the exercise of power only would have entailed the employment of a large number of big ships and of a whole army to be used as a landing-force. Experience at Gallipoli had shown how costly such

work could be done by a comparatively small force, and one adapted to manœuvre on the shallow coast of Belgium, which is fringed by banks full of "sands and lows", and therefore very ill adapted for the movements of large numbers of big ships. Both Ostend and Zeebrugge are exposed to a direct blow. They are artificial ports, created on a line of coast by the construction of moles and piers. They have no natural defences such as cover Falmouth, Plymouth, or



Portsmouth. But though a destructive stroke at them was possible, it was not easy, and was not to be undertaken except by well-trained men, and carefully-selected vessels. Months of preparation were required before all was ready. The (p. 55) table included by Sir Roger Keyes in his dispatch will show at a glance how the expeditionary force was finally composed.

These dry official figures call for some explanation. The blocking ships—five in number—were meant to be used as a species of projectile, to be taken into the enemy's harbours, and sunk, so as to block his exit. The other vessels employed were there for the purpose of conducting the blocking ships to the places where they were to be sunk, covering them on the way, and bringing off the crews entrusted with the most dangerous task of putting them in position. Both harbours are tidal, only to be entered on the flood, and are by nature shallow. It was obviously desirable to make use of vessels peculiarly adapted to navigate in these conditions, if only that they might aid others which were less well adapted to the circumstances. Two craft were chosen, after close inquiry, by Captain Herbert C. J. Grant (retired), who was entrusted with the search. They were the Liverpool ferry-steamers, *Iris* (listed as *Iris II* in the navy, which already included a vessel of that name) and the *Daffodil*. They were of light draft, handy, and could carry as many as 1500 passengers at a time. More will be said of the classes of vessels engaged when we come to the actual operations.

The selection, and training, of the officers and men was of even more importance than the choice of the ships. All the officers and men of the navy may be implicitly trusted to do their duty whole-heartedly, but the fitness cannot always be so complete as the will is good. For an enterprise which was of the nature of a forlorn hope it was not enough that men should be ready to volunteer. They must be endowed with the qualities not only of character, but of temperament and physical capacity, which would be needed. They must be picked men, chosen by commanders familiar with them. The list given above shows that of the 1780 of all ranks in the "forlorn hope" of "commanded men" (if we may revive a rather obsolete military term) nearly a fourth came from the Grand Fleet and more than a third from the Marine Light Infantry. The Nore, which has ever been a species of general reserve for the sea-going ships in our naval wars, contributed 476—rather more than the Grand Fleet. It is to be understood that these 1780 were in addition to the crews of the vessels chosen, who shared the duties and the risks.

As the work to be done was of an exceptional character, there was a visible necessity for giving a special course of training. The period of instruction began in February and grew in intensity after April 4. The place was the West Swin Anchorage in the Thames estuary. The S.S. *Hindustan*, reinforced later by the *Dominion*, provided quarters. While officers and men were practising and

testing material there was a widespread work of supervision and preparation to be done by the authorities around and above. Sir Roger Keyes, in his dispatch of May 9, gives a long list of officers who co-operated with him.<sup>1</sup> One of these coadjutors must be specially named here—Wing-Commander F. A. Brock. The attack must needs be covered by a smoke-screen, but as it was to be made by night the usual method of raising the smoke would not serve. It caused a great glow of flame, which did no harm by day, but would have betrayed what the screen was meant to conceal in the darkness. Wing-Commander Brock, with sixty chosen men to help him, went to work in the dockyard to solve the problem of how to make smoke without showing fire, and solved it.

Time, tide, and weather were all favourable on April 22, and the blow was struck. The operation required that the way should be clear, and the Germans as far as might be taken by surprise. One of the ways of covering the attack may at the first glance look strange. It was to employ monitors in bombarding Zeebrugge for a space before the assault was made. On the face of it this would seem to have been an effectual way of putting the enemy on his guard. But these bombardments had been common, and the enemy was accustomed to them. When, therefore, one began towards midnight on April 22, he might fairly be expected to come to the conclusion

that nothing more than a usual experience was in progress. It is clear that he was wholly unprepared for the kind of attack about to be made on him. The amount of that force, and its opposition at the moment of the start, are set out in Sir Roger Keyes's dispatch.

The old cruiser, *Vindictive*, the *Iris II*, and *Daffodil*, with the *Thetis*, *Intrepid*, and *Iphigenia*, blocking-ships intended to be used at Zeebrugge, and the *Sirius* and *Brilliant*, which were to serve the same purpose in Ostend, were in the Swin. A blocking-ship was simply a vessel of antiquated model and no particular value, which was to be sunk, and so used up in performing its service. It was filled with weights. A full steam crew was assigned to it, for its engines were, of course, to drive it to be placed where it was to be sunk. But when it was close in, then the superfluous hands were withdrawn, and only the picked few who were to put it in position were to be left. The function of the *Vindictive*, *Iris II*, and *Daffodil* was to act as a shield to the blocking-ships in Zeebrugge, by assaulting the mole while they were being taken in.

The second division was at Dover when Sir Roger Keyes had his flag in the destroyer *Warwick*. There were with him twelve other destroyers, organized in "units":—

- Unit L: *Phæbe* and *North Star*.
- „ M: *Trident* and *Mansfield*.
- „ F: *Whirlwind* and *Myngs*.
- „ R: *Velox*, *Morris*, *Moorsoom*, and *Melpomene*.
- „ X: *Tempest* and *Tetrarch*.

<sup>1</sup> Supplement, *London Gazette*, No. 31189, reprinted in Mr. C. Sanford Terry's *Ostend and Zeebrugge*.

The submarines C 1 and C 3, which were to be sacrificed to destroy the Zeebrugge viaduct, were also at Dover, together with the picket-boats which were to take off their crews, and the mine-sweeper, *Lingfield*, which was to take off the superfluous steaming-parties from the blocking-ships. To these are to be added 18 coastal motor-boats and 33 motor-launches. The monitors, *Erebus* and *Terror*, which were to bombard, were with Sir Roger Keyes' flag when the start was made. So were the destroyers which attended on them.

As the attack must be guarded against interruption coming from seaward, the *Attentive*, *Scott*, *Ulleswater*, *Teazer*, and *Stork* (destroyers) formed the outer patrol off Zeebrugge.

But, as we know, Zeebrugge, though it was the chief, was not the only point to be attacked. Ostend was one of the objectives of the expedition. A separate aiding-and-covering force, which started from Dunkirk, was to be told off to cover the *Sirius* and *Brilliant* blocking-ships. It was composed of the monitors to bombard the port, *Marshal Soult*, *Lord Clive*, *Prince Eugene*, *General Craufurd*, M. 24 and M. 26. The cruisers *Swift*, *Faulknor*, *Matchless*, *Mastiff*, and *Afridi* were stationed off Ostend. The monitors were to be accompanied by the British destroyers, *Mentor*, *Lightfoot*, *Zubian*, and the French torpedo-boats, *Lestin*, *Capitaine Mehl*, *Francis Garnier*, *Roux*, and *Boucher*, 18 British and 4 French motor-launches; while 6 coastal motor-boats were engaged as tenders for the monitors, for smoke-

screen duty, inshore, and for rescue work.

Ostend was to be the scene of another operation of the same character as the attack on the 22nd, a little later on, and on a smaller scale. We may therefore dismiss its part in the events with which we are concerned briefly and at once. The way there, as at Zeebrugge, was prepared by a bombardment. Commander Alfred E. Godsal, in the *Brilliant*, and Lieutenant-Commander Henry N. M. Hardy, D.S.O., in the *Sirius*, had every wish to take their respective blocking-ships into the harbour and sink them. They sought in the dark for the buoy which marked the way into the space between the two piers which formed the harbour—and they found it. As soon as they had picked it up (which does not mean that they had taken it out of the water, but that they had sighted it), they instantly turned and headed, as they hoped, for the place where they were to sink their vessels. But they ran ashore on the beach to the east of Ostend. The Germans had moved the buoy 2400 yards to the eastward of its proper place, unknown to us. The ruse was a not uncommon one—was, indeed, perfectly normal and regular. Though the fact was for obvious reasons not allowed to be mentioned at the time, it was well known that the first German attack on Yarmouth proved ineffective because the buoys had been moved out, and the Germans, who did not discover the change, fired from too great a distance. The Ostend side of the operation of April 22–23 was therefore a disappointment, which, by no fault on



Captain Godsal's part, failed to damage the enemy and entailed the loss of two blocking-ships.

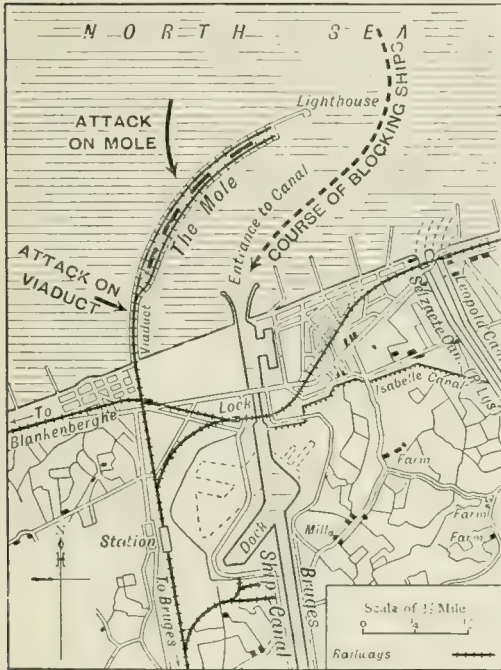
No such unlucky contrariety spoiled the attack on Zeebrugge. The whole force which was to be engaged at that point left the neighbourhood of the Goodwins in time to cover the

ing squadron and give the alarm. But the Germans had no mobile forces on the watch, either in the air or on the sea. The British air-ships met no German to drive away, and our advance craft found the sea clear. Sir Roger Keyes' command was in position in the appointed time undetected, as it would seem, by the enemy.

The ensuing action will be better understood after a glance at a sketch map of the port.

Zeebrugge, as has been already noted, is a mere point on the coast, which runs from south of west to north of east. The canal runs straight from Bruges in a north-westerly direction, and passes into the sea by lock gates. The entrance is protected from westerly gales, and the silt which is carried on to the shore by the prevailing sets and currents of the North Sea, by a mole which is joined to the land to the west of the entry into the canal by a viaduct—a solid construction designed to carry trains. The viaduct is, in fact, a species of railway bridge connecting the land with an artificial reef—the mole. The combined viaduct and mole shoot out to the northward from the shore and curl round to the north-east. The mole was fortified and well provided with guns.

The problem to be tackled at Zeebrugge was radically different from that presented by Ostend. There was no question of just hitting the entry between two piers. The mole was a great, upstanding obstacle which must be directly assailed. The blocking-ships must round the end of it.



Map of Zeebrugge Harbour, illustrating the attack on April 22, 1918

63 miles which separated them from their target by midnight. It was necessary to make the attack in the dark, and the ships had to be withdrawn before daylight should expose them to the shore batteries. The blocking-ships could move but slowly—10 knots an hour or so. The first hours of the traverse had therefore to be in daylight. There was a risk that the enemy air-craft or look-out boats might detect the com-



and then turn southward to reach the canal gate. If the batteries on the mole had been undisturbed it would have been easy for them to make a speedy end of vessels which, by their very nature, could go but slowly while they were steering in from the north. Therefore it was manifestly needful to make a direct attack on the mole on the outside, to storm it and silence its guns, or at any rate to push the attack home so fiercely that the batteries would have little attention to spare for the blocking-ships.

It was a truly perilous, but—with rapidity and determination on the part of the assailants, aided by the measure of good fortune which brave men acting on a well-conceived plan have a right to expect—a feasible undertaking. So the plan was that the *Vindictive*, an old cruiser of 3400 tons, expressly prepared, should be steered right on to the mole as near as might be to the point. It was to be supported and pressed forward by the *Iris II* and the *Daffodil*. If she and her supporters could be laid right against the mole, the enemy's fire would pass over them. Then the landing-party from the *Vindictive* could storm, and the men carried in the ex-ferry steamers could come over the *Vindictive's* deck and press the attack. Meanwhile the submarines told off to assail the viaduct could be driven between the supports and blown up. The viaduct would be destroyed and the mole isolated. While the main sea defence of the entry to the canal was fighting for its own existence, the blocking-ships could carry out their part of the design by being

steered into the entry to the canal, and there sunk. Though fortune gave little or no help, this well-designed scheme was carried out "with that nice concert of measures which", as Collingwood put it, "are necessary to success".

And now, the assailing-force being in position, the attack began at 11.20 p.m., a trifle later than had been designed, owing to poor visibility, and an exceptionally strong set of the tide. The monitors, *Erebus* (Captain Charles S. Wills, G.M.G., D.S.O.), and *Terror* (Captain Charles W. Bruton), supported by the destroyers *Termagant*, *Truculent* and *Manly*, opened fire. The *Warwick*, carrying Sir Roger Keyes' flag, and the *Whirlwind*, followed by other destroyers, swept ahead to clear away any out-post vessels of the enemy which might be on watch. When the *Vindictive* (acting Captain F. B. Carpenter) with the *Iris II* (Commander Valentine Gibbs) and *Daffodil* (Lieutenant Harold G. Campbell) were at the point where they had to alter course for the mole, the covering destroyers opened out. The small craft had in the meantime raised the smoke-screen, running close in, so that the artificial fog which they created, and their constant change of place, alone saved them from destruction by the fire of the enemy. At 11.56 the *Vindictive* passed through the screen, followed by the *Iris II* and *Daffodil*. To the right—or perhaps we should say starboard—of them submarines C 3 (Lieutenant Richard D. Sandford) and C 1 (Lieutenant Aubrey S. Newbold) with the

picket-boat which was to take off their crews, were towed by the destroyers *Trident* and *Mansfield* into a position from which they would make a dash at the viaduct, force their way between its supports under their own steam, and then be blown up by the explosives with which they were charged. The breaking of the viaduct by the explosives would cut off the Germans holding the mole from support by reinforcements from the shore. Though the operations of the storming-party on the mole and the blowing up of the viaduct must be told consecutively, they were in fact simultaneous.

The *Vindictive* reached the mole at 12.1 a.m., one minute after the time appointed, and farther from the extreme point than had been designed. To lay a ship alongside a mole in the most favourable circumstances requires careful handling and practice. But the circumstances in which Captain Carpenter had to place his ship at the desired point were as unfavourable as they could possibly be. When the *Vindictive* cleared the smoke she was about 300 yards off the mole. The enemy opened a furious fire at once, and was fiercely answered by her port 6-inch battery, her upper-deck pompoms, and the gun in the foretop. Under the direction of her commander, Edward O. B. S. Osborne, Captain Carpenter conned the ship from the port forward flame-thrower hut, and Lieutenant Robert R. Rosoman was in the conning-tower, from which the ship was being steered, ready to take his place if he fell. The enemy's fire failed to stop the

*Vindictive*, but it did great execution on the landing-parties of marines and bluejackets, who were standing ready to swarm on to the mole as soon as the ship was alongside. Lieutenant-Colonel Bertram N. Elliott, D.S.O., and Major Alexander A. Corder, of the Marines, and Captain Henry C. Hulahan, D.S.O., who led the bluejackets, were slain at the head of their men. Commander Patrick H. Edwards, R.N.V.R., and many others were wounded.

The *Vindictive* was to have boarded the mole near the head, where the storming-parties of seamen and marines would have come right on the top of the chief German battery of 5.9 guns. In the dark, or, in what was worse, the distracting confusion produced by star-shells and search-lights, while her decks were being swept by shot, and men were falling rapidly, with a flood tide running at the rate of 3 knots along the mole towards the shore; without time to pause, measure, and adapt manœuvres, Captain Carpenter, by no fault of his, but under stress of necessity, laid his ship alongside at a point 400 yards nearer the shore end. Therefore the storming-parties could not land right on the German battery, but outside of it; and it was fenced off from the rest of the mole by a barrier on which were machine-guns.

To land at all was a feat of extreme difficulty and hazard. The mole rose high above the deck of the *Vindictive*. On the outward, or sea front, there is a footpath with a parapet on the outer, and an iron railing on the inner side. The drop from the path to the inner

level of the mole was 15 feet. The *Vindictive* was rolling and "scending" (i.e. sinking) on the swell and tide. Some minutes passed before the *Daffodil* could come to push her on to the mole. The anchors with which she was to have been made fast would not hold. Nothing save the utmost determination and coolness on the part of all concerned, and a neatness of execution which, in the rapid exchange of darkness and light, the heaving of the ship, and the stunning clamour of the guns, was miraculous, made it possible to place the two "brows" up which the storming-parties swarmed from the bow of the *Vindictive*. Some which were tried were smashed by the enemy's fire. The bluejackets, led by Lieutenant-Commander Bryan F. Adams, and the royal marines, by Captain and Adjutant A. R. Carter, reached the mole. Then an attempt was made to haul the ship alongside by placing mole anchors across the parapet. She was finally forced into position, and kept there by the *Daffodil*, which lay stern on to her.

The landing-parties from the *Daffodil* boarded along the *Vindictive's* deck. Lieutenant G. Campbell, who had been wounded in the head and deprived of the use of an eye for a time, kept his old ferry-boat in position to the end. It was largely by his tenacity and good management that the storming-parties were able to land, and could be brought off. The *Iris II* reached the mole, but though the most determined efforts were made to effect a landing, though Lieutenant Claude E. V. Hawkings reached the top of the parapet and fell shot on the

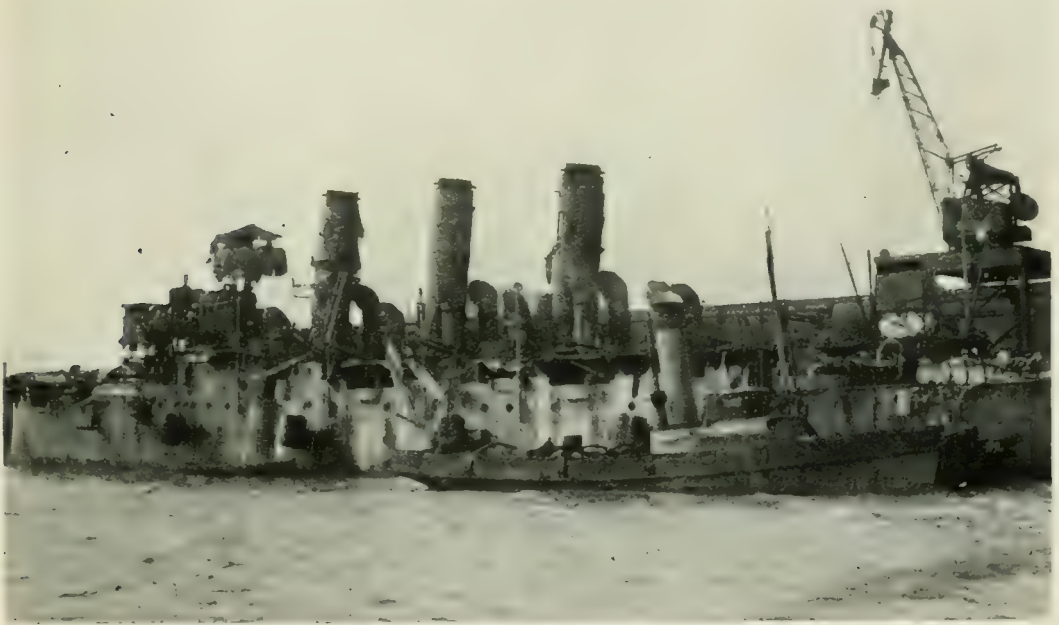
mole, though Lieutenant-Commander George M. Bradford, who also reached the top, fell in the water, shot, between it and the *Iris II*, it was found impossible to effect a firm hold. The *Iris II* was therefore brought alongside the *Vindictive*, and her landing-parties prepared to board across the cruiser's deck. But by this time all had been done that man could do, and the recall was sounded. Moreover, the real purpose of the attack had been effected, as we shall see.

To a superficial judgment it may appear that the storm of the mole failed—in the sense that the German battery at the point was not taken. As the *Vindictive* was prevented from reaching the chosen point of attack, the battery was covered by its armed barrier. Then the difficulty of landing from the *Iris II* prevented many of the storming-parties from reaching the mole, and till the viaduct was cut there was always a possibility of attack from the land end. A double danger had to be provided against. Major Weller, to whom fell the command of the marines on the mole, exercised a wise discretion by holding back his men from an attempt to storm the barrier till he was sure that he would not be interrupted from the other end. Therefore, though Wing Commander Brock disappeared in a heroic attempt to force his way into the battery in the front, though many "valiant souls of heroes" went in honour to the shades—among them the crew of the gun in the *Vindictive's* foretop, which strove to cover the assault till they were destroyed by the German fire—the battery



was not taken. None the less the purpose aimed at was achieved. The garrison of the battery was so intent on beating off the assailants that its big guns were not directed against the blocking-ships, which came round the point twenty-five minutes after the assault began. They reached their goal. Now as the attack on the

Before dealing with the triumph of the blocking-ships we must report the course of the attack on the viaduct. We have seen that two submarines, C 1 (Lieutenant Aubrey C. Newbold) and C 3 (Lieutenant - Commander Francis H. Sandford, D.S.O), had been detailed for the work. Lieutenant Newbold was not fortunate



After the Zeebrugge Raid: the battered *Vindictive* in port

mole was designed to cover the entry of the blocking-ships, it did in fact succeed in its aim, though not in the full measure which we had hoped to attain. Some German destroyers which were inside the mole were similarly so occupied with the attack that they did nothing to any purpose to obstruct the blocking-ships, though their fire helped to debar our demolition-parties from doing all they wished.

enough to reach the place assigned him in time. The rope parted while he was being towed into position. When he neared the spot the C 3 had been already blown up and the breach was made. Lieutenant Newbold very properly concluded that it would be mere waste of a vessel, which might be needed again, to redo what was already done.

C 3 was brought to the appointed taking-off place in due time. From



there she had a mile and a half to go before striking the viaduct. Lieutenant - Commander Sandford drove right at his target. Though he was revealed to the enemy by star-shells and search-lights while still half a mile off, the German fire was erratic and ineffectual. The submarine was driven between the piers of the viaduct at a speed of 9 knots an hour, which was enough to enable her to burst the connecting girders. She was jammed in up to the conning-tower, and so fixed in position. Then her little crew was mustered on deck, the fuses were fired, and she was abandoned. Her commander and crew got away in the skiff. When they were about 300 yards off, pulling hard, C 3 blew up, making a prodigious explosion, and blowing a yawning breach in the viaduct. They were met by a picket-boat, and transferred to the *Phæbe*. So on that side, too, the aim was achieved, though not exactly as was designed. If C 1 had been as fortunate as C 3 the viaduct would have been destroyed beyond repair.

The enterprise of the blocking-ships, which all the rest was meant to cover, went steadily on. The *Thetis* (Commander Ralph S. Sneyd) led in. She rounded the lighthouse at the end of the mole, and steered for the enemy's barge-and-net obstruction, firing at lighthouse and barge, and being fired at by light pieces, though not by the heavier German guns. She burst through the obstruction, sinking a barge and carrying away a net. So she cleared the way for her consorts behind, but was herself not destined to reach the goal. Being holed by

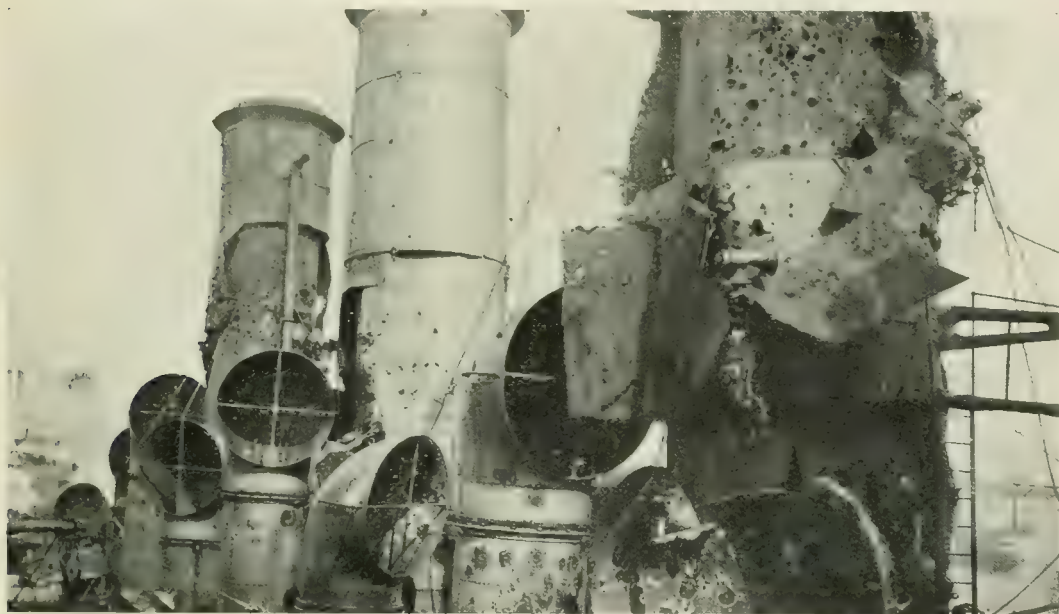
the enemy's fire on the starboard side, and beginning to sink, she could not reach the canal entrance, but was grounded off the western pier-head, and was there sunk and left. Commander Sneyd had done his part by making it possible for his supports to go farther. The *Intrepid*, next in order after, experiencing the same kind of fire as the *Thetis*, passed on the east of her, entered the canal, and was sunk inside it. Then followed the *Iphigenia* (Lieutenant Edward W. Billyard - Leake). Star-shells helped him to see the *Intrepid* ahead, and the stranded *Thetis*. He was guided into the canal by a green light shown by this ship. In the dark, and the further confusion caused by smoke, the *Iphigenia* nearly ran on the western pier. Her captain saw the error in time, backed, then went ahead again between a dredger and a barge, and sank his ship so as to close the gap between the *Intrepid* and the eastern bank of the canal.

The work was done, and happily with less loss of life than had been expected. It had been generally thought that nobody on the blocking-ships would escape. They were the forlorn of the forlorn, sent in to perish. For that reason it was, no doubt, that the surplus hands of the crews of two of them—the *Intrepid* and *Iphigenia*, who, according to plan, ought to have left them when they came to the last push, refused to leave their ships. Yet, though there was loss, it was far below what had been looked for. The rescue boats brought off most of the gallant men who steamed into the canal. The total casualties were, as

was inevitable, high—176 officers and men were known to be killed; 49 were missing, of whom 35 were supposed to be dead; and 412 were wounded. It was a high proportion; but not so high as had been suffered by some units of the army when attacking trenches and quick-firing guns in France.

closed too; and that task was taken in hand.

The *Sirius* and the *Brilliant* were gone. They were replaced by the much-battered *Vindictive*, which was now to be used as a blocking-ship; and another was added—the *Sapho*. The second was not able to take part in the final operation because she was



The *Vindictive's* Battle Scars: view showing her condition on returning from the Zeebrugge Raid

The main stroke had been delivered with effect. Though the viaduct was patched up, and efforts were made by the Germans to clear the canal, Zeebrugge was spoilt as a basis of operations for destroyers and submarines. But Ostend was still open, and, so long as the enemy could use the canals connecting it with Bruges, he could continue to send out submarines. It is, in fact, tolerably certain that he did. Therefore Ostend must be

delayed by an accident to a boiler. The closing of Ostend was delayed till the morning of May 10. Not only had the vessels to be fitted, but a proper combination of time and tide was necessary, as at Zeebrugge. They did not co-operate until that date. It was justly decided that the honour of taking in the *Vindictive* should be given to Captain Godsal, who had been disappointed on April 22–23. Now, as then, the way was prepared

by a flotilla of destroyers, and motor-launches and boats from the Dover patrol, under the command of Admiral Keyes, acting together with other similar vessels from Dunkirk, British and French. A smoke screen was raised, and was reinforced by a natural fog. A bombardment was the preliminary of the decisive attack in this case also—partly from the sea, but in part from the army in the Allied line. The *Vindictive* advanced under cover of the fog and smoke, by which, however, she was almost as much hampered as aided.

The problem to be tackled differed essentially from the Zeebrugge venture. Ostend is not shielded by a mole. Its harbour, so called, is simply a space of water between two piers, which stretch out from a beach. The feat to be performed was to run between them and sink the *Vindictive* across the port. It is obvious that, before the duty could be accomplished, the entrance must be seen; and to catch sight of the points to be steered for in the fog, natural and artificial, which shrouded the *Vindictive* from the enemy, but also hid him from her, was hard in the extreme.

When the time for the dash had come, the blocking-ship stood in from the Stroom Bank buoy. The original buoy had, as we know, been removed. A hazardous air reconnaissance, carried out by Squadron-Commander Ronald Graham, D.S.O., D.S.C., had shown that the Germans had removed all the marks. It was necessary to lay a special light-buoy of our own—calcic phosphide. This was the point from which the *Vindictive* took off. She

ran in, and then, when the entrance was not sighted, turned to west and steered along the shore. When she had been taken far enough to make it certain that she had gone past the port, she was turned east, and the quest was pursued. Again she missed the entrance in the dark, and came back. On this, the third attempt, the entry between the pier-heads was seen—about one cable-length (200 yards) on the port side. As those directing the course of the ship saw what they were seeking, she was herself seen. A heavy fire was opened by the German batteries. Captain Godsall immediately turned up for the entrance, and the *Vindictive* swept in. As she passed in, the after-control, by which messages could be sent from the conning-tower, failed. Captain Godsall came out from the tower and gave the order: "Hard a-starboard!" that the ship's head should be turned to port and driven into the eastern pier, when she, it was hoped, would swing across and block the passage.

Immediately after the order was given a heavy shell burst on, or beside, the conning-tower. All in it were badly shaken. Lieutenant Sir John Alleyne, D.S.C., R.N., who had volunteered to navigate the ship, was severely wounded, and, in the telling words of Lieutenant Crutchley, to whom the command passed, and by whom the report was made, Captain Godsall "was not seen again". Lieutenant Crutchley gave the order "Full speed astern", to draw the ship across the entrance. She struck the eastern pier at an angle of about three points, just over 33 degrees of a circle, and



stopped. She was abandoned after Engineer Lieutenant-Commander Bury had fired the main charges to destroy her.

Lieutenant Crutchley and most of the gallant crew were taken off wounded and unwounded in motor-launches which came to their help in

finally lay, a space was left between her and the western pier. Ostend was therefore not completely closed. The whole force was drawn off. On the way back to Dover, through the deep-draught route outside the fringe of sands, the *Warwick* struck a mine; but, though her back was broken, and she seemed likely to sink, she was towed into port. The total loss of life was wonderfully small—only 2 officers and 6 men known to be killed; 5 officers and 25 men wounded; but 2 officers and 9 men were missing, who must be added to the killed.

The most simple account of what was done implies the praise of all concerned. There was a physical impossibility of achieving all that the designers of the enterprise had hoped to attain, but there was no failure of effort. Whoever reads the whole story, as told in Sir Roger Keyes' manly words, must find himself in accord with Lieutenant Victor Crutchley when this officer, to whom the command of the *Vindictive* fell when Captain Godsall was swept away in the storm of battle, made his report.



The Distinguished Service Cross—a new naval award instituted during the war

the bravest way. The M.-L. 254 (Lieutenant Drummond, R.N.V.R.), which came first, had suffered herself from shell-fire. Lieutenant Drummond was wounded, and his second in command, Lieutenant Gordon F. Ross, R.N.V.R., had been killed. She was backed out stern first under fire, and picked up outside by the *Warwick*. The work was done as far as possible, though, as the *Vindictive*

"The question of recommendations", he said, "is a very difficult one. Every man, without exception, behaved splendidly; if some were more conspicuous than others, it was because rank or fortune gave them the opportunity, to which they showed themselves to be equal."

We have but to read these sober sentences in the first dispatch to realize, as far as those who have never been put to the same fiery test can, what devotion to duty and what indifference to life was asked for, and was given.



"At this period [i.e. when the *Vindictive* was alongside the Zeebrugge mole] the ship was being hit every few seconds, chiefly in the upper works, from which the splinters caused many casualties. It was difficult to locate the guns which were doing the most damage, but Lieutenant Charles N. B. Rigby, R.M.A., with his Royal Marines in the foretop, kept up a continuous fire with pompoms and Lewis guns, changing rapidly from one target to another. Two heavy shells made direct hits on the foretop, killing Lieutenant Rigby and killing or disabling all in the top, except Sergeant N. A. Finch, who, though severely wounded, continued firing till the top was wrecked by another heavy shell."

Sergeant Finch more than earned his V.C., and so did all whose names are in the long list of Sir Roger Keyes' recommendations earn their honours. But the true honours roll would be the list of all the crews of the vessels of all classes engaged.

The effect produced by these attacks on Germany, both on public opinion and on the military position along the Flemish coast, was in proportion to the sacrifice of life made by the British navy. The German Government did, indeed, endeavour to the utmost to conceal the facts from its subjects. The official account of the Zeebrugge action, published on April 24, 1918, was a fine example of the art of misleading by suppression of the full truth. It was brief, even bald, and nearly all devoted to the storm of the mole. Nothing was said of the damage done to the communications between the mole and the shore, nor of the blocking of the canal entrance. Yet, it may be

doubted whether all this official cleverness was not wasted. The mere brevity of the report, and the absence of detail, must have excited suspicion—at least among those who were sufficiently acquainted with the subject to be able to read between the lines.

The report of the attack on Ostend was more ample, and was published in two instalments, on May 10 and 12. It is positively inaccurate in so far as it stated that two vessels attempted to come within the piers. But we may fairly suppose that the *Vindictive*, appearing and disappearing in the fog, natural and artificial, was counted twice. Where the report was positively dishonest was in the absence of confession that the vessel actually made its way in. Whatever measure of success official fiction may have met with among the public, the Government must have known that Sir Roger Keyes had achieved his main purpose. Zeebrugge was actually blocked. When the place was evacuated by the Germans the canal was found to be still closed by the blocking ships. Ostend was not equally well shut. But Zeebrugge had been the outlet for the submarines coming from Bruges. The connection between the canal and Ostend was inadequate for the purposes of the submarines, and therefore the double operation, though the Ostend half of it was but partially successful, did achieve the end aimed at—the destruction of the German submarine base which was most effective for operations in the Channel.

D. H.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE LAST YEAR AT SEA

The Hopes of the Germans—How far fulfilled—Defensive Measures of the Allies—Changes at the Admiralty—The Allied Maritime Transport Council—The Good Results of Convoy—British Shipbuilding—American and Japanese Shipbuilding—German Attacks on Hospital Ships and on Neutrals—Incidents of the Blockade in the North Sea—Some Typical Cases—Imbros—E 14.

WE cannot begin an account of what was done by the British fleet and its Allies, during the last phase of the naval part of the war, better than by first defining what it was that the enemy expected to achieve. The task is made easy by the Germans themselves. They were never tired of reiterating avowals of their hopes that their submarines would bring the Allies to submission, or of supporting their confident assertions by a profuse use of figures. It is unnecessary to treat of their statistics in detail. When the end had come for the Central European Powers in November, 1918, some of those who had been the most ready to delude the public in Germany, by quoting inflated accounts of the loss inflicted on the Allies at sea, were base enough to excuse themselves by saying that their own naval officers had misled them. The lavish distribution of decorations and other rewards among the officers and men of the German submarines had, so these querulous witnesses told us, promoted a great deal of lying. German officers did not scruple to credit themselves with imaginary exploits, which were reported to the public for its encouragement as true.

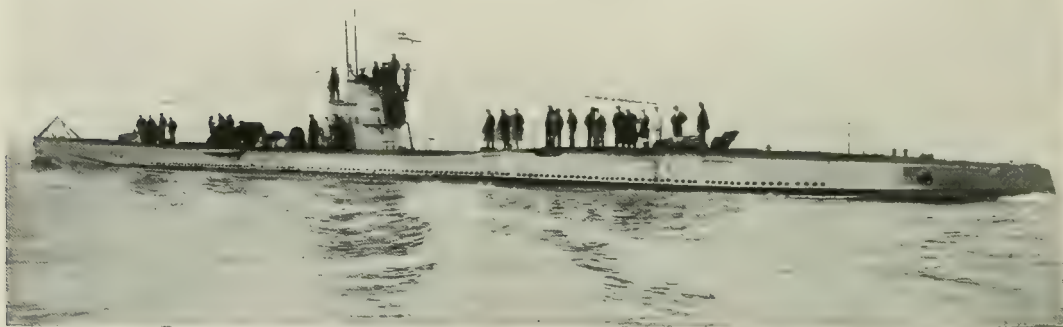
After such a confession as this, we

surely need not give ourselves the trouble to analyse German statistics of the tonnage their seamen professed to have sunk. But the officials, and the experts who wrote under the censorship of the Admiralty at Berlin, and who could say only what they were encouraged to say, are good witnesses as to what the German people were asked, and were for long persuaded, to believe, and also as to what their Government would have done if it could. It would have forced Great Britain and her Allies to accept a peace on terms acceptable to the Imperial German Government by the destruction of their shipping, and therefore of their resources for carrying on the war. It kept on asserting that it was in fact coming steadily nearer to the day when it would be successful. To take a few examples only from an abundant store: In June, 1918, Captain von Pustau was authorized to declare in the *Tägliche Rundschau* that "every month brings us with deadly certainty one step nearer to our goal—the weakening of our enemy". As late as September of 1918 the same tone could be heard. Admiral Scheer, the then newly-appointed head of the Admiralty, assured Dr. Wildgrube, a member of the Reichstag, that

"you may tell the country with a good conscience that I have not a moment's doubt that we shall bring England to negotiate yet by means of our submarines". That, then, was the purpose and the hope. The history of the naval war from the close of 1917 to November, 1918, is the history of how and why the Germans failed.

Yet they were not defeated without

vessels built for trade or fishery, but taken by the Admiralty to be used for warlike purposes, escape its share of misfortune. No single ship of the size of the *King Edward VII*, for instance, was lost, but the list of smaller craft which perished, either by direct enemy action or by marine risks such as would hardly have been incurred except in the stress of war, was long. In the course of the last



The Defeat of the German Submarines: one of the U-boats coming in to surrender, with its crew on deck

great efforts on the part of the British Empire, nor save at a great cost. The extent and character of the losses suffered by all the Allies will be dealt with in another place as a whole, and in detail. But one essential fact must be recorded here. However grossly the Germans may have exaggerated the amount of the damage they inflicted, they were right when they claimed that the tonnage they succeeded in sinking in any month of the year 1918 never failed to exceed the total output of new ships in British yards. Nor did the navy, in which we must include the many

days of December, 1917, three destroyers were mined or torpedoed in foggy weather off the Dutch coast, during the night of the 22nd-23rd; 13 officers and 180 men perished. About the same time, H.M. mine-sweeping sloop *Arbutus* (Commander Charles H. Oxlade, R.D., R.N.R.) foundered in bad weather after being torpedoed. Her captain, one officer, and seven men were lost. The armed boarding-steamer *Grive* (Commander Stephen A. Pidgeon) was also torpedoed and sunk—happily without loss of life. This was an exceptionally severe amount of loss.

But similar disasters of less magnitude continued to be suffered to the end.

The conditions in which vessels must be navigated in war exaggerated the ordinary dangers of the sea. On January 9, 1918, H.M.S. *Racoon* (commanded by Lieutenant G. L. M. Napier), an ocean destroyer of 920 tons, with a complement of about one hundred, struck rocks on the north coast of Ireland in a snowstorm, and foundered with all hands. Nine of her crew, who had been left at the last port of call, were the only survivors. During the night of January 12, and in a snowstorm, two destroyers were lost on the west of Scotland. One able seaman escaped. The destroyers were returning to their base after a cruise. It is highly probable that in the normal conditions of peace none of these vessels would have been exposed to the hazard of the winter storms.

The number of collisions reported in the course of the year was undoubtedly swollen by the obligation to navigate without showing lights, or making signals with the siren, which was imposed on all vessels by the conditions of war. A typical case may be quoted from the reports of the last month of the war. On October 6, H.M. Armed Mercantile Cruiser *Otranto* (Acting - Captain Ernest G. W. Davidson) came into collision during bad weather—which would mean at that season thick weather—with the S.S. *Kashmir*. Both vessels were carrying United States troops. The ships drifted apart and lost sight of one another. The *Kashmir*

reached a Scotch port and landed the troops without casualties. The *Otranto* was less fortunate. She was disabled. A wireless call brought the destroyer *Mounsey* to her aid; 27 officers and 239 of her crew, together with 300 American soldiers, and 30 French sailors, were taken off and landed in Ireland. The *Otranto* drifted on Islay, where 16 survivors were picked up. But 335 American soldiers, 11 of the *Otranto's* officers, and 85 of the crew were drowned. Such losses were not confined to the four seas of Britain. They were reported from the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Nor were British ships the only sufferers. French, Americans, and Italians were lost, and neutral flags were no more spared by the Germans during this than in any other period since August, 1914. These instances must, however, be allowed to stand as illustrations of the process of attrition to which all Allied shipping was subjected till the end of the war.

We can now turn to the measures taken to keep down the loss inflicted by the German submarines. First, we must count the changes made at the Admiralty, since it is to be presumed that they were inspired by the wish to secure a more efficient conduct of the war. Experience could not fail to show that the common cause of the Allies on the sea must gain by the co-ordination of their measures. Therefore, though somewhat tardily, a decision was taken at the Paris conference held in December, 1917, "to create an Allied Maritime Transport Council, con-



sisting of two Ministers each of France, Italy, and Great Britain, and a representative of the United States of America, to supervise the general conduct of Allied maritime transport". When the needful preparatory work had been done, the first formal meeting of the Council took place in London at Lancaster House, on March 11, 1918, and the sittings were continued till April 27. The object of its deliberations was "to examine the import programmes in relation to the carrying power of the available tonnage, in order to ascertain the extent of any deficit," and "to consider the means whereby such a deficit may be met, whether by a reduction in the import programmes, by the acquisition, if practicable, of further tonnage for importing work, or by the more economical and co-operative use of the tonnage already available". An effective measure had already been taken by the British Government in December, 1917. The rule, "Every Ship a Food Ship," had been adopted. Every vessel brought some food, which was stored and distributed under the direction of the Minister of the department. After July 15 all provisions brought in were taken over by the Ministry immediately the ships reached port, "so as to save double handling charges, labour, transport, &c."

The good results of a strictly-enforced system of convoy were felt all through 1918. In January, Sir Leo Chiozza Money, speaking for the Ministry of Shipping, was able to assure the House of Commons that, "of all cargoes home-

ward bound to the United Kingdom (whether in British or foreign vessels) in the months of September and October [1917], 3 per cent was lost, of which 1 per cent was represented by food. In November only 2 per cent of the homeward-bound cargoes was lost, of which 0.5 per cent was represented by food. Of the wheat homeward bound in November none whatever was lost." In July he was again able to affirm that "the results of the ocean-convoy system continued to improve, and the percentage of loss was now less than it was in January last". Between the first thorough employment of convoy in June, 1917, and June 29, 1918, 30,692,799 tons gross of shipping, with a deadweight capacity of 42,345,550 tons, had been guarded into British and French ports with no greater loss than 1.31 per cent of the gross tonnage, and 1.29 in deadweight.<sup>1</sup> These figures included losses by marine risks, but they made but a small proportion of the whole. During 1917 only 69 vessels of 245,559 tons gross were lost by the ordinary dangers of the sea.

Neither convoy nor any other measure of precaution for the protection of merchant ships could be executed without the well-informed co-operation

<sup>1</sup> Deadweight tonnage is the weight of what a ship can stow over and above her own weight. Gross tonnage is calculated in Board of Trade tons of capacity = 100 cubic feet of space, and includes all spaces above and below decks. Net tonnage is what remains after deducting accommodation for crew, engine-room, stokehold, and bunkers. Ships vary, but, roughly speaking, gross tonnage can be reduced to net by deducting one-third. As the Board of Trade ton of 100 cubic feet is one of space, it does not tell us what weight a ship can carry. A vessel laden to the full extent of her cargo-carrying space with feathers or cork would be less heavily burdened than one partially laden with rice or iron ore.

of the officers who were entrusted with the navigation of the vessels. From about the middle of 1918 the Government established the rule that—

The master and chief officer of every British merchant vessel of 1600 tons and upwards which trades, or is likely to trade, in any area in which enemy submarines may be encountered, and any person hereafter appointed master or chief officer of any such vessel, shall attend any course of instruction in the precautions necessary to be observed against enemy submarines at such time and place as may be directed by the Admiralty, or by any naval officer authorized by the Admiralty to give such directions.

Rigid orders were given for the concealment of lights. At the same time peremptory directions were given that all vessels equipped with Otter protection gear (other than those sailing in ocean convoy, which were subject to the orders of the officer in command of the escort, or such as had special exemptions) were to "stream" their otters—

(i) Whenever such vessel is within ten miles of the land or a navigational mark in European or Mediterranean waters; (ii) whenever such vessel is approaching any Allied port abroad; (iii) whenever such vessel is in the North Sea and to the southward of the parallel of 59° north.<sup>1</sup>

Another and—though a vexatious—an effectual measure of defense was to mark out "prohibited areas", which vessels were directed to avoid because they were known to be infested with

German mines. One as finally defined in June was "bounded by a line drawn from—

- (1) Lat. 59° 12½' N., long. 4° 49' E.;
- (2) Lat. 59° 29' N., long. 3° 10' E.;
- (3) Lat. 58° 25' N., long. 0° 50' W.;
- (4) Lat. 59° 20' N., long. 0° 50' W.;
- (5) Lat. 60° 21' N., long. 3° 10' E.;
- (6) Lat. 60° 00' N., long. 4° 54¼' E.;

thence along the western limits of Norwegian territorial waters to position (1)."

To put it less accurately, but in what is perhaps a more generally intelligible form, the open waters between Shetland and Norway, except a free channel on either side, were barred to trade. A similar forbidden region was marked off the Forelands on a smaller scale. These defensive measures were by their very nature also restrictions. The course of trade and the food-supply were hampered not only by the direct attacks of the enemy, but by the indirect consequences of his action. The use of convoy imposed delays, and the necessity for avoiding prohibited areas and taking other precautionary measures increased the time required to make a voyage.

The most effectual of all ways of defeating the German submarine campaign would no doubt have been to build ships more rapidly than they were sunk by the enemy. Unhappily, this was just the course which it was most difficult to take. If the output was to exceed the loss, then our dockyards must have been in a position to work at a greater rate and on a larger scale than in 1913, the year of highest

<sup>1</sup> A vessel "streams her otter" when she puts out a certain guard against mines. The nature of the apparatus was kept strictly secret

production before the war, when 1,900,000 tons odd were launched. But the yards were disabled from reaching this level. Great demands were made on them by the Admiralty. The necessity for repairing vessels damaged by the enemy, or by the dangers of the sea, obstructed building, and then many workmen were drawn away either by voluntary enlistment or by compulsory service for the benefit of the army. As the pressure on the dockyards grew more severe, and the Government recognized, somewhat tardily, the whole force of the menace to our future position implied in the steady diminution of our shipping, a promise was given that 20,000 skilled men should be released from military service. But, as was indeed inevitable, that promise was ill kept. The very skill which rendered these men so valuable to the yards also made them indispensable to the army. Therefore the military authorities were reluctant to let them go. Long after the promise had been given, not more than 6000 men had been actually set free.

It may be that all this could not be avoided, but the consequences did not follow a whit the less because their cause was itself inevitable. Great efforts were made, not without result, and ardent appeals were directed to the workmen in the yards. In April the Admiralty authorized the issue of a poster in these terms:—

The output of merchant shipbuilding for March (1915) amounted to 161,674 tons, equal to 32 ships of 5000 tons; but the Huns sank 81 ships during March. Shipyard workers can and *will* prevent the

Huns from starving the nation. *More ships wanted.*

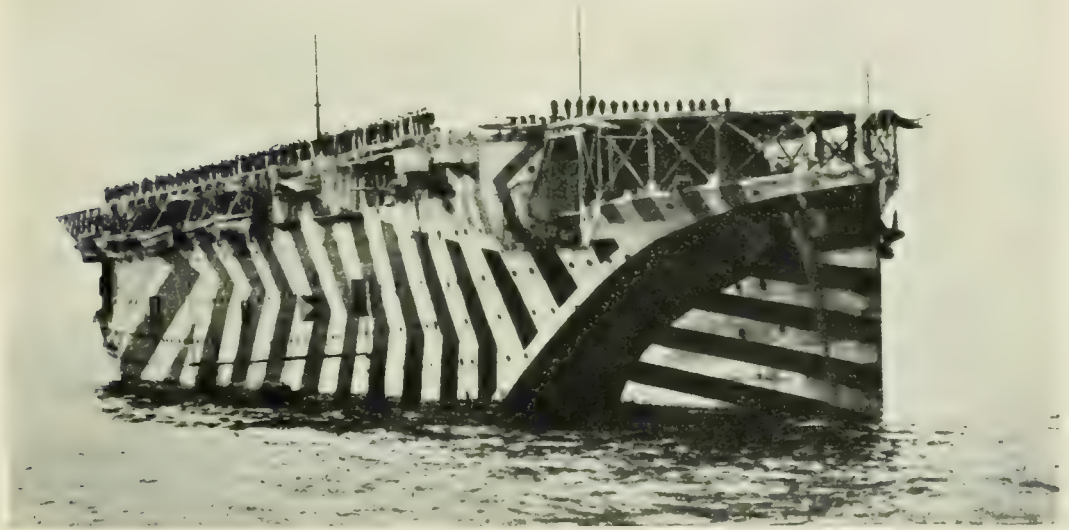
If we are to assume that the 81 vessels sunk were also of 5000 tons, the loss would have been more than twice the production. As, however, they included craft of less than 1600 tons, the proportion was by no means so bad. The Germans did indeed claim to have sunk 680,000 tons in March, 1918. But they included French, Italian, and American ships as well as British, and, as we have seen, their figures are not entitled to confidence.

When we think of the permanent interests of the country we can hardly fail to consider that the most unfortunate error of judgment for which the Government was responsible during the war was the failure to realize for so long that the most serious injury was being inflicted by the steady diminution of our tonnage. Yet there had been a notable improvement before the issue of the poster just quoted. The total amount of shipping completed in the year ending on March 31, 1917, was only 692,225 tons—less than a third of the output of 1913. During the year between April 1, 1917, and March 31, 1918, the increase was notable. The total produced was 1,237,515. Production had therefore nearly doubled; and, though it was still far lower than was needed if it was to keep pace with the destruction, it was sufficient to prevent a positively ruinous loss. The appeal to the patriotism of the workers in the dockyards met with a cheerful response, and though the rate of construction



never increased to the level desired, and even sometimes too confidently predicted, by Ministers, it never again fell to the disastrous figure of 1917. In the very beginning of the year it was announced that Government had resolved to make full use of the Canadian yards. Those on the Great Lakes were to build ships of up to

stimulate production was the offer of £10,000, to be distributed in prizes to be competed for by workers in the merchant-shipbuilding yards of Great Britain and Ireland, in the proportion of £2500 to Scotland, £2500 to the north-east coast, £2500 to the rest of England and Wales, and £2500 to Ireland. The money was to be dis-



More Camouflage at Sea: H.M.S. *Argus*, one of the aeroplane ships built during the war

3000 tons, and those on the seaboard still larger craft of up to 8000 and 10,000. And the authorities went farther afield. In October Sir Leo Chiozza Money could inform the House of Commons that contracts had been made for building merchant ships at Shanghai "so far as steel could be spared from this country". The restriction was of itself enough to show that little could be expected from this quarter.

One of the measures taken to

tributed, on a scale to be defined later, among the workers in the winning yards who had worked 90 per cent of the time offered, or  $48\frac{1}{2}$  hours out of 54. An undeniable improvement was seen in the speed of production. In August, for instance, Messrs. Harland & Wolff, who already held the "record", were prepared to lay the keel of a vessel which was to be completed in 21 weeks—a great advance on the old standard, which allowed 8 months for a "tramp"



steamer and more than a year for a "liner".

British shipbuilding was, too, only a part, and not so leading a part as we naturally wish that it had been, of the total output of the Allies. We will yet again, and for the present, abstain from giving figures—and that for a particular reason. The "ton" in which British ships are estimated is not the same as the "ton" by which American and most foreign vessels are measured. They adopt the "deadweight" tonnage, which gives a far larger figure than the ton of capacity used by the Board of Trade—1,000,000 tons of American shipping would be, roughly speaking, equivalent to 750,000 tons "gross register". But while recording this ambiguity we have still to recognize that the war saw a stupendous growth in both American and Japanese tonnage. It began before the States came into the war, and was further stimulated when they had entered the conflict. There was exaggeration, perhaps, but there was certainly an element of truth in Sir G. Hunter's declaration in August, at Newcastle, that "the United States was now becoming the leading shipbuilding country". And the progress of Japan was even more significant. In 1896 she had possessed only 373 vessels of 334,592 tons. In 1916 she had 1151 of 1,847,453 tons in all—an increase of 550 per cent in 20 years. During 1917, and by the end of September, she had launched 35 vessels of 154,727 tons in all, and was preparing to launch many more.

The efforts made by the United

States were indeed great. In January, 1918, Mr. Edward Hurley, chairman of the American Shipping Board, announced that 113 shipyards were then building vessels for the United States. Of these 74 were new; 16 were small yards which had been expanded; and the remainder were old-established yards which were already working for the Government when America declared war on Germany. Nor was this the limit of the national effort. In March, Mr. Hurley reported that the number of yards had increased to 130 with 700 ways, employing half a million hands. But the building resources of the States, though already great and rapidly increasing, were not yet equal to their needs. Recourse was had to the Japanese yards. The bargaining between the two countries did not proceed quickly, and there were hitches which caused delays. Though Japan had the yards, the skill—both native and imported from England—and an abundant supply of cheap labour, she had not, so far, succeeded in providing herself with steel plates in sufficient quantities for a very great output. In that respect her industry was still in its infancy, though it gave promise of development. The negotiators had therefore to make an exchange, the United States supplying steel plates in return for tonnage to be delivered. The effect produced during the war was not, and could not be, much felt. But the powerful stimulus given to the shipbuilding of America and the Far East was so direct and so important a result of the war, and so much a feature

of the year, that it cannot be ignored by us.

In March the American Government took over 600,000 tons of Dutch shipping within its ports for use in territorial waters, and "for essential purposes connected with the prosecution of the war against Germany".<sup>1</sup> Norwegian sailing vessels of an aggregate of 400,000 tons were chartered for use in the Pacific, in order to release steamers for service in the Atlantic. In September the American papers were reporting, with a very natural gratification, that the output in the yards for August had been 300,000 tons (deadweight, of course), and could be relied on to grow in the future. The authorities, too, were busy training engineers, and had "the problem of crews well in hand", with "the help of the navy and the co-operation of the military authorities". The United States navy had expanded enormously. By the summer of 1918 it had increased its establishment of officers and men to 219,158 belonging to the regular navy, 219,566 to the reserve, and 65,068 to the coast-guard and marine corps.<sup>2</sup>

So far we have attended only to what may be called the background of the naval war during 1918—the efforts made to meet the strain of the submarine attack by organization, the

supply of new shipping to replace what had been lost, and defensive measures of a more or less passive character. In the natural course we now proceed to record the incidents of the struggle which took place on, or on the verge of, the sea. A distinction must be made among them, and a reason given for not treating all of them together. There are some among them, the use of such devices as the so-called "mystery ships", which it is convenient to deal with apart, and then such an operation as the attack on Zeebrugge stands by itself as a battle. We will, therefore, leave them aside for another chapter. Our immediate subject will therefore be the steady universal pressure applied to the Central Powers by the navy, and such incidents as broke the monotony of blockade without being of great magnitude in themselves.

Before beginning the narrative we may fairly pause for a moment to note that there is a difficulty in deciding what was the real effect of those operations with which we propose to deal here. While the war was still going on the public was commonly assured that the submarines were being held, and that more were sunk than the Germans could replace by new building. Yet on May 19, 1919, some six months after operations had ceased, Sir Eric Geddes, who had frequently given the assurances just quoted, told the House of Commons that just before the armistice the Germans were preparing for a submarine effort greater than any they had yet made, that they had more

<sup>1</sup>We have already noted that of German shipping in American ports another 600,000 tons had already been commandeered.

<sup>2</sup>No mention has been made in the text of the British National Shipbuilding Yards, which led to so much debate. The omission has been deliberate. It seemed superfluous to record the construction of the Chepstow yard, at a cost of £6,000,000, which, however, did not produce a single ship for use during the war.

submarines in commission in the autumn of 1918 than ever before, and that they had new and powerful craft ready to be launched in November. It was the failure of their armies which prevented the great submarine effort from being attempted.

The two statements of the case are plainly enough not in complete harmony—a fact which can be accounted for by the innocent desire of the Admiralty to keep the most favourable aspects of the naval war well in the public view while the struggle was still going on, and the end seemed distant, if not uncertain. We shall avoid confusion and mistakes if we bear in mind that the counter-measures taken to keep the ravages made by the submarines within bounds were only part of the total naval pressure applied by the Allies. And that pressure had a decisive influence in bringing about the exhaustion of the whole German nation, which spread to its armies. Other and subordinate causes were at work; the failure to obtain the hoped-for supplies from Russia was one, and another was the withdrawal of excessive numbers of men from agriculture and mining. But the naval pressure was that part of the whole power applied to the reduction of Germany which gave their maximum effect to all others. It was shown in the blockade, and no less by the substantial success of the Allies in importing needful supplies, and in transporting soldiers. Even if their submarines were less fully baffled than official optimism was tempted to believe that they were,

the fact remains that they failed to achieve their object, which was to exhaust the Allies, and in particular Great Britain, which bore the main burden of the carriage of supplies and troops, before they were themselves worn out.

Official optimism more or less (and rather less than more) sincere was, as we have seen, by no means unknown in Germany. Yet it is clear that our enemies had begun to be disappointed early in 1918. They did not hear of those frequent sinkings of transports carrying troops which they had been promised. Doubts began to arise, and they were so audibly expressed that it was thought advisable to allow Captain von Kühlwetter, the naval expert of the *Lokalanzeiger*, to publish a statement for the satisfaction of the public mind. It was more candid than might have been expected, for it amounted in reality to a confession that no such sinkings had taken place. Transports, said the captain, were so carefully guarded that the risk of attacking them was too great. The few which had been destroyed had been attacked in the Mediterranean before such careful protection was given. It was very dangerous for submarines to operate in the narrow waters of the Channel, and often useless to act on the open ocean, because the routes were constantly changed. He added, indeed, that a submarine could not always stay to see what effect its torpedo had produced, and he expressed a pious hope that more transports had been sunk than the Allies had thought fit to report. He also allowed that even when a trans-



port had been hit the soldiers it was carrying were commonly taken off by the protecting vessels. And all this amounted to a confession that the measures adopted by the Allies were effective.

Good and successful as they were in achieving their main purpose, they could not wholly ward off the attacks of an enemy who struck from below, and who was utterly unscrupulous in his choice of victims. Nothing could be more dishonourable to Germany than the repeated attacks made on hospital ships during the last year of the war, and that in circumstances which do not allow of any possibility of error on the part of the assailant. Three particularly scandalous cases may be quoted from the northern seas alone. At the very beginning of the year the *Rewa* was torpedoed and sunk in the Bristol Channel. She was not, and had not been, within the zone declared barred by the German Government on January 29, 1917. On this occasion there was only one casualty. But the next victims were less fortunate. In February the *Glenart Castle*, which was also in the free zone, was deliberately sent down by a submarine which was sighted within hailing distance. There can be no question here of mistake on the part of the German officer. The act was plainly committed in cold blood, and was one of the outrages which the Germans endeavoured to justify by falsely asserting that British hospital ships were constantly employed to carry troops and military stores. On this occasion there were only 29 survivors out of a total on board of 182. There were

8 nurses among those who perished.

An even (if possible) more scandalous example of ruthless brutality was the destruction of the *Llandoverly Castle*. This vessel, employed as a hospital ship, was homeward bound from Canada. She was 116 miles south-west of the Fastnet, and was showing all her navigating and regulation hospital lights, at about 10.30 p.m. (summer time, when it was not yet really dark), and at that time, and in those circumstances, she was torpedoed, and sank in ten minutes. There were in her at the time, in addition to her own crew of 164 officers and men, 80 Canadian army medical and 14 female nurses. Twenty-four of these 258 escaped in one boat. The other 234 perished. In this case there could be even less possibility of mistake than in others. The German captain cannot have failed to see the lights. He had the power, as he had the undoubted right, to stop the *Llandoverly Castle* and to verify her character. It is impossible not to believe that he preferred to launch his torpedo into what he knew was a hospital ship in a spirit of sheer brutality, and that he abstained from making the examination he might have carried out because he well knew that the facts would condemn him.

When vessels which ought to be sacred according to all the rules of civilized warfare were assailed in this style, it would have been strange if neutrals had escaped. As a matter of fact, they were sunk wholesale. During the month of March, 1918, thirty-four Norwegian ships were lost, and though they may in some cases



have perished by the dangers of the sea, the great majority must have been sunk by submarines of German nationality. About the middle of the year the Swedes counted that they had lost, not, to be sure, during 1918 only, but since the beginning of the war, 146 vessels of 102,000 tons net.

A most tell-tale instance of the often - gratuitous savagery of the Germans was given in September. The Norwegian steamer *Björnstjerne Bjørnson* left New York on August 30. She was freighted for the service of the Belgian Relief Commission with a cargo of wheat. She carried the flag and signals agreed on, and the words "Belgian Relief" were painted on her sides. On September 14 she was met and fired at by a German submarine. The captain at once stopped the engines and hoisted the appropriate signal. Yet the submarine fired again. The Norwegian skipper manned a boat, though a heavy sea was running, and took her papers to show to the German officer. Though it must have been patent to the enemy that the boat had been lowered and was on its way to her, the submarine fired again and again. Some of the shots struck the sky-lights, deck-houses, and funnels of the relief ship. The *Björnstjerne Bjørnson* was in the end allowed to go on.

It appears to be impossible to account for the acts of the German commander on any other supposition than that he had a downright pleasure in playing the bully, and wasted his ammunition simply to indulge his vile taste. It is characteristic that no neutral country was treated with

greater insolence than Spain. Her ships were destroyed callously, not only on the Atlantic, but in the Mediterranean. Yet the Spaniards had given refuge to numbers of Germans, and had afforded them an opportunity to earn money. But the Germans knew that the Spanish Government dreaded the prospect of being entangled in the war, and that the military and clerical parties sympathized with them and believed that they would win. The knowledge of these facts only made them more ruthless. Spain was weak, and nothing seemed more natural to the Germans than to assail the feeble country with insult and injury.

A war conducted by mere destruction offered few examples of more honourable operations. As compared with the deliberate sinking of a hospital ship, the adjective is perhaps not absurd when applied to such an operation as the bombardment of Yarmouth on the night of January 14. A small force of German light craft made a dash at the port in the dark, fired some fifty small shells into it for the space of a few minutes, and took themselves off. Four persons were killed and eight wounded. German official reports magnified this trumpery affair into a destructive raid on "important port establishments" in the southern part of the North Sea.

In the small hours of February 15 a flotilla of German destroyers fell on British patrol forces which were hunting a submarine. The trawler *James Pond*, and the drifters *Jamie Murray*, *Clover Bank*, *W. Elliott*, *Cosmos*, *Silver Queen*, *Veracity*, and *Christina Craig*

were sunk. Then the destroyers made off before British supporting forces could come up. We can afford to allow that this very minor operation was not only legitimate, but was smartly carried out. A submarine—the one hunted by the patrol or

carry out operations, save within narrow limits, with any of his vessels except submarines. The ports his craft occupied on the Flemish coast were kept under fire by a series of attacks which need not be detailed here, because they were the preliminaries of the great attack on Zeebrugge. When his destroyers did come out it became more and more the case that they were met and promptly driven back. Thus, on March 21 a German force of destroyers and torpedo boats, starting from their Flemish bases, came out to assail Dunkirk, La Panne, and Bray dunes. They were met by a combined force of British and French destroyers. The enemy did succeed in bombarding Dunkirk for some ten minutes. But they were attacked before they could do much harm. Two of their torpedo boats were undoubtedly sunk, for the survivors were picked up. The Allies believed they had sent down two destroyers. One British destroyer was hit, but the casualties were few. None occurred in the French vessels.

Slight brushes, which could not be expected to lead to decisive results, would naturally occur between the watching forces and the enemy who was under observation. On June 27, for instance, four British destroyers sighted eight of the enemy's, and tried to bring on a close engagement. But the Germans drew away, and all the firing was at long ranges. Then they were reinforced, and the British boats fell back on their supports. Such casual encounters were bound to happen between the advanced forces of both sides. In themselves they could



Deck of a Battleship, showing the wireless installation  
(From a photograph by Cribb, Southsea)

another—had just before fired about thirty rounds into Dover. The harm done was small, but it included 1 child killed; 3 men, 1 woman, and 3 children wounded. These were the last operations of an offensive character undertaken by the enemy against the British coast.

The watch on the enemy was now becoming too close to allow him to

not be considerable. Their significance lay in the fact that they took place near a coast in his possession, and were proofs that he was kept in, and that his access to the open sea was barred. It was an incident of happy omen that on the anniversary of the day on which the German armies were driven back across the River Marne, a British destroyer named after that victory the *Marne* (Commander G. B. Hertford, R.N.) sunk a German submarine.

The watch of the blockading forces could keep in, or at least confine very closely to their coast, all such enemy vessels as operated on the surface. As we know already by many examples it was not equally within its power to tie down the submarines. The Germans continued to slip out, and to do damage, though at increasing risk to themselves. One of them came to utter grief on May 11 in a novel way. She was sunk on the latitude of Cape St. Vincent by a British submarine. The weather was stormy and none of the German crew could be rescued. Another of their submarines, which was sighted immediately afterwards, dived and avoided action. These crafts were not out to fight if they could help themselves, but to destroy. What they aimed at was to achieve such successes as these:—

On March 31 the Australian S.S. *Conargoo*, 4312 tons, and the *Salaminia* of the Anglo-Italian Steamship Company, 3112 tons, were both sunk off the Irish coast. Ten lives were lost in the first named, and fifteen in the second.

On April 29 the Canadian Pacific S.S. *Oronsa*, 8075 tons, was sunk by a torpedo.

Three of the crew were lost, but the passengers were saved.

The Steam Packet S.S. *Inniscarra* was sunk by a submarine between Fishguard and Cork. All hands were lost except the captain—who was hurt—the chief engineer, and three seamen, who were picked up and carried to Queenstown.

On April 11 the United States S.S. *Lake-moor* was torpedoed and sunk,

On July 20 the White Star liner *Justicia*, 32,000 tons, was torpedoed and sunk off the north coast of Ireland. This was an exceptional case. The enemy did not act by surprise. A prolonged attack was made on a convoy, of which the *Justicia* was a part, and she was fatally wounded in spite of the efforts made by the escort of destroyers to protect her.

On July 17 the *Carpathia*, 13,603 tons, of the Cunard Line (she was the vessel which rescued the survivors of the *Titanic*), was sunk off the west coast of Ireland. Five of the crew were killed by an explosion in the engine-room, but the others, and the passengers to the number of 215, were saved.

On July 19 the United States S.S. *San Diego* (formerly *California*), an armoured cruiser of 13,680 tons, carrying four 8-inch and 14.6-inch guns, with small pieces and torpedoes, was sunk in the North Atlantic. Fifty-seven of her crew were lost. It was not quite certain whether she perished by internal explosion or enemy action.

On July 11 the United States supply ship *Westover*, 6000 tons, bound for Europe, was torpedoed. Two officers and eight men were lost.

Earlier in the month (on the 8th) the American S.S. *Pinar del Rio*, 2500 tons, was sunk by an enemy submarine off the coast of the United States.

During the night of July 14–15 the French steamer *Djemnath*, belonging to the Messageries Maritimes, was torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean. Five days afterwards the *Australien*, of the same company, was sunk in similar fashion with a loss of 20 of the crew and passengers; and



another steamer going in the same convoy with her was hit, but did not sink.

On August 26 the French S.S. *Pampa*—from Bizerta to Salonika—and on September 13 the S.S. *Amiral Charnier*—from Bizerta to Malta—were sunk by the enemy. Ten lives were lost on these two occasions.

In August, between the 15th and 21st the American steamers, *Lake Edon*, *Westbridge*, *Montanan*, and *Cubire* were sunk. Three lives were lost in the case of the *Montanan*.

On September 3 the American S.S. *Lake Owens*, 2300 tons, was sunk, with the loss of three of her crew.

On September 5 the S.S. *Mount Vernon*, formerly the *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*, 18,300 tons, was torpedoed on her way to America, with the loss of 37 stokers.

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive, nor nearly so. The losses quoted are taken because they are typical. We see how widely the submarine ranged from the eastern end of the Mediterranean to the coast of the United States. The total number of their victims had to be given in thousands before the war ended. A complete enumeration of all the cases would fill a volume, and a large one, if the circumstances of each loss were recorded. A bare list would be neither interesting nor instructive.

A history of a war on sea must often seem to lack the coherence of operations on land. Armies act within definite and often very close limits, and as united bodies. Fleets have the whole navigable sea for their scene of action, and ships must needs often operate apart. So events often seem to have no visible connection. But they do, when the general direction

is sound, go together to a chosen end. During 1918 unity was not lacking to the naval war. It was supplied by the blockade, which in the fuller sense was enforced on all the naval forces of the central alliance wherever they were. The event with which we propose to close this chapter was an incident in the universal blockade as much as encounters between destroyers on the Banks of Flanders, or the sinking of a German submarine cruiser on the latitude of Cape St. Vincent. It is the affair in which H.M. Monitor *Raglan* (Commander Viscount Broome) and the small monitor M. 28 were sunk at Imbros, and the Turco-German cruiser *Breslau* was lost on a mine-field in the near neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup>

We have had other occasions to note that the German cruiser *Goeben* had been transferred to the Turks by a collusive arrangement, and renamed by them the *Sultan Selim*. Also that the smaller cruiser *Breslau* had changed her nationality at the same time. The arrangement had been made at the beginning of the war, and since then the two vessels had played their rather ineffective

<sup>1</sup> Observe that this event must be told here on such evidence as has been published up to the date of writing. Some parts of the story, though freely spoken of at the time, were not mentioned in public accounts. It was known that statements made in the House of Commons, and repeated in London newspaper offices, were suppressed in the Reports of the Debates. They were to the effect that a British ship, or British ships, near Imbros, which could have rendered help to the monitors, were called off to carry out a concentration with others half way between the island and Salonika—after it was known that the enemy had come out from the Dardanelles. But it would obviously be unsafe, in the sense that it would be uncritical, to make use of what were only private assertions, even though the lifting of the censorship had rendered the quotation safe in the ordinary sense.



parts in operations within the Black Sea.

At the beginning of 1918 they were in the Dardanelles, where they were closely watched by a British blockading force which had its base at the Island of Imbros. Imbros lies to the west of the southern end of the Gallipoli peninsula, and is therefore a little to the north-west of the entry to the straits. The monitors were at anchor in Kusa Bay, at the north-eastern corner of the island. The destroyer *Lizard* was cruising between that part of Imbros and the peninsula on the morning of January 20. At 5.20 she sighted the *Breslau*, and about a mile behind her the *Goeben*, both standing to the north. They were obviously heading for Kusa Bay to carry out an attack on the monitors. The *Lizard* at once opened fire at 11,000 yards on the enemy vessels, which replied. But the accuracy of the fire from the *Breslau* and *Goeben* prevented the destroyer from closing, and their shot passed over her. The destroyer *Tigress* joined the *Lizard*, and the two strove to cover the monitors with a smoke screen. While they were thus striving to shield the vessels in Kusa Bay, they were themselves subjected to an accurate fire from the enemy—accurate as to direction, but not as to elevation, for they were not damaged. The shot which passed over them struck the monitors, which were destroyed with extreme rapidity. The *Raglan* was heavily hit, and sank. The M. 28 was set on fire amidships, blew up, and had disappeared by 6 a.m. The utter destruction of both had therefore been effected within less

than forty minutes, and they had been out of action before the end of M. 28 came. Neither had time to take a part in the action.

If now fortune had not favoured the British forces to some extent, it may be taken as certain that the enemy might have regained the Dardanelles little or not at all hurt, and perhaps after doing further harm. But fortune did intervene. During the great operations in and about the Dardanelles, mines had been laid by the Allies. Some of these had not been removed, and though British ships had moved to and fro across the water where they had been placed, none of them had been touched. Now, however, some of them—for more than one came into action—were aroused, to the ruin of the Turco-Germans.

When the enemy could see that the monitors were silenced, they turned to the south, followed by the *Lizard* and *Tigress*. The *Breslau* and *Goeben* had turned together so that the second was now leading. When they were about 6 miles south of Cape Kephala, a large explosion was seen to take place abreast of the funnel of the *Breslau*. Three other explosions followed, and at ten minutes past seven she went down by the stern, turning over as she sank. The *Goeben* turned to help her consort, and circled once round her. Then, finding that no aid could be given, she went on to the south. At this time Turkish destroyers were seen coming out of the Dardanelles, supported by an old Turkish cruiser. The *Lizard* and *Tigress* engaged the new-comers and drove them back into the straits. Mean-

while the *Goeben* was assailed by air-craft, and turned to re-enter the Dardanelles. While in the act of turning, she also touched a mine, and suffered an injury which gave her a list of from ten to fifteen degrees, and of course reduced her speed. Yet she made good her return, followed and



Lieutenant-Commander Geoffrey S. White, commanding the submarine E 14, awarded the posthumous honour of the Victoria Cross

(From a photograph by Russell & Sons, Southsea)

assailed by air-craft, till she was beached on Nagara Point in the Narrows. The *Tigress* and *Lizard* were prevented from following the *Goeben* by the fire of the shore batteries.<sup>1</sup>

While lying on the shoal at about 100 yards from Nagara Point lighthouse the *Goeben* was repeatedly assailed by our airmen, who secured two hits, but were themselves engaged

by the enemy's craft and suffered some loss. A great advantage would undeniably have been gained if the *Goeben*, whose destruction had been so often announced, could be really disposed of. Therefore, on January 27 the submarine E 14 left Mudros to make an attempt to inflict a final wound on her before she could be got off. Lieutenant-Commander G. S. White, of the E 14, made a most gallant attempt to carry out his mission. He entered the Narrows, but could not find the enemy. The *Goeben* had been taken off, or had got off by herself already. The E 14 had therefore to be turned back. On her way she fired a torpedo at an enemy ship, but was severely shaken by the explosion of her own missile. Her lights went out and the fore hatch was sprung. She rose to 15 feet, and a heavy fire was directed at her from the forts. No shot, however, struck her hull. She dived again and went on her way out. The shock of the explosion must have done extensive injury, for the E 14 became uncontrollable, and, when the air was nearly exhausted, Lieutenant-Commander White decided to endeavour to return on the surface. The submarine at once became a target, and was soon so severely battered that her commander steered her for the shore, to give the crew a chance of saving their lives. He himself remained on deck till he was killed by the explosion of a shell. It was a most valiant effort, and the signal gallantry of Lieutenant Commander White was very properly acknowledged by the grant of the posthumous Victoria Cross.

D. H.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. III, Chapter I for map and description of this scene of operations.



Drawn by G. H. Davies

An Aerial Eye of the Royal Navy: a destroyer towing an observation balloon at full speed

The employment of balloons towed from all types of ships, from submarines to battle cruisers, became a prevalent practice during the war for submarine hunting, reconnaissance, and artillery-spotting purposes. By a special winch the balloons could be wound in very rapidly when desired.



## CHAPTER V

## THE END OF THE NAVAL WAR

The Position as to the Germans—Reasons for demanding Surrender—The Mutiny in the German Fleet—Surrender Terms of the Armistice—End of the War—The Sinking of the Ships at Scapa Flow—Survey of the Gains and Losses of the War—The War Fleet—Merchant Shipping—Comparisons between Past and Present—The Loss in British Tonnage—Growth of some other Trading Fleets—Figures—Our Position at Sea—How affected—Conclusion.

WHEN, early in November, 1918, the Allies settled the terms on which they were prepared to grant an armistice to Germany, they could not fail to disarm its fleet, together with all its other forces. The nature of the conditions to be exacted were dictated by obvious considerations. An army can be rendered harmless; it can, in fact, be put out of existence altogether by disarming and disbanding the men of whom it is composed. Thus when the Allies of 1815 were taking measures to render any renewal of Napoleon's last adventure for ever impossible, they enforced the dissolution of an army which was known to be entirely devoted to him. These soldiers, who were nicknamed "the Brigands of the Loire", were still numerous enough, and sufficiently well armed, to be capable of being formidable. So they were disbanded under the direction of Marshal Macdonald. But though men are indispensable to a navy, it is none the less made up of ships. So long as these powerful instruments remain in the possession of a State, there must always be a risk that use will be made of them. Therefore it is not enough that the crews should be paid off and scattered. The ships themselves must

be surrendered. In ancient times the Romans had compelled the Carthaginians to hand over their war-galleys. No other precaution would have been effective. The Allies would have been lacking in prudence if they had not guarded themselves against a possible peril by taking the only sure way of reducing the German fleet to certain impotence.

For the moment the spirit of that once powerful navy—its discipline and its loyalty—might be said to have disappeared. There was no more convincing sign of the coming downfall of Germany than the mutiny of her fleet at Kiel. That word covers offences of very different degrees of gravity. Every deliberate refusal to obey an order, even when given by a subordinate officer, is mutiny. So are all violent explosions of discontent on the part of a ship's company. Examples of mutiny in this sense were by no means rare in the most glorious periods of the history of the British navy. The notorious disorders of the year 1797—the undisguised revolts of one great fleet at Spithead, and of another in the North Sea, and at the Nore—had been preceded by a long series of partial outbreaks; and instances were not very uncommon in



later times. Yet the British navy never showed reluctance to fight the enemy. Such mutinies were but family quarrels, mere ebullitions of temper provoked by more or less genuine grievances; or, at their worst, examples of individual vice. When, therefore, we heard of mutinies in German ships in earlier days it was prudent to wait for more evidence before deciding what they really meant. It was premature to assume that they were akin to those revolts against all discipline which took place in the French navy at Toulon in the first period of the Revolutionary War. These first produced a refusal to fight because the men accused their officers of being aristocrats who were scheming to betray them to the enemy, and then they led to the surrender of the ships at Toulon to Admiral Hood and Don Juan de Langara. Whatever may have been the case in the beginning, there can be no doubt as to the character of the outburst of the German ships at Kiel in 1918.

It was beyond all question a revolutionary movement. Much is obscure in the actual course of events, but the essential fact is patent. The discontent which had been simmering for some time, and had manifested itself in "mutinies", was shown to be something very different from the resentment bred of poor pay, lack of leave, and the harshness shown by particular officers in enforcing discipline, which had produced the so-called "breeze at Spithead", and the mutinies at the Nore and the Cape of Good Hope in 1797. It was a revolt against social and political conditions. There is

every probability that the principles of the German Socialists were widely adopted among the German sailors. The discipline of the Imperial Navy was rigid, and was harshly enforced. That was the case as between the High Command and the commissioned officers, and we may be sure that it was even more true of the relations of the officers to their men. The belief of large bodies of workmen that the social order in which they lived was unjust could not fail to be shared by some at least of the sailors. The long periods of stagnation to which the ships, other than submarines, were condemned, gave time for brooding and opportunities for communications between the ships' companies. The hardships of the submarine service and the high proportion of loss it entailed deepened ill-feeling. And then a new element was introduced from Russia.

There is a retribution in human affairs. The German Government, and the Military High Command as much as any part of it, had done all they could to promote Bolshevik disorder. It was characteristic of the pedantry which is one of their most marked aspects, that they could think of nothing except that they were entitled to avail themselves of every possible means of damaging their enemies. They were apparently too conceited, too arrogantly convinced of their own power, to reflect that the example of a destruction of all authority which they were promoting in Russia might act upon their own subordinates. And that is what wise men would have foreseen, and what

actually happened. Victory might have averted the outbreak, but in the early days of November, 1918, defeat was staring them in the face. The motive power was giving out of the once efficient administrative machine. On all hands there were signs of revolt against the overweening imperial and militarist rule which had first launched Germany into a terrible adventure and had then failed to win the promised victory. It stood condemned. Nothing was more natural than that the fleet should take its part in the general movement. It did, and it was aided by the population of the seaports which had once been the free Hanse towns. They had been willing to be absorbed in the empire which gave national unity to Germany; but they had never loved the dominant Prussian element, and they resented its tyranny.

The mutiny of the fleet, which culminated on November 4, was made in co-operation with the socialist elements of the population of Hamburg and other cities, and with some of the soldiers. It was not a mere revolt of the sailors, or an attempt to set up the "Floating Republic" talked of at the Nore in 1797. It was part of an extensive popular movement which aimed at the abolition of a Government. There does not seem to be any evidence that it was marked by the ferocity of the similar Russian explosion—at least, not to anything like the same degree. The German and Russian temperaments are different. But when the sailors had combined with the revolutionists to set up a Soldiers' and Workmen's

Council to take the place of the regular Government, the German navy was at an end as a disciplined force, as much as were the French ships at Toulon in 1793. Nothing remained of it save its material instruments. For the moment it had ceased to be "in being".

Though the German navy had revolted against the Emperor and his Government, and had become a revolutionary force, the Allies could not prudently leave it in the hands of the new masters of Germany. Nobody could foresee what use they would make of it. Therefore there was an absolute necessity to reduce it to impotence, and that could be done only by taking, not, indeed, all the ships, but the best of them. The terms imposed by the Allies were rigorous. They were such as the Germans would not have failed to insist on if they had been victorious.

All hostilities were to cease at once, and full information was to be given to the Allies of the whereabouts of all German ships. Notification was to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation had been restored in German territorial waters. All prisoners of war, naval or mercantile, were to be released without reciprocity, i.e. German prisoners were to remain in custody until their return should be settled in the final terms of peace. All German submarines (including submarine-cruisers and mine-layers) without exception, and complete in all respects, were to be given up at ports to be specified by the Allies. Those which were not in a condition to go to sea were to be disarmed, and to remain

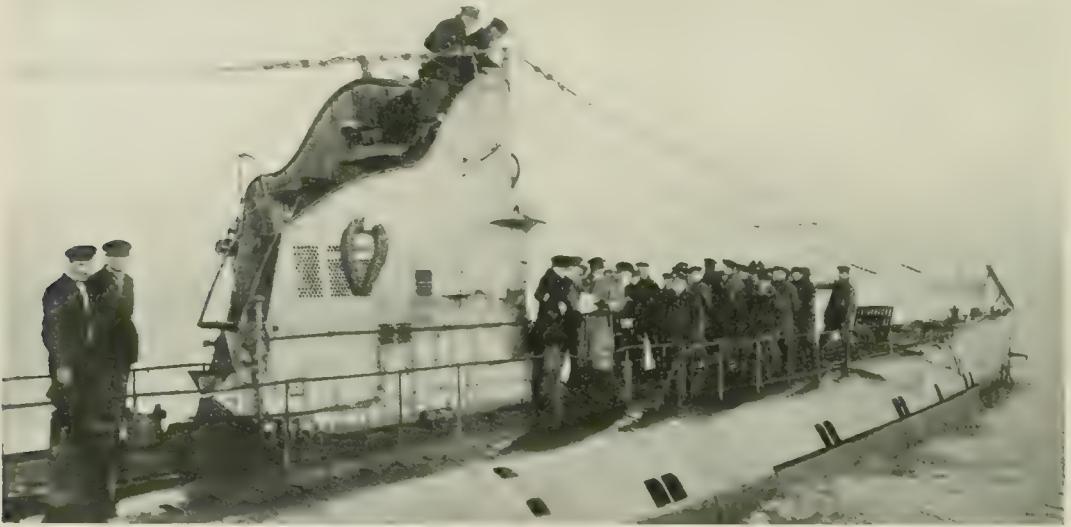
under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. But such as were ready for service were to come whenever they were summoned by wireless telegraphy. The conditions were to be carried out within fourteen days. Certain vessels other than submarines were to be interned in Allied or neutral ports, namely:

- 6 Battle-cruisers,
- 10 Battleships,
- 8 Light cruisers (including 2 mine-layers),
- 50 Modern destroyers.

Other surface ships were to be concentrated in German ports as directed by the Allies. All mine fields were to be swept by the Allies. There was to be freedom of access to the Baltic. The blockade of Germany was to remain in force as guarantee of the submission of the country to the

conquerors. Wherever the Germans evacuated foreign territory they had held, they were to leave all naval stores and armaments behind.

Germany, with her army hopelessly defeated in the field, and her navy in the hands of mutineers, was in no condition to refuse acceptance of these severe terms. On November 13 the



The Fate of the "U"-boats: British officers examining the commander's papers during the surrender of the German submarines under the terms of the armistice

*Königsberg* put to sea, bringing with her the plenipotentiaries authorized to fix the details of the actual handing over of the ships. They included delegates of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of the German fleet, and with them the naval officers who were to conduct the negotiations—if that word can be applied to a meeting in which the conquered must bow to the will of the conquerors.

The Grand Fleet was at Rosyth. The *Königsberg* was met by the destroyer *Oak*, and the German naval



officers were taken to the flagship, the *Queen Elizabeth*, on November 15, but the other delegates were left in the German ship. The representatives of the British fleet which, in these and all subsequent stages, spoke for the whole body of the Allies, were Sir David Beatty, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet, to whom the glorious duty fell by right; Admiral Madden, the second in command; Vice-Admiral Brock, the Chief of the Staff; while Vice-Admiral Browning and Rear-Admiral Tyrwhitt took part in certain stages. The German representatives were Rear-Admiral Hugo von Meurer, Korvetten Kapitan Hintzmann, Kapitan-Lieutenant Saalwachter, Kapitan-Lieutenant von Freudenreich, and Lieutenant-zur-See Brauneck, the Rear-Admiral's aide-de-camp. The conference was prolonged to the following morning, and did not end till 10 a.m. on November 16. The terms were settled, and fulfilment of the conditions imposed was not delayed.

Before the British fleet put to sea on the 21st, to meet the surrendered German ships, it was reviewed by the King. Already, on the very day when the armistice was signed, His Majesty had included the navy in the messages which he sent to the forces. The message to the navy, sent through Sir Eric Geddes, the First Lord of the Admiralty, summed up the story, and stated the moral of four years of war. It ran:

"Now that the last and most formidable of our enemies has acknowledged the triumph of the Allied arms on behalf of Right and Justice, I wish to express my

praise and thankfulness to the officers, men, and women of the Royal Navy and Marines, with their comrades of the fleet auxiliaries and mercantile marine, who for more than four years have kept open the seas, protected our shores, and given us safety.

"Ever since the fateful 4th of August, 1914, I have remained steadfast in my confidence that, whether fortune frowned or smiled, the Royal Navy would once more prove the sure shield of the British Empire in the hour of trial.

"Never in its history has the Royal Navy, with God's help, done greater things for us, nor better sustained its old glorious traditions and the chivalry of the seas.

"With full and grateful hearts the peoples of the British Empire salute the White, the Red, and the Blue Ensigns, and those who gave their lives for the flag.

"I am proud to have served in the navy. I am prouder still to be its head on this memorable day."

On November 21 the Grand Fleet put to sea to meet the German ships which were coming to give themselves up. The meeting took place at 8 a.m. The number of war-ships of all classes actually delivered was 70, including 5 battle-cruisers and 9 battleships and 7 light cruisers. One of each of these classes was short of the stipulated number. It was not till later that the total of 16 great ships to be delivered was raised to 16 by increasing the battleships to 11. On November 22 the captives were sent to Scapa Flow, where they were to be interned. Orders were given that the British flag was to be hoisted in all of them and the German flag hauled down. The German admiral, von Reuter, who was in command of the crews, protested against this order. He argued that as the German ships were

supposed only to be interned they ought to have been allowed to show their national flag. The point appears to be extremely minute to the non-professional observer. Whether the course taken by the British authorities was the wisest of all open to them is a question which can be better treated in connection with later events. For the moment the reply made by Sir David Beatty was unanswerable. He pointed out that the armistice had not ended the war. While it lasted, even though only in a formal sense, the German flag could not be shown in a British port. They were under our authority, and the British flag was the symbol of our authority.

The ships which were brought to Rosyth constituted only a part, and the smaller one, of the sacrifices to be made by Germany. The submarines were to be given up. In the case of that class of vessel the method adopted was not the same, and the place of surrender was Harwich. The submarines were sent over in detachments, anchored 20 miles from the coast, and the crews were sent back to Germany in three transports provided for the purpose by their own Government. On November 20, 19 were given up, one having broken down on the way. On November 22, 20 others were handed over; 28 on November 25, and 27 two days later. Eight more came in by December 1. They were distributed round the coast as trophies.

Without going so far as to say that this general laying down of arms was an event without precedent in naval warfare (an assertion which it is rarely

safe to make) we must recognize that it would be difficult to find a parallel. But it arose naturally from the situation, in the first place, and then from the teaching and menaces of the Germans themselves. The aggressive vanity—what Carlyle would have defined as the stalking, hissing, and contentious vanity of the gander, as distinguished from the gay vanity of the peacock—which had been bred among the Germans by their successes between 1864 and 1871, had inspired them to their own ultimate ruin. They had taken to dwelling with complacency on the "rights" of conquerors, on the use to be legitimately made of victory for the purpose of crushing the defeated enemy beyond recovery, and thereby increasing the material prosperity of the victor. They had been wont to talk with arrogant candour of their intention one day to compel the surrender of the British fleet. Though such rude boasting was not openly indulged in by official speakers, it was in great favour among Germans in general, and later revelations have shown that it was by no means unusual among German politicians in office when they were speaking confidentially to one another. The measures which they had complacently planned to take with others were meted out to them; and that was only what they ought to have expected on their own principles. When the destiny they had provoked overtook them they had nothing to do but to undergo their fate.

To say, as some among us did, that the surrender of the German navy had a peculiarly ignominious character, and



Drawn by Douglas Macpherson, on board H.M.S. *Resolution*

The Surrender of the German Fleet at Sunset on November 21, 1918



that its officers and men ought to have insisted on perishing in battle against overwhelmingly superior forces, or to have sunk their ships rather than give them up, is to show more susceptibility to melodrama than common sense. When Germany, being unable to fight any longer, accepted the terms of the armistice it was incumbent on all Germans to submit with the rest of the nation. Even if the navy had not been in a ferment of revolutionary disorder, its officers and men would have acted in a criminal way if they had perversely insisted on taking a line by themselves. They would only have brought further misfortunes on their country, and might have been legitimately subjected to severe punishment by their own countrymen.

It would be absurd to draw the deduction that the German seamen lacked courage because they performed their part in the universal capitulation of their country. Again and again throughout the war crews of German ships fought with undaunted courage against immense odds. Cruel and hateful as the work done by their submarines was, it could not have been performed by men who shrank from enduring hardships and running risks. The world would have been spared much wickedness in all ages if only the humane were brave and if brutal natures were not also often courageous. The moral of the German story on the sea and elsewhere in this war has been that for the courageous and the capable, as for all men, pride goes before a fall and a haughty spirit before destruction—and that for a very sufficient

reason. Those passions stimulate men to attempt to do more than it is in their power to achieve, and inflate them with the over-confidence which does not hesitate to drive all mankind to fight in its own defence.

The articles of the Treaty of Peace signed, after many delays and much painful negotiation, on May 8, 1919, which dealt with the naval position of Germany, its war fleet, and its merchant shipping, were governed by the same principles as those of the armistice. The fallen empire had created a navy to be used as an instrument of aggression, and it had employed its war-ships, and in particular its submarines, to work the utmost possible amount of destruction of the merchant shipping not only of its actual opponents, but of the United States while they were still neutral, and other neutrals who did not join in the war. The Scandinavian peoples, Holland, and Spain had suffered heavily. There was nothing to show that the savage policy of the German rulers had been condemned by any substantial body of public opinion among their subjects till it had brought disaster on Germany. Therefore the Allies were naturally, and even necessarily, resolved that the German navy should not again be a danger to them; and also that German merchant shipping should not be allowed to profit by the destruction which the submarines had wrought. There was but one way of attaining to these ends—more ships must be taken at once, and limits must be fixed for the future.

So it was stipulated, to begin with,

that the German navy should not henceforward exceed 6 battleships of the *Deutschland* or *Lothringen* class,<sup>1</sup> 12 destroyers, and 12 torpedo-boats. It was forbidden to include any submarines or to possess mine-layers for a longer period than was necessary to clear German waters from mines. All war-ships over and above this minimum were to be given up if they were completed, and those which were under construction were to be taken to pieces. The material was to be turned to industrial purposes, and not to be sold to foreign nations. The whole submarine establishment, vessels completed and not as yet surrendered, salving vessels, docks "capable of proceeding upon their own power" were to be handed over, and uncompleted craft to be broken up within three months. Auxiliary cruisers were to be used for trade. No new vessels were to be acquired except under fixed conditions (approved, of course, by the Allies) of displacement. The same stipulation was made as to the allowance of arms and ammunition to be given to war-ships. All excess was to be surrendered.

These measures reduced the German navy to the level of that of a third-rate naval power for the present. But other precautions were taken of a more effectual nature. Modern science has worked wonders, and will achieve others. It is most uncertain whether warfare on, in, and over the sea will be conducted in a few years

with such instruments as have been employed in this war. We may hope that there will be no more wars in our time, but we must not rely on our hopes as if they were reasonable expectations. Prudence required that Germany should be allowed to retain only a minimum of men by whom weapons of war now in use, or to be developed, could be handled. Two ways of imposing the restriction were adopted by the Allies. The establishment of the German navy was fixed at a very moderate figure—15,000 men and 1500 officers, commissioned or warrant, and the rule was made that they must be raised by voluntary enlistment.

The second rule is by far the most effective. Napoleon had tried to limit the Prussian army to 40,000 men by the treaty of Tilsit, but his restrictions had been evaded. So long as a Government can compel the services of its subjects, means can always be found to defeat all efforts to confine its trained, or at any rate partially trained, men within the bounds desired by its enemies. Napoleon relied on conscription himself to raise his armies, and could not demand that the Prussian army should in future be recruited by voluntary enlistment save at the risk of arousing discontent in France. If he could have taken that course we may be sure that Prussia would not have been able to put a large army into the field in 1813. The Allies were more free to act, and though some of them may find that the course they have followed with the German navy may produce inconvenience for them-

<sup>1</sup> These vessels, both launched in 1904, were of 13,200 tons displacement, with a speed of 18 knots. They carried four 28-centimetre guns, and had a secondary armament. They are weak and slow according to modern standards.

selves in a few years, the immediate advantage of their policy was obvious. The German navy must in future obtain its officers by a contract valid for twenty-five years, and its men by the same means for twelve. No great difficulty may be found—we may even say will be found—in obtaining the officers. But the men can be tempted only by the offer of terms of payment which Germany, burdened as it must be, will hardly be able to afford.

It is eminently probable that even the permitted minimum will not be secured. Experience may show, before another generation has passed, that this, of all the stipulations of the treaty, is the one which has “most of the future in it”. Conscription lays a heavy load on a people when the fear of Germany, which is still fresh, has passed away, as it most probably will when that country has been found to be no longer dangerous. Other peoples will be more restive than they have been so far, if they are still galled by an obligation from which their former enemies will be free. If ever voluntary enlistment is universally adopted, the age of large armies will be over. And that is a consummation most devoutly to be desired.

A profusion of other restrictions were imposed by the treaty. Germany was called upon to agree that all fortifications which command the approaches to the Baltic should be removed, and that such purely defensive works as it is suffered to retain shall be provided with only fifteen rounds of ammunition for 4-inch guns,

and 500 for pieces of larger calibre. Germany, in short, having launched on a tremendous adventure to create a *Weltmacht*, and impose its will on other nations, has ended by finding itself at the mercy of the world it hoped to dominate. The confiscation of German merchant shipping of above 1600 tons may be looked upon as a fine imposed for its abuse in the employment of its submarines.

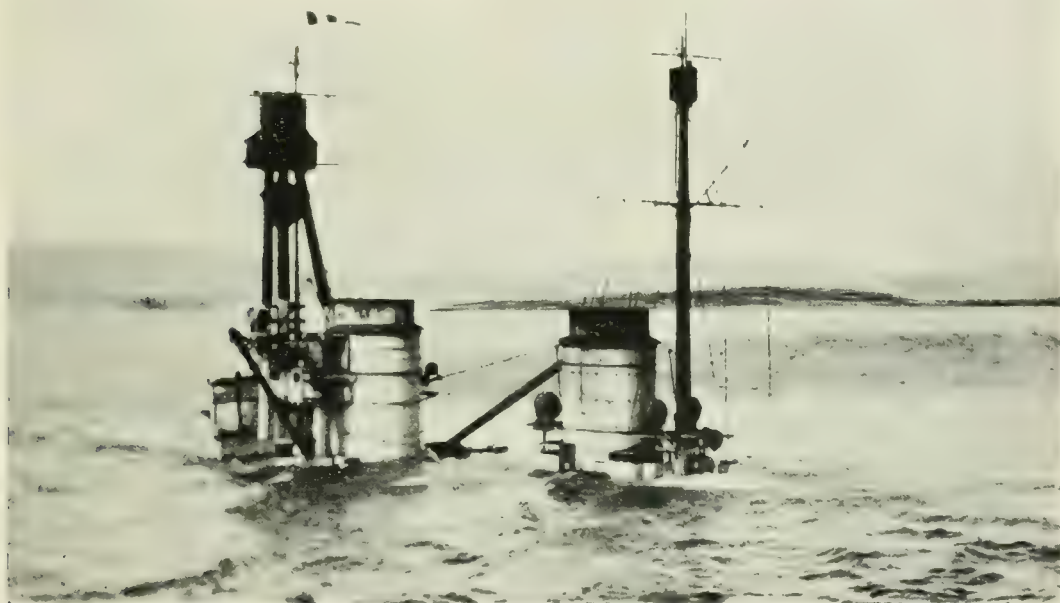
So much penalty, so much humiliation, could not but breed bitter anger in the hearts of many Germans who were not entirely crushed by the miseries of their lives, and intent only on escaping from present ills. It was but natural that this wrath should be most keenly felt among the navigating crews left in charge of the interned ships at Scapa Flow. When we stand far enough off the events themselves we may, and no doubt will, be of opinion that the course taken with them was a mistaken one from every point of view. There was a general wish—a freely expressed wish—among ourselves that these vessels should be taken out to deep water and sunk. The proposal was extremely ill-advised. The German vessels had been interned by the common decision of the Allies. Several of them—France, for instance, and Italy too—were of opinion that they were entitled to a share in the prize—for whatever technical term might be applied to them in the language of diplomacy, it is certain that this is what they were.

Nor was their view essentially unreasonable. They, too, had suffered losses, and if the surrendered ships



were not to be divided for military purposes, the materials of which they were constructed had a certain value. Great Britain, which possessed by far the largest navy, and, though hampered in its merchant shipping for the time, had far better means of making good on the industrial side,

treated with formal courtesy the German officers and men were, as it were, sent to Coventry. No other treatment could be given them. The position was none the less one of humiliation, not the less bitter because it was deserved. The Germans, who rarely if ever shared the views of



The End of the Surrendered German Fleet: one of the scuttled ships, the *Hindenburg*, resting on the bottom in shallow water at Scapa Flow

could well afford to send the German ships to the bottom of the Atlantic. Her Allies could not. When the British Government agreed to take charge of these ships, and put them under the supervision of its navy, it did assume the obligation to take every care that they should be preserved. But due precautions were not taken when German crews were left in them. Though they were

VOL. IX.

others, resented the application of their own methods to themselves. They were isolated, thrown on the company one of the other. They discussed, they talked, and they worked themselves into the frame of mind in which they sank those ships.

On June 21 the British battle-fleet was absent on gunnery practice, and the destroyers were in attendance.

The opportunity was taken by the Germans to carry out a plan which must have been well laid beforehand. A red flag was hoisted, and the small German crews left in charge opened the Kingston valves. No British force was present capable of coercing

were made to tow sinking vessels into shallow water, but they were unsuccessful. Before the fleet could be recalled the whole of the German ships, with the exception of the super-Dreadnought *Baden*, had been sunk. She had been sent in place of the



The Scuttling of the German Fleet at Scapa Flow: towing German officers and men to one of the British battleships

the crews, small as they were, of seventy-two German ships. The crews left the sinking ships in boats, or took to the water. The few guard-boats on the spot did in some cases fire on them for refusing to make any attempt to save the ships, and a few Germans are understood to have been killed or wounded. Two attempts

*Mackensen*, which was not in a condition to be delivered. The vessels thus destroyed were:—

#### BATTLESHIPS.

<i>Friedrich der Grösse.</i>	<i>Markgraf.</i>
<i>Kaiser.</i>	<i>Prinz Regent Luit-</i>
<i>Kronprinz Wilhelm.</i>	<i>pold.</i>
<i>Kaiserin.</i>	<i>Grosser Kurfürst.</i>
<i>Bayern.</i>	

## BATTLE CRUISERS.

*Seydlitz.*            *Hindenburg.*  
*Derfflinger.*      *Moltke.*  
*Von der Tann.*

## LIGHT CRUISERS.

*Karlsruhe.*        *Brummer.*  
*Frankfort.*       *Köln.*  
*Emden.*           *Bremen.*  
*Nürnberg.*       *Pillau.*

With forty-nine destroyers of the newest type.

the loss of our colonies in America was not injurious to the strength and prosperity of the British Empire. The victory which France then gained was won only by completing the bankruptcy of the Royal Government, which was the *causa sine qua non*, though not the *causa causans*, of its destruction. The World War will, like others, have consequences which the wisest man now living cannot foresee. On the maritime

## LOSSES OF THE CENTRAL POWERS IN SHIPS.

Classes.	Germany.	Austria.	Turkey.	Total of Losses
Battleships... ..	1	3	1	5
Battle Cruisers ...	1			1
Cruisers ... ..	6		1	7
Light Cruisers ...	17	2	2	21
Mining Vessels ...	32			32
Gunboats ... ..	9	4*	3	16
Destroyers ... ..	10	5	2	17
Torpedo-boats ...	53	4	6	63
Submarines ... ..	107	8	2†	207
Total	326	26	17	369

\* Including one patrol boat. † German. [The Austrian losses were somewhat uncertain.]

The incident caused more anger abroad than at home. There were not wanting those who were sure that the sinking had been pre-arranged with the British authorities, who were willing to see the ships sunk so that no part of them should pass into the possession of allies.

At the end of a war men sum up their gains and their losses. The balance is hard to strike. There are gains which bring disaster, and losses which are a release from danger. Whoever judges with impartiality, and with a due regard to facts, can now see that

side, with which alone we are concerned in this chapter, the balance is no easier to strike than it is on a wider field.

We have to record one great gain. The German navy has ceased to be a threat to the British Empire. While it was growing opposite our shores it was an increasing menace. It is gone, and the world is freer for us. Germany would hardly have gained more than we have won if the Tsardom had perished amid the disorders which followed the war with Japan. And that is a welcome deliver-



ance. But at what cost, and with what prospects in the future, has the success been achieved? The answer presents many difficulties. We cannot give it in the shape of mere comparative lists of material losses. They are easily given. The table

now put beside this list the other, which gives the losses of the Allies, we appear on the face of the document to have lost 26 ships more than our defeated enemies in the whole war. The balance is in favour of our enemies, which is absurd.

LOSSES OF THE ALLIES IN SHIPS FROM ALL CAUSES.

	Great Britain.	France.	Greece.	Italy.	Japan.	Portugal.	Roumania.	Russia.	U.S.A.	Total Allied Losses.
Battleships ... ..	13	4		3	1			4		25
Battle Cruisers ... ..	3				1					4
Cruisers ... ..	14	11		2				2	3	32
Light Cruisers ... ..	13				5			1		19
Torpedo Gunboats ... ..	10			1				2	1	14
Coast Defence ... ..	1			1*						2
Sloops ... ..	18									18
River Gunboats ... ..	2					1				3
Flotilla Leaders ... ..	3			1						4
Destroyers ... ..	62	8	1	8				21	2	102
Torpedo-boats ... ..	10	7		12	1		1			31
Submarines ... ..	54	14						9	1	78
Aircraft-carriers ... ..	3									3
Patrol Boats ... ..	2									2
Mine-layers ... ..	2	2		1				4		9
Armed Merchant- Cruisers ... ..	17	4		2					2	25
Hospital Ships ... ..	2							3		5
Armed Boarding Steamers ... ..	13			1†					1‡	15
Mine sweepers ... ..	2								2	4
Total	244	50	1	32	8	1	1	46	12	395

\* A Monitor. † A Transport. ‡ Fuel Ship.

of losses incurred by the Central Powers is printed on p. 99.

The total of their losses is, we see, 369, but this figure falls far short of the truth. The peace of May 9, 1919, has reduced the German navy to a remnant, and has doomed it to remain in that state. The Austrian Empire is gone and its navy with it. What remains of Turkey? If we

Yet the table is instructive. We see that much more than half the total loss fell on the British navy, and that it was diminished in "capital ships", that is to say large vessels, far more than all the others put together. Comparisons with the past are deceptive. No submarines existed in the days of the sailing navy. Now we have to include losses in that class of

vessel, and all inflicted by them. If we confine ourselves to comparing our own case with that of the Germans, we see that 54 British submarines were destroyed as against 197 Germans. Therefore it would appear that we lost 190 vessels of all other classes as against 129 Germans. But these exercises in comparative list-making are little better than confusing. We must get out from among the trees if we want to see the wood.

When we survey the whole subject we are forced to see that victory cost us dear. Whether it cost us more than former triumphs is a query which cannot be disposed of till we are better able to judge of the proportions than we are now. It is a simple business to make a list of our losses in ships in former wars, at least since the revolution of 1688.<sup>1</sup>

In the war of the reign of King William III, from 1688 to 1697—

The French loss was	...	58	ships
The British " "	...	50	"
<hr/>			
Balance in favour of Great Britain	...	8	"

The French loss included 18 sail of the line, the British only 4.

In the War of the Spanish Succession, 1701-12—

The French loss was	...	52	ships
The British " "	...	38	"
<hr/>			
The balance in favour of Great Britain was	...	14	"

<sup>1</sup>I take the figures given by Captain Isaac Schomberg in his *Naval Chronology*, Vol. V. They may be trusted to give the facts with substantial accuracy. The loss is from all causes.

26 of the French and 16 of the British were line-of-battle ships.

During the Spanish War and Austrian Succession War, which lasted from 1739 to 1749—

The Spanish loss was	...	22	ships
The French " "	...	40	"
<hr/>			
The British loss was	...	51	"
<hr/>			
		11	"

The balance in our favour was smaller, but in line-of-battle ships it was much in our favour. The enemies lost 41 to our 13.

In the Seven Years War, 1755-63—

The French loss was	...	103	ships
The Spanish " "	...	19	"
<hr/>			
		122	
The British loss was	...	67	"
Balance in our favour	...	55	"

We lost 16 ships of the line and our enemies 49.

During the whole war of American Independence, 1775-1783—

				Ships.
The British loss to all enemies was	...	200		
The French loss was	...	62		
The Spanish " "	...	24		
The Dutch " "	...	8		
<hr/>				
				94
The balance against us was	...	106		

In the Revolutionary War, 1793-1802—

The French loss was	...	341	ships
The Spanish " "	...	64	"
The Dutch " "	...	77	"
The Danish " "	...	15	"
<hr/>			
		497	"
The British loss was	...	321	"
<hr/>			
The balance in our favour was	...	176	"

## The Great World War

The enemies lost 87 line-of-battle ships to our 21.

In the Napoleonic War, 1803 to 1815—

French losses	...	...	378	ships
Spanish	"	...	79	"
Dutch	"	...	54	"
Danish	"	...	86	"
Russian	"	...	7	"
Turkish	"	...	16	"
American	"	...	14	"
			634	"
British losses	...	...	359	"
Balance in favour of Great Britain	...	...	275	"

those of former wars. The latter were usually drawn up, when made at all, to include deserters, who, in the days when fleets were recruited by the press-gang, and always to some extent from the jails, were numerous. That is a scandalous element which we are not compelled to take into account now. But there is another reason, which will be patent to all who look at the Admiralty return of casualties printed below.

However cautious one may be to abstain from sweeping assertions, it is safe to say that the killed were never

### LIST OF CASUALTIES IN THE NAVY, ISSUED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY

It covers all losses up to November 11, 1918, and includes the Royal Naval Air Service, but not the Royal Naval Division, which is in the War Office Return.

	Dead from all causes	Wounded.	Missing.	Interned and Prisoners.	Total.
Officers ...	2,466	805	15	222	3,508
Men ...	30,895	4378	32	953	36,258
Total ...	33,361	5,183	47	1,175	39,766

No notice is taken of privateers, mere armed boats, and other small fry in these lists. In craft under such headings we lost much and we destroyed more. No sort of parallel can be made between them and submarines if only because they were helpless against vessels of any size, while the U-boat could sink the greatest craft afloat, and so could the mine.

There would be no less lack of criticism in making a comparison between the casualties of this and

more than six times as numerous as the wounded in any naval war of which we have trustworthy records. No reliance can be placed on the figures given wholesale for ancient and mediæval wars. In modern times, when statistics are available, the proportion has usually been four or five wounded to one killed.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Even in their case there is less than absolute certainty. Among ourselves, in days when the Patriotic Society gave a bounty to wounded men, it was known to happen that the number of those who applied was in excess of the official return. In some ships no notice was taken officially of slight wounds. But every man who could make out a claim tried to obtain his share of bounty.



tremendous excess of dead over wounded in the Great World War in our fleet (and the figures as to other navies, Allied or hostile, can differ only in degree) is the most eloquent of all testimonies to the ruthless character of modern naval war—to the dreadful efficiency of the torpedo, the mine, the shell, to all the weapons which set high-explosives in action. And while the loss

less if we allow, as perhaps we ought, that the disappearance of the German navy as a possible competitor represents a greater measure of success than any we achieved against our former enemies. On the other hand, when we go beyond material losses and get into the region of balances and proportions, the elements of the problem become very subtle. In the case of the wars

named above the only parties to be considered were ourselves and our immediate opponents. We had often no allies, or when we had, as, for instance, the Dutch or the Spaniards, they were for one reason or another weakened both positively and in relation to Great Britain. Any gain we made was a net gain. Nobody else grew alongside us.

That is not the case now. While the German navy has disappeared, the navies of Japan and the United States have grown. It is enough to note an undeniable fact. Both countries are our friends and allies. We trust they will always so remain. But when we are comparing relative strengths we confuse the calculation if we do not leave everything out of the account except the measurable strength of the parties. Now it is patent that the rapid advance of two navies belonging to rising and alert nations, whose geographical position



Photo. Seaman Is. Portsmouth

One of the Costs: H.M.S. *Irresistible*, sunk in the Dardanelles

falls with crushing weight on the loser, the conqueror escapes with small injury or none. The British ships lost off Coronel did little harm to their opponents. The German vessels sunk with all hands, or nearly all, in the Falkland Island affair, and on other occasions, could do equally little. It is all or nothing in modern naval warfare.

Looking at the main results, it would appear that we have not paid a higher price for naval victory in this war than at any time since the reign of William III. We have paid

is as much in their favour as that of Germany was to her disadvantage, is an element which it would be foolish to ignore. And naval power is not to be judged by the relative size of fleets only. The whole activity of a people on the sea must be taken into account: the number of its merchant ships, the character of its trade, its prospect of expansion, and the effect which its growth must be reasonably expected to have on competitors. After looking at the effect of the World War on the fighting fleets, we must, to make the picture complete, see how it has affected the commercial shipping of all nations. And in this also we must look behind as well as about us.

When we turn to ask what the World War has cost us in merchant shipping in actual tonnage, we have to recognize that it has been costly beyond precedent. There are many difficulties in our way if we try to make a detailed comparison between now and then.<sup>1</sup> But enough is known

<sup>1</sup> It will be obvious that we cannot undertake to present the reader with the results of a minute inquiry in this place. There is even great doubt whether the most diligent inquiry would conduct us to certainty. The office of Inspector-General of the Imports and Exports was created, on the motion of the House of Lords, in 1696. The office of "Register-General of Shipping" dates from 1701. Evidence for the ages before these dates is hard to find—often not to be obtained, and always subject to doubt. Ever since records have been kept there is uncertainty. The work was not always well done. Returns are not seldom contradictory. Much evidence perished in the destruction of archives at the Custom House in two great fires. And then the ways in which returns were made were lacking in precision. It is notorious, for instance, that the official estimates of the values of imports and exports were always arbitrary, and were below the true amounts by as much as a third. When shipping is the matter in hand we have often to rest content with the total tonnage of "clearances", which is manifestly fallacious. A vessel might make more than one voyage in a year. Those engaged in the coasting trade would make many. They were cleared every time they left port, and

on good evidence, to justify the belief that as a rule, and with few exceptions, this country has ended all the wars in which it has been engaged since 1688 with, at the worst, a not greatly diminished, and, at the best, a more or less notably increased shipping. The tonnage cleared in any given year does not, of course, show what the amount possessed by the nation was. But when we find a progressive increase in the clearances, we may be sure that the shipping grew also. The figures now to be quoted will therefore show, in a general way, the results during a period when wars occurred at intervals of about a dozen or fifteen years. During the earlier part of the time Scotland and Ireland are not included, but neither country then contributed much to the movements of sea-borne commerce.

At the Restoration of Charles II the total of clearances was 92,266 tons. Twenty-eight years later, after two destructive naval wars with the Dutch, the amount had increased to 190,533. The wars of William III and Queen Anne were in reality one war, broken by an uneasy interval of truce. As not uncommonly happened, the first years of hostilities saw a drop. At the date of the Peace of Ryswick the return of clearances gave only 144,264 tons. When, however, the

their tonnage went each time to swell the total. Tons burden and tons register do not coincide, and never have actually corresponded. We must resign ourselves to be satisfied with main tendencies and general results till the whole bulk of evidence has been sifted far more thoroughly than it has been so far. The reader who may wish to see more than can be given here may be referred to George Chalmers's *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain and of the Losses of her Trade from every War since the Revolution* [1688]. It covers the eighteenth century.

war came to a real end with the Peace of Utrecht, in 1712, clearances had reached the level of 326,620 tons. When the Spanish War, commonly called the war of Jenkins's Ear, broke out, in 1739, they had grown to 384,191 tons. They had been higher in the interval. In 1749, the first year of general peace, the figure was 609,798. It must be assumed that this was a year of making up of arrears, for the clearances dropped to 451,254 by 1757, when the Seven Years War began. In 1764, when it was concluded, they had gone up to the level of 583,934 tons. In 1778, when the War of American Independence became a general conflict, the clearances were 657,238. In 1784, when it had ended, they were 846,355.

These figures do not show more than that British shipping grew steadily in spite of frequent wars in which we by no means always succeeded in avoiding heavy losses. We can be more precise for the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, which began in 1793 and came to an end in 1815. In the former year there were 16,679 vessels owned in Great Britain and Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands, and the Colonies, of a total registered tonnage of 1,564,520. When peace returned there were 24,418 of a total of 2,616,965 tons. And these figures do not include those vessels manned by Lascars, which traded within the limits of the East India Company's charter, though they did include the sixty or seventy vessels or so which carried the "home trade" between India and Great Britain.

A very different story had to be told at the close of October, 1918, when the Great World War was at its last gasp. It is drawn with candour in the return of "World Tonnage" issued by the Government.<sup>1</sup>

WORLD TONNAGE					Gross Tons.
Losses ...	...	...	...	...	15,053,786
Gains—					
New construction, 10,849,527					
Enemy tonnage					
captured, ...				2,392,675	13,242,212
Net losses	...	...	...	...	<u>1,811,584</u>

That represents how the rest of the world stood at that period as compared with the Central Powers. Even when its tonnage was reinforced by captures from Germany and Austria the Allies and neutrals were nearly 2,000,000 tons to the bad. If the loss were distributed *pro rata* it would be no worse for us than for others. But it has not been so divided, as we see at once when the British losses are stated, as they are in the return by themselves.

BRITISH TONNAGE					Gross Tons.
Losses ...	...	...	...	...	9,631,828
Gains—					
New construction, 4,342,296					
Purchase abroad, 530,000					
Enemy tonnage					
captured, ...				716,520	5,588,816
Net Losses	...	...	...	...	<u>3,443,012</u>

When the results are stated in words they come to this—that we lost a third more than all the others put together; that we built rather under

<sup>1</sup> Cd. 9221.



a third less; and that we secured less than a third of the captured tonnage. If it were not for the 530,000 tons which we, who once built for the world, had to buy abroad, the balance against us would have been even worse. As it was, we were heavy losers in mere tonnage. And that was by no means all. We have to note, in no spirit of envy, and with no grudging, that while we diminished others grew, who from the very nature of the conditions in which the world lives must be our competitors henceforward, as they have been in the past.

The tonnage is not all we have to take into account, but it contributes the tools with which the competitors must work, and should be dealt with first. For many reasons we should begin with the United States. Even before the war there were signs that Americans were becoming inclined to make a great change in the policy they had followed since the Civil War. For a period which may be put at two generations it had been more profitable to them to apply themselves to the development of their natural resources, and to leave the carrying of their imports and exports to other nations. As the work was done at home to a steadily-increasing extent, the time was sure to come when Americans would wish to profit by the transport as well as by the production

of their exports. The war gave a stimulus to their wish, for it showed Americans that they would suffer severely when contentions among European Powers cut off or diverted foreign shipping. British owners, being debarred from the use of our own yards, placed orders in the States for 2,000,000 tons. This access of business, accompanied as it was by a flow of European capital into America for munitions, promoted shipbuilding.



In Action: firing a broadside from one of the British battleships

When America came into the war all the tonnage under construction for British owners was bought, and added to the American merchant shipping. All German ships interned were also annexed, to the amount of some 700,000 tons. In the meantime yards were constructed on a great scale on both the Atlantic and the Pacific seaboard. In the beginning of 1819 there were in hand no less than 4,185,525 tons, or twenty-eight times the figure for 1914.

Nor was it only in the United States that a marked growth of construction was to be seen. Japan had also gone

rapidly forward. Holland, Italy, Spain, France, and Sweden were building. Out of a total of 7,796,236 tons, 5,411,391 were being constructed outside of Great Britain. A revolution, as important for the destinies of mankind as any political convulsion could well be, had occurred in an industry

a great point in the general interest of the Empire.

An invaluable summary of the world's losses and gains in shipping up to June, 1919, is to be found in the lucid and trustworthy "Notes on the 1919-20 Edition of Lloyd's Register of Shipping". With the

THE FOLLOWING TABLE SHOWS THE STEAM TONNAGE OWNED BY THE PRINCIPAL MARITIME COUNTRIES BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR

COUNTRY.	JUNE, 1914.	JUNE, 1919.	DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 1914 AND 1919.	
	Tons gross.	Tons gross.	Tonnage.	Percentage.
United Kingdom ... ..	18,892,000	16,345,000	- 2,547,000	- 13.5
British Dominions ... ..	1,632,000	1,863,000	+ 231,000	+ 14.1
America (United States):				
Sea-going ... ..	2,027,000	9,773,000	+ 7,746,000	+ 382.1
Great Lakes ... ..	2,260,000	2,160,000	- 100,000	- 4.4
Austria-Hungary ... ..	1,052,000	713,000	- 339,000	- 32.2
Denmark ... ..	770,000	631,000	- 139,000	- 18.1
France ... ..	1,922,000	1,962,000	+ 40,000	+ 2.1
Germany ... ..	5,135,000	3,247,000	- 1,888,000	- 36.8
Greece ... ..	821,000	291,000	- 530,000	- 64.6
Holland ... ..	1,472,000	1,574,000	+ 102,000	+ 6.9
Italy ... ..	1,430,000	1,238,000	- 192,000	- 13.4
Japan ... ..	1,708,000	2,325,000	+ 617,000	+ 36.1
Norway ... ..	1,957,000	1,597,000	- 360,000	- 18.4
Spain ... ..	884,000	709,000	- 175,000	- 19.8
Sweden ... ..	1,015,000	917,000	- 98,000	- 9.7
Other Countries ... ..	2,427,000	2,552,000	+ 125,000	+ 5.2
Grand Total ... ..	45,404,000	47,897,000	+ 2,493,000	+ 5.5
Total Abroad ... ..	26,512,000	31,552,000	+ 5,040,000	+ 19.0

of the first importance for our prosperity. The fact that British shipping carried more than half the trade of the world before 1914 had been of the utmost advantage for the distribution of our manufactures. If competitors were to surpass us on the sea the gain would fall to them. When the strain of the war was taken off, British shipbuilding revived, and the Dominions had also felt the stimulus—

permission of Lloyd's Register we extract the above instructive figures.

A comparison between this table and the figures given in the White Paper C.d. 9221, will show that by June, 1919, we had notably reduced the balance as it stood against us in October, 1918. But it also shows that, while we had only made good about one-third of our losses, some other countries had made positive

gains. France and Holland were slightly to the good. Japan had made a substantial advance, and the growth of the United States had been prodigious. Thanks to the shipbuilding activity of America, the total tonnage of the world increased during the war by 2,493,000 tons gross. Lloyd's Register calculated that if the war

however, one aspect of the subject which is not shown by a general summary of the whole. Yet it is one of considerable interest. It is always of importance to know what answer is to be made to the question: Did the losses tend to increase or to diminish as the war went on? If they grew heavier, then it is plain

BRITISH.			ALLIED AND NEUTRAL.		TOTAL.	
Period.	Month.	Quarter.	Month.	Quarter.	Month.	Quarter.
1917						
September ...	209,212	952,938	159,949	545,535	369,161	1,494,473
October ...	289,973		197,364		487,337	
November ...	196,560		136,883		333,443	
December ...	296,356	782,889	155,707	489,954	452,063	1,272,843
1918						
January ...	218,621		140,842		359,463	
February ...	254,303		130,629		384,932	
March ...	224,744	697,668	174,197	445,668	398,941	1,143,337
April ...	233,426		83,684		317,110	
May ...	231,787		134,756		366,543	
June ...	165,649	630,862	112,705	331,145	278,354	962,007
July ...	182,524		142,314		324,838	
August ...	176,854		164,475		341,329	
September ...	151,652	512,030	96,694	403,483	249,346	915,513
October ...	83,952		93,582		177,534	
November ...	18,202		12,114		30,316	

had been avoided the increase would have been 9,966,000 tons. It estimated the general loss in 8,500,000 tons gross, or 12,500,000 tons dead weight. The money value of the ships destroyed, according to the same authority, was £160,000,000.

These figures give, not perhaps with absolute precision, but with as close an approach to accuracy as is at present possible, the sum total of the results of the war in so far as our shipping, with that of our Allies and enemies, is concerned. There is,

that the shipping on which they fell was steadily losing ground. If they became smaller then it is no less clear that the resistance was overcoming the attack. The figures of the monthly losses suffered by British and alien merchant fleets from September, 1917, to November, 1918, as supplied in the "War Cabinet Report" for that year, leave no doubt that they suffered progressively less.

When we ignore the fluctuations from month to month, and look at the returns for the quarters, we see



that the attack tended to grow less effective throughout the last year. British losses fell by not very much short of a half. Our Allies and the neutrals were less fortunate, but even in their case the conditions improved. When we take both together there was

for 1918. The entrances and clearances of steamers of 500 tons gross and upwards from April to October, inclusive, for that year were:—

				Gross Tons.
April	...	...	...	7,040,309
May	...	...	...	7,770,843
June	...	...	..	7,430,386
July	...	...	...	7,718,898
August	...	...	...	8,158,639
September	...	...	...	7,515,061
October	...	...	...	7,594,476

Channel passages are included, and several of these might be made in a week. Nor can we prudently ignore the fact that if we maintained, or rather increased, by more than 500,000 tons the movements of our shipping on the North Atlantic and in home waters, this process was achieved at a certain sacrifice. We concentrated our vessels in the vital regions, and therefore were forced to withdraw them from distant seas. Great quantities of food were detained in Australia and New Zealand for lack of ships in which to transport them. Certain consequences of no small gravity ensued. While British tonnage was largely employed in transporting men and stores from the United States, American craft became active in South America, and Japanese steamers took a far larger share in the trade of the Eastern seas. But this shrinkage in our maritime activity, though an unhappy consequence of the war for us, represented a temporary loss which could in time be recovered. Failure on the North Atlantic, and in home waters, must have produced overwhelming disaster. The less was



His Majesty at Sea: a snap-shot, with Admiral Beatty on H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth*

a gain, or to be more exact, a reduction of loss of more than 500,000 tons. The desperate effort of the Germans to destroy the power of ourselves and our Allies to draw supplies from overseas had in fact failed. When it had done its worst it did not even succeed in bringing down the movement of shipping in British ports. That fact is made manifest by the figures given in the already quoted "War Cabinet Report"

sacrificed to the greater, the non-vital to the vital. We preserved the essentials of our position on the sea, lopped and injured, indeed, but not mortally wounded. We could well survive the passing eclipse of our merchant flag on the coasts of South America, or in the Indian and South Pacific oceans. The British Empire could not have come out of the war, save in a permanently crippled state, if the work shown in the figures now to be quoted could not have been carried out.

"There was", so the "War Cabinet Report" states, "a progressive increase in the number of U.S. troops brought across the Atlantic in British ships, from 18,638 in March to 218,274 in July, the monthly average being 153,000 for the six months ending 31st October. In addition, the number of American troops crossing from the United Kingdom to France averaged 6000 a day during a considerable period of time in the summer."

On the same authority we learn that, "in order to meet the urgent demand for reinforcements caused by the German offensive in March", 30,000 men were passed over day by day. The number transported in the fortnight ending on April 8, 1918, was 268,259.

Mention has been made from time to time of the amount of transport effected during certain periods of the war. The total for the whole interval between August 4, 1914, and November 30, 1918, reached colossal proportions:—

Personnel	...	...	23,864,675
Horses and mules	...	...	2,240,495
Vehicles	...	...	506,486
Stores—British	...	...	46,502,486 tons
Stores—Allied	...	...	5,535,679 "

During these four years and a little over of hazardous work done in the face of constant menace, and under the pressure of risk and of the need to act rapidly, the loss of life due to the action of the enemy was only 4394. This truly remarkable measure of success could not be achieved without the exercise of constant vigilance, and the employment of counter-measures of an "offensive-defensive" order. We have mentioned most of them from time to time as occasion called for notice. But there is no element of mere repetition in a comprehensive survey which will help to put them in their relation to one another, and to show how they combined to protect the movement of our trading vessels and transports.

What may be called the advanced guard, or outposts of the common defence, must be sought in the mine-fields which were laid to obstruct the enemy when he was endeavouring to come out on his destructive cruises. Without going into details, which have to some extent been given already, and are, in any case, not indispensable here, it is enough to note now, that the purpose of these barriers was first to make it as dangerous as might be for the German U-boats to escape from their natural starting place in the Heligoland Bight, and then to provide secondary and more distant barriers which should imprison them in the North Sea. Therefore, in 1917, the Bight was covered by a systematic barrier of mines. It did not prove absolutely effective, but it did most certainly hamper the enemy to a great

extent. He not only lost U-boats, but he suffered many casualties among the sweepers employed to clear the way for them.

Next in importance was the defence applied to each individual ship. The guard which is named a "paravane" when used by warships, and an "otter" when fitted to a merchant ship, may be defined as a species of crinoline—a very different thing from a torpedo net—which was suspended outside the bows of a vessel and was designed, when employed as a guard for merchant vessels, to cut the fastenings by which the mines were anchored to the ground, to fend them off from the vessel herself and send them adrift, when they could be more or less easily captured. This clever device, which was thought out and developed by Captain C. Dennis Burney, C.M.G., was a product of the stimulus to defensive ingenuity provided by the war, though the germ from which it started was older. It did not produce its full effect till towards the close of the war, and in time it may be carried farther. In its present stage it had its share in reducing the losses of merchant ships due to mines. The progress made in 1917 and 1918 was notable, as these figures taken from the "War Cabinet Report", like the others, sufficiently prove.

Period.	Number of Merchant Vessels Sunk or Damaged by Mines.		
1917			
1st Quarter ...	...	...	47
2nd „ ...	...	...	42
3rd „ ...	...	...	24
4th „ ...	...	...	24

1918			
1st Quarter ...	...	...	11
2nd " ...	...	...	4
3rd " ...	...	...	4
4th " (up to sign- ing of Armistice)...			—

Over or behind the protection afforded by mines or "otters", or careful arrangement of movements, was the provision of convoy. Its results were most satisfactory. The percentage of vessels going in convoy which were destroyed or damaged by U-boats was kept at the very low figure of .75 per cent. The system was worked with the utmost goodwill on the side both of the navy and the merchant service. Even the delays which it could not but produce were largely avoided towards the end, when practice had shown all concerned how to deal with conditions which, in other but not essentially different circumstances, had once been familiar to British seamen, but had not come within the experience of the navy or merchant service for something like a hundred years.

With convoy, as with other phases of the war at sea, the defences grew more effective, and the losses sank as time went on. It is a probable calculation that if the resources and the spirit of Germany had been such as to allow of the prolongation of the war for a year, and if (a most important consideration) the rate of production of new ships had continued to improve in our yards, the day would have come when our new tonnage would have steadily exceeded our losses. As has been noted above, this day was never reached, and to the end the monthly or quarterly loss



continued to be in excess of new construction. That this was the case was, however, less due to the success of the enemy in sinking our ships than to the crippling of our building-yards, partly by the unprecedented calls made on them by the navy, but more to the introduction, for the first time in modern British history, of a system of universal military service, which swept away men who in former wars would have been left to help in producing new vessels as fast as, or faster than, the enemy could send them down.

This war, therefore, differs for the worse from those of the eighteenth century in that it has left Great Britain in a less favourable position on the sea than it once held. That is the set-off—the grievous set-off—to our victory. How it has to be conquered and the loss to be made good are questions for

the future, not for a record of the past. Yet the past, even that portion of it which lies nearest to us, is full of encouragement. We have met new dangers on the sea, and, though they have injured us, we have not allowed them to conquer. Now we must face the new conditions in sea-borne commerce in the spirit in which we fought the submarine. The new struggle is not glorious with the glory of war, not picturesque. It is just a business of plain living and hard working, of patience and good sense. But, if bloodless, it will be arduous, and that which is arduous can never be achieved save by the very virtues which give victory in war—patience to endure, energy to act, loyalty to a cause, and courage to strive with obstacles and not to yield.

SURSUM CORDA.

D. H.



British Official Photograph

With the British Fleet at Sea: divine service under the guns of H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth*







FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY

SYMONDS, PORTSMOUTH

Vice-Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, K. C. B.  
First Sea Lord





## CHAPTER VI

## THE END OF THE EAST AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

(January, 1917–November, 1918)

General Smuts's Last Dispatch—General Hoskins as Commander-in-Chief—Strength and Resources of Enemy Forces—Planning the Next Campaign—General van Deventer succeeds General Hoskins—Von Lettow-Vorbeck's Achievement—Naumann's Raid—Van Deventer's Autumn Campaign of 1917—Naumann's Surrender—Fierce Fighting in the Kilwa and Lindi Districts—Colonel Tafel's Retreat from Mahenge—Brought to book—Von Lettow-Vorbeck retreats into Portuguese East Africa—Ten Months' Hide-and-seek in the Bush—Back Across the Frontier into German East Africa—The Final Flight into Northern Rhodesia—Van Deventer's Surrender.

WHEN General Smuts left East Africa at the beginning of 1917, to attend the sittings of the War Cabinet in London, he had broken the back of the enemy's resistance in the last remaining and richest of all the German colonies, and regarded the end of the trying campaign as not far off. He had handed over the task on January 20 to Lieutenant-General A. R. Hoskins three weeks after resuming the general advance in which, pressing his attacks by various columns in his encircling movement on the Lower Rufiji River and Delta, he hoped to settle, once and for all, with the remnants of the German forces under the elusive von Lettow-Vorbeck, who, as explained in our last chapter on the subject,<sup>1</sup> seemed to be coming at length to the end of his resources. Good progress had already been made with the new advance. The enemy detachments north of the Rufiji had fallen back, and a bridge-head across the river had been secured by the troops of General Beves's brigade. "The march of the 2nd South African

Infantry Brigade on this occasion", wrote General Smuts, "was a noteworthy achievement, even in a campaign which affords repeated instances of splendid endurance by every unit of the forces under most trying conditions." It still remained uncertain, however, whether the enemy would attempt to make a stand south of the Rufiji, and so give the encircling British columns time to close all gaps and cut off his retreat, or whether he would steal away to the south without waiting further to test his pursuers' strength. Besides his main force in this unhealthy valley, under the command of General von Lettow-Vorbeck himself, strong enemy detachments in the western zone were falling back before the combined offensive of Generals van Deventer and Northey. They broke through the cordon of encircling troops, after heavy fighting—escaping through the dense bush under cover of darkness—and continued their retreat southward towards the Portuguese border.

One useful capture was made in this western zone on January 24, 1917, when the garrison at Likuju sur-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. VI, Chapter X.

rendered after a week's investment and severe fighting. Four German officers—among them the officer hitherto in command of the German southern detachment—35 other Europeans, and 250 Askaris, with an 88-mm. field-gun and two machine-guns, were included in the "bag".

ties which the rainy season in East Africa entailed for a force acting from such widely-separated bases, with several different lines of communication running through every variety of difficult country, and necessitating, in some cases, as much as 130 miles of porter transport. In the Mgeta and Rufiji valleys roads constructed with much skill and labour, over which motor trans-



Campaigning Difficulties in German East Africa: King's African Rifles cutting a drift to allow transport to cross a river after the enemy had destroyed the bridge

All seemed to be going well, according to General Hoskins's dispatch, published towards the end of 1917, when, on January 25, heavy rain began to fall, ushering in the wettest season known in West Africa for many years. Within a couple of days bridges essential to the success of the campaign had been washed away and roads flooded, henceforth seriously hampering operations in all directions.

"It is perhaps hard to realize", wrote the new Commander-in-Chief, "the difficul-

port ran continuously in January, were traversed with difficulty and much hardship a month later by porters wading for miles in water above their waists. The Dodoma - Iringa line of communication crossed the Great Ruaha in the dry weather by an easy ford; when the rain had really set in, supplies had to be transported, not only over a flooded river, but also a swamp on each side of it 6 feet deep and as many miles wide. . . . The valley of the Rufiji and its various tributaries became a vast lake, in which the true courses of the streams were often only discernible with difficulty, if at all. Patrol work had to be

carried out for some time in canoes, and the men found themselves making fast to the roofs of houses which had lately formed their quarters."

The abnormal rains and the resultant sickness among both men and animals brought operations in the interior practically to a standstill, though the column commanders harassed the enemy whenever opportunity occurred. It was during this period, when apparently so little remained to complete the conquest of the colony, that an agreement as to the provisional occupation of the territories was reached between the British and Belgian Governments. Belgian troops, as mentioned in our earlier chapters on the East African campaign, were now operating on the Central Railway from Tabora, which they had captured many months before. To effect the new agreement, troops of the two nations met at Tabora, and King George, early in March, sent the following telegram to the King of the Belgians:—

"On the happy occasion of the meeting of Belgian and British troops at Tabora I desire to tell Your Majesty how highly I appreciate the loyal co-operation given my troops during the long and hard operations in East Africa by the gallant officers and soldiers of the Belgian army. I beg Your Majesty to be good enough to convey to the commanders of the Belgian forces and their comrades-in-arms my sincere thanks for their kind message, which I have just received."

In the following month the large German hospital at Manganza—10 miles west of Utete—was surrendered to the British troops by the German

commandant, who, on account of the flooding of the site and lack of food, invoked the Geneva Convention. The 62 European and 140 Askari patients who remained in the hospital were evacuated by the British, and, needless to say, taken care of. So isolated had the hospital become by the rise of the Rufiji that the evacuation had to be carried out entirely by canoes, paddled or poled through the reeds, the current in the river itself being too fierce to face even in a powerful motor-boat.

Towards the end of May came the news that the country was drying up again and general military activity being resumed. But von Lettow-Vorbeck did not wait for developments, retreating with his main body to the Matandu valley, in the hinterland of the port of Kilwa, while farther south German raiding-parties penetrated into Portuguese territory and approached the border of Nyassaland. Another section of von Lettow-Vorbeck's scattered force occupied the hinterland of the port of Lindi, 100 miles below Kilwa. The enemy was now close up to the coast in both districts. It was at Sudi Bay, not many miles south of Lindi, that the Germans had received much-needed supplies of guns, ammunition, and clothing from a blockade-runner in March of the previous year, but, with the short strip of coast that now remained to them closely watched by the Royal Navy, there was little chance of any successful attempt to repeat this exploit.

The great difficulty was to bring the enemy to battle. The Germans



had the advantage, as General Hoskins pointed out, of falling back on interior lines. Their remaining strength and resources had been under-estimated when General Smuts handed over the command to his successor, and were not really known until the end of the war. Their troops, too, were all veterans—the survival of the fittest after years of testing experience—and they had the power of living on the country as they retired.

“This last”, wrote General Hoskins, “was accentuated by the fact that whereas we are accustomed to take and pay for only what the villagers can spare, the Germans have no scruples about taking all. And after using men, women, and children as porters so far as they require, they send them back in a starving condition, thus increasing the difficulties of our advancing troops.”

As the southern detachments approached the borders of Portuguese territory and Nyassaland, they burned native villages without scruple, terrorizing the inhabitants, and removing food-supplies for the German depots north of the Rovuma. In the western areas the southward German movement, as already mentioned, had begun earlier in the year. Breaking up into two main parties, one of these made its way from the Mahenge area to the Portuguese border, but the other, led by Major Wintgens, who had held a command in the Lake Kivu district until dislodged by the offensive of the Belgian Congolese army, broke northwards again, evading our columns operating between Iringa and Lake Nyassa, passed Lake Rukwa, and made for Tabora, hotly pursued by

British, Rhodesian, and other troops. On May 22 the German commander, who had fallen sick, was captured in the neighbourhood of Lukalanka, some 61 miles south-west of Tabora, by a British column co-operating with the Belgians based on the Central Railway. His enterprising raiding-force, however, continued its activities until, as will presently be seen, it threatened to become, in General van Deventer's phrase, “a serious nuisance”.

Meantime, until the rainy season was over, it was impossible to resume operations on any extensive scale, and General Hoskins was chiefly occupied, during his brief period of command, in reorganizing his forces and planning the next campaign. His task was not yet complete when he was appointed to a fresh command on another battle-front, being succeeded, on May 29, by General van Deventer, who had greatly distinguished himself under General Smuts's leadership, both in German East and German South-West Africa. At that time the enemy's forces were still, for the greater part, in two main forces. The western body, now commanded by Colonel Tafel, was based, as before, on Mahenge, and consisted of some 3000 men well armed and well led. The eastern or main body, under von Lettow-Vorbeck, about 5000 strong and including the pick of the enemy's troops, remained in the coastal area, facing the British troops under Brigadier-General J. H. Hannington and Brigadier-General H. de C. O'Grady at Kilwa and Lindi respectively.

Besides the main enemy bodies

there were two considerable detachments. One, consisting of four or five companies under von Stuemmer, had invaded Portuguese East Africa, and was exploiting the rich Mwembe region lying between the Lujenda River and Lake Nyassa. The other, consisting of the raiding-force of 600 men previously led by Major Wintgens, and now commanded by an equally energetic officer named Naumann, had succeeded in crossing the Central Railway east of Tabora and was striking northwards again. All told, the enemy still had some twenty field-guns at their disposal, and were well equipped with machine-guns, rifles, and ammunition.

Von Lettow-Vorbeck, therefore, though he had lost three-quarters of German East Africa, and his army had been reduced by half, commanded a force in the spring of 1917 which was by no means to be despised. He still possessed a valuable reserve of trained porters of good fighting stock, from whom he enlisted recruits from time to time—and it is only fair to add that he succeeded in inspiring the whole of his force with his indomitable will and bravery. It is recorded by Captain R. V. Dolbey, in his *Sketches of the East African Campaign*, that though wounded three times he never left his troops, but insisted on being carried about "to prevent the half-resistance that leads to surrender".

The enemy's black troops were given a free hand in respect of loot and the treatment of women; but, as General van Deventer generously observes in one of his dispatches, "it says much for the character of the

German commander that he was able to keep these men with him through four years of the most strenuous campaigning". It was also acknowledged by the British commander that, though in a civilized country, with good communications, the fighting life of such a force would necessarily have been short, the enemy troops remaining at the beginning of 1917 were by no means conquered, with the extraordinary advantages of evasion that East Africa offered to the commander of a compact and mobile force, independent of lines of communication and adept at living on the country. Hence the long months of embittered fighting which remained to be faced before the whole of German East Africa was won.

"Diverse as are the physical features of the East African theatre," wrote General van Deventer, "ranging from the uplands of Urusha to the swamps of the Rufiji, and from the 9000 passes of the Livingstone Mountains to the deadly coast-belts of Kilwa and Lindi, yet there is one feature that, as an obstacle to military operations, varies little—the bush. It stretched over nine-tenths of the country. Its extent was reckoned in hundreds of thousands of square miles. It enormously increased difficulties of movement, made the accurate timing of combined operations almost impossible, and magnified tenfold the normal 'fog of war'. In many parts of the theatre of operations two considerable forces might be within a few miles of one another and yet be totally unaware of each other's presence. Perhaps no other country in the world could so well have suited General von Lettow-Vorbeck's purpose."

In such a country it was also comparatively easy for a raiding-column

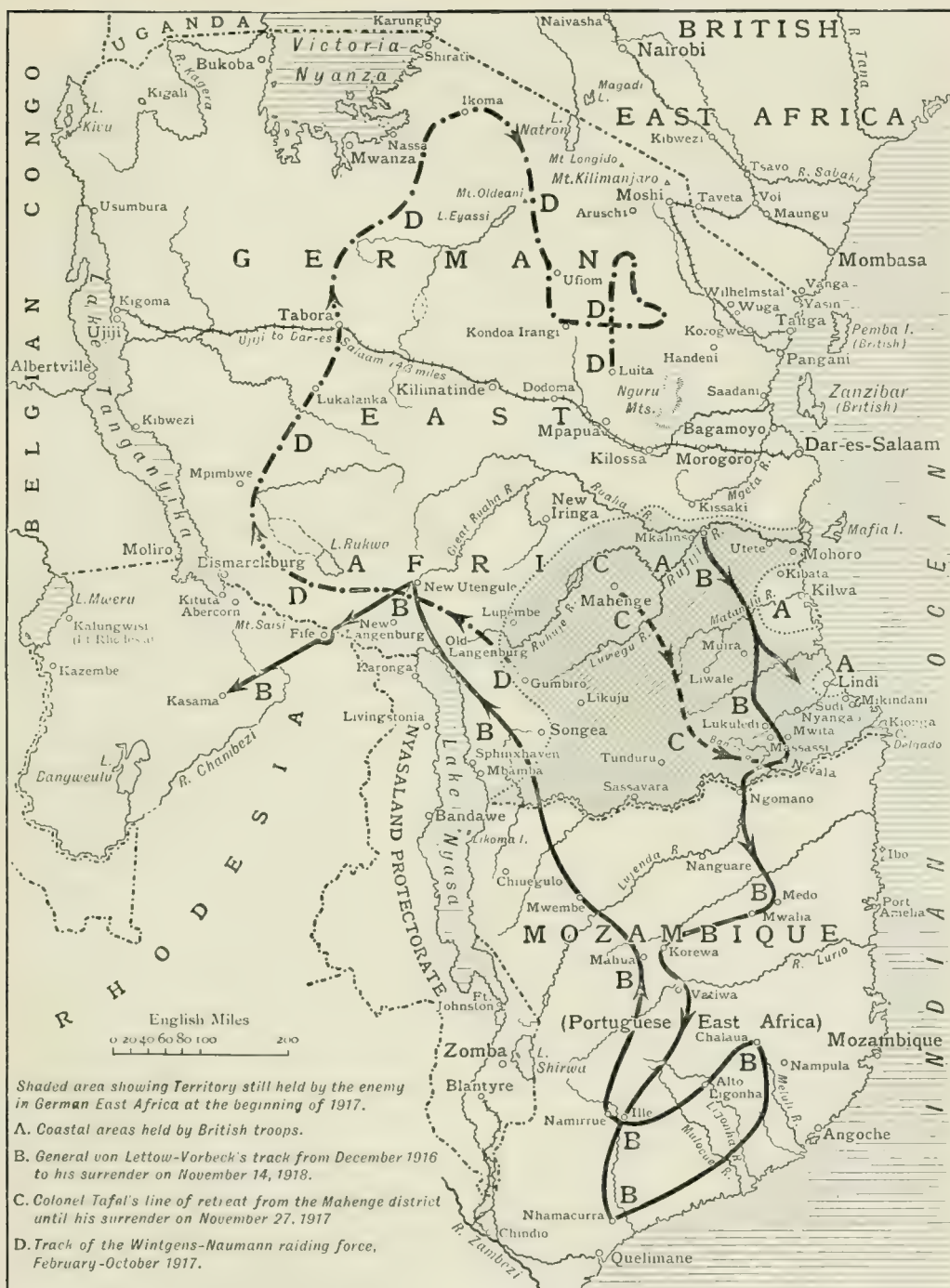
like that commanded by Naumann to hamper General van Deventer in his coming plan of campaign out of all proportion to its size. Though it consisted only of 600 rifles it was a sufficiently effective force, with 12 Maxims and 2 field-guns. Completely mobile, it was never possible to forecast its commander's intentions. On June 28, while pursued north of the Central Railway by the Belgian troops, to whom the chase had been left only three days previously, Naumann captured Fort Ikoma, a small post east of Lake Victoria, garrisoned by a few irregulars. The Belgian pursuing column reached Ikoma the next day, and had a sharp engagement with the enemy, who thereupon turned eastwards Lake Natron. This movement necessitated General van Deventer taking steps to garrison the Magadi and Aruscha districts, troops for the purpose having either to be taken from his reserve or from his new King's African Rifle battalions then under training.

General van Deventer was himself preparing operations at this time against the enemy's main force in the Kilwa area, but was obliged to wait until the early autumn, when reinforcements and transport would have reached him, before attempting to strike a decisive blow. The end of July found the main German forces still concentrated in two areas, the smaller portion under Colonel Tafel in and around Mahenge, the other under General von Lettow-Vorbeck in and south of the Matandu valley. The larger body had been forced to abandon the Kiturika Hills and the

Lower Rufiji, but von Lettow-Vorbeck's capacity for resistance was found to have been in no way weakened by the abnormal rainy season; the courage and training of his fighting-men remained as high as ever. Evidence of this was forthcoming at the end of June, when the abandoned area in the Lindi region was being occupied by our troops. On the 29th of that month the officer commanding at Naitiwi, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilford, D.S.O., of the 5th Light Infantry, hearing of a small enemy party near Lutende, some 8 miles north of his post, moved out with 150 of his rifles to attack it. The German camp was rushed at dawn and a number of prisoners taken, but almost immediately afterwards the little British force was counter-attacked by three enemy companies, whose presence had been unsuspected, and surrounded. Colonel Wilford fell early in the engagement, mortally wounded. Thereupon Captain Hall took command, and "after a gallant fight against very heavy odds"—the words are those of General van Deventer himself—"finally broke out with some fifty men and reached Naitiwi".

By the beginning of August, however, the situation had cleared up considerably in all parts of the East African front. General Northey's columns had cleared the district east of Lake Nyassa and driven the enemy raiding-parties out of Portuguese East Africa. On the western front a concerted movement was making good progress against the German force about Mahenge, in which General Northey was also assisting, in con-





Map illustrating the Closing Phases of the East African Campaign, 1917-18



junction with the Belgian troops based on the Central Railway, and a column detached from General van Deventer's command, based on Iringa. A wide encircling movement was at the same time operating from Kilwa against the enemy's main force in the Matandu valley, but the chief effort in this theatre was devoted to organization for the decisive blow now planned for mid-September.

Naumann meantime continued his remarkable raiding career, threatening first one place and then another, and doubling back on his tracks with a success which baffled his pursuers several more months before he was finally brought to bay. Early in August he succeeded in evading our troops on the Kondoa-Dodoma line by night marches through thick bush, and broke out with his main force eastwards towards Luita. As this new move took him beyond the reach of the Belgian troops, these were withdrawn, and the pursuit taken up by a column under Colonel Dyke, consisting of the 1st Battalion Cape Corps and King's African Rifles Mounted Infantry, gradually reinforced by the 10th South African Horse. One Nigerian battalion was also temporarily attached to this column. The hunt was now in full cry, and Naumann, finding the huntsmen close on his heels, divided his force into three parties, one of which, consisting of 9 whites, 100 Askaris, and many porters, was surrounded by the pursuers, and surrendered on September 2. Naumann with his main body succeeded in crossing the Masai Steppe, and one of his raiding-parties held up

a train near Kahe. The end, however, was not far off. Minor captures from his force during this period showed that his strength was gradually wearing away. On September 15 he reached Geiro, but, finding his way blocked by the cavalry, turned north again, with the 10th South African Horse in hot pursuit. His long trek was at length over. His last stand was made on the Luita Hill. It was an extremely strong natural position, but all the surrounding water-holes were occupied by the South Africans, who kept the enemy force in play until the infantry arrived on the scene. Seeing that he was now closely invested, and that resistance was useless, Naumann, on October 1, surrendered with the rest of his troops, including 14 other Germans, 165 Askaris, and many porters. The sole remaining section of his force had meanwhile halted in the region of Lake Eyassi, where, on the day following Naumann's capitulation, it surrendered—3 whites and 53 Askaris in all—to a detachment of King's African Rifles sent from Aruscha. Thus ended a raid, as General van Deventer observed, which could perhaps only have been carried out in a country like German East Africa, where the bush made it possible for considerable forces to hide from each other with extraordinary success, and where a ruthless leader of a small force could nearly always live on the country.

By this time General van Deventer's main advance was in full swing, and engaging the principal enemy group wherever they were met. Von Lettow-Vorbeck, growing increasingly desper-

ate as he was forced to abandon more and more of the vanishing remains of the Fatherland's last colony, seized every opportunity of turning on his pursuers and striking with all his might. The fierce attacks and counter-attacks which characterized the operations in the Kilwa and Lindi districts during the latter part of 1917 were described by the British commander as the stubbornest fighting of the whole campaign. Concealed redoubts and bitter struggles at close quarters from strong rear-guards more than once held up the main British advance, but steady pressure was maintained, and by the beginning of November von Lettow-Vorbeck's force, much exhausted by its losses, had been driven south as far as the Lukuledi valley, though it had succeeded in escaping encirclement.

While the main German forces were thus fighting for their lives in the east, their compatriots in the west, under Colonel Tafel, had been similarly harried both by Belgian and British columns. Mahenge had been occupied by the Belgians on October 9, some 20 Germans being captured in the last position held by the enemy before decamping, as well as 92 whites, and 242 Askaris left sick in hospital. A number of British and Belgian prisoners of war were also released. The enemy, however, had cleared everything from the line of advance so completely that, in view of the impossibility of maintaining rearward communications with the railway during the approaching rainy season, the majority of the Belgian troops were withdrawn from Mahenge to the

Central Railway early in November.

Colonel Tafel's force, dislodged from the Mahenge area, concentrated towards M'gangira, on the Luwegu River, opposing the advance of General Northey's columns, and hoping eventually to join hands with von Lettow-Vorbeck's troops. Menaced by the constant advance of two of General Northey's columns, one under Colonel Fair and the other under Colonel Hawthorn, Tafel, on November 6, suddenly broke southwards through Kiturika and Dapate. A gallant attempt to stem this movement was made by two small and separated columns under Colonel Shorthose—who, after a long advance from Fort Johnston, at the southern end of Lake Nyassa, had crossed the Rovuma from south to north and passed through Tunduru on the way to Liwale—and Major Hawkins, who, with one of General Northey's detachments, was awaiting the arrival of the other British column only a few hours' march away. Each of these isolated bodies put up a determined fight against Tafel's stronger force, which documents subsequently captured proved to number between 1700 and 1800 moving southwards in three parallel columns, and inflicted considerable loss on it before being compelled to withdraw to Tunduru. The Belgian column of Liwali under Major Herion succeeded in overtaking the enemy's rear-guard, and captured a Maxim and some prisoners; but, though hard hit, and compelled to abandon his sick and a large quantity of material, Colonel Tafel succeeded in escaping to the south. Thus ended

the fighting in the Mahenge-Liwale area, and, in view of the approaching rainy season in that part of the country, it was decided to withdraw all Belgian forces supplied from Dodoma and Kilossa without delay. General Northey thereupon took over Mahenge, strengthened Tunduru, and withdrew the bulk of Hawthorn's column to rest and refit.

ness of the bush made it impossible completely to surround him. There was imminent danger that his main force might join hands with Tafel's retreating columns—the object which both forces obviously had in view. But the very thickness of the bush, which had enabled the Germans so often to evade encirclement and capture, now helped to their undoing.



A German Gun Position in the Heart of the Jungle: one of the 4.1 howitzers captured in East Africa

In the meanwhile General van Deventer's troops had driven the main enemy force under von Lettow-Vorbeck by November 20 across the Makonde plateau and into the Kitan-gari valley "as the result", in the words of a War Office *communiqué*, "of an energetic offensive, conducted in most difficult country and against a strenuous resistance". All possible measures were taken to envelop the retreating foe, but the extreme thick-

While von Lettow-Vorbeck, forced by the speed of van Deventer's pursuing columns to quicken his pace to its utmost limit until he had crossed the Rovuma at Ngomano, and escaped up the Lujenda into Portuguese territory, Tafel, apparently in ignorance of these events, crossed the track of van Deventer's leading columns, and, though he discovered his mistake and tried to break away south again, was enveloped by them and brought to



book. A message having been received from Tafel to the effect that he intended to cease hostilities, a meeting was arranged, and at midday on November 28 the whole of his force surrendered unconditionally, including 18 officers, besides Tafel, 92 other Europeans, over 1200 Askaris, and some 2200 other natives.

"With the surrender of Tafel", wrote General van Deventer, "and the retreat into Portuguese East Africa of von Lettow-Vorbeck with the remnant of his forces, the campaign in German East Africa came to an end, and the last German colony was conquered after a resistance which had been prolonged until nine-tenths of the enemy's white and black personnel had either been killed or had fallen into our hands. Raiding bands might still recross the border, but could scarcely hope again to wage organized war in German East Africa."

The cost of this achievement had necessarily been heavy. During the last six months of a most exacting campaign, our casualties in action alone had been close on 5000, apart from over 1000 carriers and followers. Against these losses, however, could be placed the 1618 German whites and 5482 German Askaris killed or captured during the same period, besides the 14 guns, 77 machine-guns, and thousands of rifles which had also been taken. Most of the prisoners captured in hospital were not ill, but simply tired out by the closeness and sternness of the chase.

"As the area of operations diminished", added the British commander in his dispatch of January 21, 1918, "so the potential advantages of these interior lines increased and the fiercer became the fighting.

The *moral* of the enemy never wavered, and nothing but the determined gallantry and endurance of the troops finally crushed him. To the infantry—British, South African, Indian, West and East African—I owe unqualified thanks and praise, and especially to the regimental officers, who set an example which all have followed."

General von Lettow-Vorbeck's remaining force, however, had still to be reckoned with, and General van Deventer was fully alive to the arduous nature of rounding this up in Portuguese East Africa, with its vast, inadequately mapped spaces and difficult communications. It was afterwards found that von Lettow-Vorbeck still had with him some 320 officers and other Europeans, 2000 Askaris, organized in 15 companies, and 2 guns, together with 35 machine-guns. His force was short of food and ammunition, and, according to van Deventer's information, wearied by the close pursuit and depressed by the success of the operations which had cleared German East Africa. The spirits of the troops revived, however, with the capture of several isolated Portuguese posts which furnished them with a considerable quantity of rifles and ammunition, as well as food, and before long they made it clear that both the Portuguese and British authorities had all their work cut out to bring von Lettow-Vorbeck's odyssey to a close. In some parts of this immense, unexplored area the German commander found the natives as yet unsubdued, while in others they were in more or less open rebellion against the Portuguese, and therefore ready to help any of their rulers' enemies.



Here and there, as they moved farther south, the fugitives helped themselves from valuable stores, and so were able to suborn native chiefs and head-men by lavish presents of cloth and other captured goods. Thus they were able not only to depend on early and accurate news of the British and Portuguese columns now engaged in concerted movements against them under General van Deventer, who, as the senior officer of the Allies, took supreme command in Portuguese territory, with a combined Head-quarters Staff, but also to ensure that reliable information was denied to their pursuers. Everything possible was done by the Allied columns to get to grips with the foe, and once or twice von Lettow-Vorbeck was all but cornered, but he always succeeded in making good his escape. This went on for nearly another year, with occasional rear-guard actions and attacks on isolated enemy convoys or camps. One such fight (on April 17, 1918) took place in jungle so thick that the roads through it were described as "mere tunnels through bamboo thickets and elephant grass, while long stretches of track appeared more suitable for boats than motor-transport".

It was an ideal country, in short, for von Lettow-Vorbeck's mobile force, especially where the natives, already in rebellion against the Portuguese, and bribed by lavish presents of looted stores, kept it well supplied with food, guides, and information. Well guided, it carefully avoided the regular tracks as far as possible, moving instead by native paths through the heart of the jungle, which, as in

German East Africa, was often so thick and difficult that troops could march and counter-march within a few miles of one another without gaining touch. "And there were over 100,000 square miles of such bush between the Rovuma and the Zambezi", remarks General van Deventer.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to follow all the complicated moves and counter-moves which took place during this long, grim game of hide-and-seek in Portuguese East Africa. Some outstanding features may be mentioned, however. In one sharp fight between a small column of King's African Rifles, under Colonel Barton, on May 4, 1918, Colonel Barton was wounded, but the enemy suffered heavily before withdrawing under cover of night. A few weeks' later a German hospital, containing 15 whites and 78 Askaris and porters, fell into the Allies' hands at a point 35 miles south of Korewa. "It was a considerable advantage to the enemy", as General van Deventer remarked, "that when inconveniently hampered by sick and wounded he could simply leave them behind for us to pick up."

It must be confessed that the German commander had the best of the bargain for many months in exchanging his old colony for Portuguese East Africa. He was near enough to cultivated country to capture valuable stores and supplies from various European settlements, and even to threaten the southern port of Quelimane, for the defence of which General van Deventer lent to Colonel Rosa, the Commander-in-Chief of the

Portuguese troops, several companies of King's Royal Rifles. This attack did not materialize, but on July 1 a sudden assault was delivered by one of the enemy columns on the garrison of Nhamacurra, only some 30 miles away. The attack was launched on the Portuguese western flank of this position, held by 500 native troops, and though the Portuguese officers and non-commissioned officers fought bravely, the whole of this sector of the defence, including two quick-firing guns (one rendered useless), was soon in the enemy's hands.

"The enemy", wrote General van Deventer, in describing this affair, "consolidated his position, and the Portuguese garrison of the centre sector retired by order to the British position on the east, which was now held by about 300 K.A.R. The enemy attacked on July 2 and again on the 3rd, but was repulsed. At 3 p.m. on the 3rd, however, fire was opened from one of the captured guns, seconded by a large number of Maxims, under cover of which a determined assault was pushed in, which carried the defences on the north-east face. The garrison then retired, maintaining good order until they found themselves penned in an angle of the river, when a considerable number were drowned in crossing."

British columns were at once ordered to converge on Nhamacurra in the hope of pinning the raiders between our troops and the sea. The enemy, however, had too many friends among the discontented natives. False reports diverted the bulk of our troops too far to the west, and by the time we had closed on Nhamacurra the raiders had slipped away in safety to the eastward, and then, swinging round to the north-

east with the greatest speed, had crossed the Molocue River at Tibe, advancing on July 21 against the post at Namirrué, held by a garrison of about 200 men. The garrison held out gallantly for a couple of days, when, after many of the defenders had fallen, the stronghold was captured. An attempt at relief by a small column from Alto Ligonha was held off, and the main British pursuing columns were unable to arrive in time, chiefly, as on so many other occasions, through the lack of reliable information.

Hearing that a couple of battalions of General Northey's force<sup>1</sup> was nearing the scene of this exploit, the enemy turned on his tracks, and by the beginning of August, in General van Deventer's words, "had established himself near Chalaua, in the rich country lying between the Lighonha and Meluli Rivers, and was raiding in every direction". The loot probably helped as much as anything to keep von Lettow-Vorbeck's force in being through all these months of wandering, for desertions, which had steadily increased in the closing campaign in German East Africa, had now practically ceased.

General van Deventer, having arrived at Mozambique on July 29, and proceeded thence to Nampula to meet General Edwards, who was in command in the Mozambique theatre of operations, transferred his troops rapidly to cope with the situation caused by the German move at

<sup>1</sup> General Northey himself had left for Great Britain in the previous month, preparatory to taking over the Governorship of British East Africa, and Brigadier-General Hawthorn was now commanding the troops operating from Nyassaland.

Chalaua. The wide net was again flung, as it seemed, right round the wily enemy, and for a moment it looked as though he had at length been trapped into making a real fight for it. But the converging columns closed on Chalaua only to find an evacuated camp. The enemy had flown, and was next heard of making tracks to the south, then turning westward, and presently working round to the north again. His main force was nearly cornered at the close of August in the region of Lioma—after a costly attack on some of the King's African Rifles entrenched south of that place—but the rugged country and thick bush so hampered the operations that the enemy was able finally to break away to the northward. His losses in these last two days, however, had seriously sapped his strength. Besides heavy casualties in fighting-men, nearly 100,000 rounds of his ammunition, besides much baggage and stores, and another small hospital, had fallen into our hands.

Nevertheless, von Lettow-Vorbeck could still count, as subsequent figures proved, on some 170 Europeans and 1200 Askaris—all troops of first-class calibre, as was shown by the quickness with which they recovered from the severe handling which they received on August 30 and 31. Six days later, while the raiders were plunging into the difficult and broken country leading to Mahua, with British columns hard on their tracks, a curious encounter occurred which the British Commander-in-Chief describes in detail as exemplifying the extreme difficulty of bush-fighting. The pursuing

column of 2nd King's African Rifles had got into touch on the previous day with two battalions—sent from Lioma to forestall the enemy near Anguros—which had already started engaging his rear guard. Thereupon the 2nd King's African Rifles pushed ahead by a forced march with the object of overtaking his main body under von Lettow-Vorbeck himself.

“On the 6th the column was well north of Anguros, and was marching hard in a northerly direction, thinking the enemy main body (which was often a day's march ahead of its rear-guard) was still farther to the north. As a matter of fact, the 2nd King's African Rifles column had, unknown to either party, overrun the enemy's main force, and was well ahead of it. At eleven o'clock on the 6th the enemy advance-guard struck the column's rear-guard, and it is hard to say which was most astonished. Colonel Giffard at once counter-marched his force and attacked, but this took time; and before a decisive result could be obtained night fell and the enemy extricated himself, leaving 10 German whites and 50 Askari killed or prisoners, and losing a considerable amount of ammunition and baggage. The Lioma column meanwhile was engaged with the enemy's rear-guard 10 to 12 miles to the south, and could not get up in time to join in the fight.”

The enemy vanished into the bush, but, finding that Portuguese territory was at length becoming too hot for him, now made tracks for his old haunts in German East Africa. Leaving his pursuers far behind—for he was able to live, and live well, where our troops found only a desert, and were thus dependent on laboriously-worked lines of supply—it was nearly a month before the British commander



again succeeded in engaging him. He had everything in his favour whenever he thus took to his heels. Besides his veteran Askaris he still had some 1600 long-service German East African porters, drawn for the most part from a tribe renowned, not only as the best



Camouflage in East Africa: British officer with grass round his helmet, to render it inconspicuous in the bush

porters in all Africa, but also as stout fighting-men into the bargain. Such other transport as he needed he impressed as he went. All able-bodied men were taken from the villages he passed through, and forced to carry loads until others were rounded up to take their places. General van Deventer admits that though the enemy's methods were often brutal they were always effective, and that only on rare

occasions were our columns able to overtake him once he had secured a fair start.

At the end of September—while the Ypres salient, thousands of miles away, was being wiped out with dramatic swiftness by the Allied troops under the King of the Belgians, and the Hindenburg line was being breached by the British between Cambrai and St. Quentin—von Lettow-Vorbeck succeeded in recrossing the Rovuma and once more setting foot in German East Africa. There was a chance that he might succeed in establishing himself at Mahenge or Iringa before the rains began, and so pass the rainy season in comparative security, the roads southward from the Central Railway then becoming impassable. It was an exasperating situation to the British commander, with the difficulty before him of transferring his troops back to these old campaigning grounds from the heart of Portuguese East Africa. Every nerve was strained to get ahead of the enemy by means of Lake Nyassa, but the available shipping was inadequate, and two out of the three steamers broke down at the critical moment, the troops on board landing just too late to block the enemy's path.

Von Lettow-Vorbeck, however, was allowed no sanctuary in German East Africa. His desperate incursion only lasted five weeks. British columns, following him by forced marches, harried his rear-guard—incidentally picking up another of his abandoned hospitals, with General Wahle and a few other German whites among the patients—and other steps were taken



to intercept him along the only routes that seemed open to him. He soon gave up the idea of making either for Mahenge or Iringa, and everything pointed to an advance either towards Itunda in the north or Bismarckburg in the west. General van Deventer was ready for him on both lines. But, as the British commander quotes, "there are always three courses open to the enemy, and he usually takes the fourth"; and so it proved in this case. Von Lettow-Vorbeck swung round to the south instead, and coolly invaded North-East Rhodesia, where he was least expected. Old residents had declared that it would be quite impossible for him to subsist on the country in North-East Rhodesia, where farms were few and far between. General van Deventer suggests as an explanation that the German commander, recognizing that the end of the war was at hand, considered that he had a better chance of remaining "in being" until that time by marching southwards instead of northwards. Probably, too, he knew that North-East Rhodesia was at that time practically devoid of troops. These had all been transferred to Nyassaland when von Lettow-Vorbeck invaded Portuguese East Africa, and it was a slow business getting them back across the lake.

Fortunately two companies of the Northern Rhodesian Police arrived at Fife, on the border, on November 1, and were strongly entrenched when the Germans attacked that place in force on the following day. Beaten off with loss, and threatened by the King's African Rifles who were in

hot pursuit from the north, the fugitives pushed on towards Kasama, one of the principal stations in that part of Rhodesia, about 100 miles due south of Abercorn. Measures were hurriedly taken to deal with the situation, and half the enemy's force had already been caught up and severely



Trench Warfare in the Bush: men of the King's African Rifles during a lull in an engagement in German East Africa

shaken by the King's African Rifles, when, on November 11, news arrived of the signing of the armistice. General van Deventer at once took steps to get in touch with the German commander, but, owing to telegraphic interruptions, it was not until the evening of the 12th, after another fight on that day north of Kasama, that hostilities came to an end. Two days later von Lettow-Vorbeck complied with General van Deventer's

conditions—based on the terms in the armistice: “Unconditional surrender of all German forces operating in East Africa within one month”—and tendered his submission to the British magistrate at Kasama. The formal surrender to General Edwards—representative of General van Deventer—took place at Abercorn on November 25, the enemy’s miscellaneous force then including Dr. Schnee, the ex-Governor of German East Africa, 30 officers, and 125 other Europeans, 1165 Askaris, 1516 porters, 777 Portuguese natives, followers, and head men, and over 800 women, besides 1 field-gun, 24 Maxims, and 14 Lewis guns. “In view of the gallant and prolonged resistance maintained by the German force in East Africa” the British commander allowed General von Lettow-Vorbeck and his officers to retain their swords, while the European rank and file were permitted to carry their arms as far as Dar-es-Salaam. Meanwhile they were sent to Bismarcksburg to await transport, steps being taken at the same time to repatriate the native prisoners.

Thus ended a campaign which, as a test of human endurance alone, stands by itself in the history of warfare. Never before had operations

on a large scale with modern weapons taken place within a few miles of the equator, and seldom over so vast an area in any part of the world. The distances covered by the pursuers, especially in the last phase of the campaign, would have been remarkable even at home; carried out as they were either under a blazing sun or in torrential rain they were wonderful feats of endurance. There are, as the British commander observes in this connection, few fields of operations more trying than the African bush, “which invariably produces in time a feeling of depression in those who have been accustomed to more open warfare, while the sensation of continually groping in the dark tries the moral and physical courage of the bravest”; and every word of the high praise accorded to them by General van Deventer was earned by the troops who, in the face of such difficulties and hardships, had wrested the last of the enemy colonies from German hands. This is the more remarkable when we remember that in these closing operations the forces under General van Deventer consisted almost entirely of local troops raised from the British colonies in Africa.

F. A. M.

## CHAPTER VII

CONDITIONS OF THE ARMISTICE WITH GERMANY<sup>1</sup>

(Signed November 11, 1918)

BETWEEN Marshal Foch, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, acting on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers, in conjunction with Admiral Wemyss, First Sea Lord, of the one part; and Secretary of State Erzberger, President of the German Delegation, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary Count von Oberndorff, Major-General von Winterfeldt, Captain Vanselow (German Navy), furnished with full powers in due form and acting with the approval of the German Chancellor, of the other part;

An Armistice has been concluded on the following conditions:—

### CONDITIONS OF THE ARMISTICE CONCLUDED WITH GERMANY

#### (A.) *On the Western Front*

1. Cessation of hostilities on land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

2. Immediate evacuation of the invaded countries—Belgium, France, Luxemburg, as well as Alsace-Lorraine, so ordered as to be completed within fifteen days from the signature of the Armistice. German troops which have not evacuated the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will be made prisoners of war. Joint occupation by the Allied and United States forces shall keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation or occupation shall be regulated in accordance with a Note, drawn up at the time of signature of the Armistice.

3. Repatriation, beginning at once, to be completed within fifteen days, of all inhabitants of the countries above enumerated (including hostages, persons under trial, or convicted).

4. Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following war material:—

5,000 guns (2,500 heavy, 2,500 field).

25 000 machine-guns.

3,000 trench mortars.

1,700 fighting and bombing aeroplanes—in the first place, all D 7's and all night-bombing aeroplanes.

The above to be delivered *in situ* to the Allied and United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the Note, drawn up at the time of signature of the Armistice.

5. Evacuation by the German armies of the territories on the left bank of the Rhine. These territories on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the Allied and United States armies of occupation. The occupation of these territories shall be carried out by Allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine (Mainz, Coblenz, Cologne), together with bridgeheads, at these points, of a 30 kilometre radius on the right bank, and by

garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of each area. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right bank of the Rhine between the river and a line drawn parallel to the bridgeheads and to the river, and at a distance of 10 kilometres from the Dutch to the Swiss frontier. Evacuation by the enemy of the Rhineland (left and right banks), shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of sixteen days—thirty-one days in all after the signature of the Armistice.

6. In all the territories evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or detriment shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No person shall be prosecuted for participation in military measures prior to the signature of the Armistice. No destruction of any kind to be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be handed over intact, as well as military stores, food, munitions and equipment not removed during the periods fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, &c., shall be left *in situ*. No measure of a general or official character shall be adopted which may result in a depreciation of industrial establishments or in a reduction of their personnel.

7. Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroads, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs and telephones shall be in no way damaged. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall be maintained. 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 wagons in good running order, and provided with all necessary spare parts and fittings, shall be delivered to the Associated Powers within the period fixed for the evacuation of invaded countries, which shall not exceed thirty-one days. 5,000 motor lorries in good running order shall also be handed over within thirty-six days.

The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within thirty-one days, together with all personnel and material belonging directly to these lines. Further, material necessary for the working of railways in the territories on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left *in situ*. All stores of coal and material for upkeep of permanent way, signals, and repair-shops, shall be left *in situ* and maintained by Germany as far as the working of these lines on the left bank of the Rhine is concerned. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them.

8. The German Command shall be bound to disclose, within 48 hours after the signature of the Armistice, all mines or delay action apparatus disposed on the territory evacuated by the German troops, and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. The German Command shall also disclose all harmful measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or pollution of springs, wells, &c.). All the foregoing under penalty of reprisals.

9. The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allied and United States Armies in all occupied territories, settlement of accounts with the persons

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the official text (Cd. 9212) by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Department.



concerned being provided for. The maintenance of the troops of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be defrayed by the German Government.

10. Immediate repatriation, without reciprocity, of all Allied and United States prisoners of war (including those under trial or convicted), according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed. The Allied Powers and the United States shall dispose of these prisoners as they think fit. This condition cancels previous agreements on the subject of the exchange of prisoners of war, including the agreement of July

likewise withdraw within the German frontiers as above defined as soon as the Allies shall consider this desirable, having regard to the interior conditions of those territories.

13. Evacuation by German troops to begin at once, and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilian or military agents now within Russian territory (as defined on August 1, 1914), to be recalled.

14. German troops to cease at once all requisitions, seizures, or coercive measures for obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Roumania and Russia (according to frontiers existing on August 1, 1914).



Canadian War Records

The Armistice: German car, containing German officers sent to reveal the whereabouts of their mines, passing through the British lines with the white flag flying

1918 in course of ratification. The repatriation of German prisoners interned in Holland and in Switzerland shall, however, continue as before. The repatriation of German prisoners shall be settled upon the conclusion of the peace preliminaries.

11. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from territory evacuated by the German armies shall be cared for by German personnel, to be left on the spot with the material required.

## (B.)—*Clauses relating to the Eastern frontiers of Germany*

12. All German troops at present in any territory which before the war belonged to Austria-Hungary, Roumania, or Turkey, must at once withdraw within the frontiers of Germany as these existed on August 1, 1914. All German troops at present in territories which before the war formed part of Russia shall

15. Annulment of the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk and of supplementary treaties.

16. The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their Eastern frontier, either via Danzig or by the Vistula, in order to revictual the populations of those territories or to maintain order.

## (C.)—*In East Africa*

17. Evacuation of all German forces operating in East Africa within a period fixed by the Allies.

## (D.)—*General Clauses*

18. Repatriation within a maximum period of one month, without reciprocity, in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed, of all interned civilians, including hostages, and persons under trial or convicted, who may be nationals of the Allied or



Associated States other than those mentioned in clause 3.

19. *Financial Clauses.*—With the reservation that any future claims and demands of the Allies and United States shall remain unaffected, the following financial conditions are required:—

Reparation for damage done.

While the Armistice lasts, no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a guarantee to the Allies for the recovery of reparation for war losses.

Immediate restitution of cash deposits in the National Bank of Belgium, and, in general, immediate return of all documents, specie, and securities of every kind (together with plant for the issue thereof) affecting public or private interests in the invaded countries.

Restitution of the Russian and Roumanian gold removed by the Germans or handed over to them. This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

#### (E).—*Naval Conditions*

20. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea, and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to Neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

21. Release, without reciprocity, of all prisoners

of war in German hands belonging to the navies and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers.

22. Surrender to the Allies and the United States of all existing submarines (including all submarine cruisers and mine-layers) with armament and equipment complete, in ports specified by the Allies and the United States. Those which cannot put to sea shall be paid off and disarmed, and shall remain under the supervision of the Allies and of the United States. Submarines which are ready to put to sea shall be prepared to leave German ports as soon as orders are received by wireless for them to proceed to the port of surrender, and the rest shall follow as soon as possible. The conditions of this clause shall be fulfilled within fourteen days after the signature of the armistice.

23. The following German surface warships, which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States, shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or, failing these, in Allied ports designated by the Allies and the United States, and there placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States, only guards being left on board, namely:—

6 battle cruisers.

10 battleships.

8 light cruisers, including two mine-layers.

50 destroyers of the most modern types.

All other surface warships (including river craft) shall be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States, com



Armistice Day in London. scene outside Buckingham Palace—continued on the opposite page—when the King and Queen appeared to receive the cheers of the people and the troops from overseas

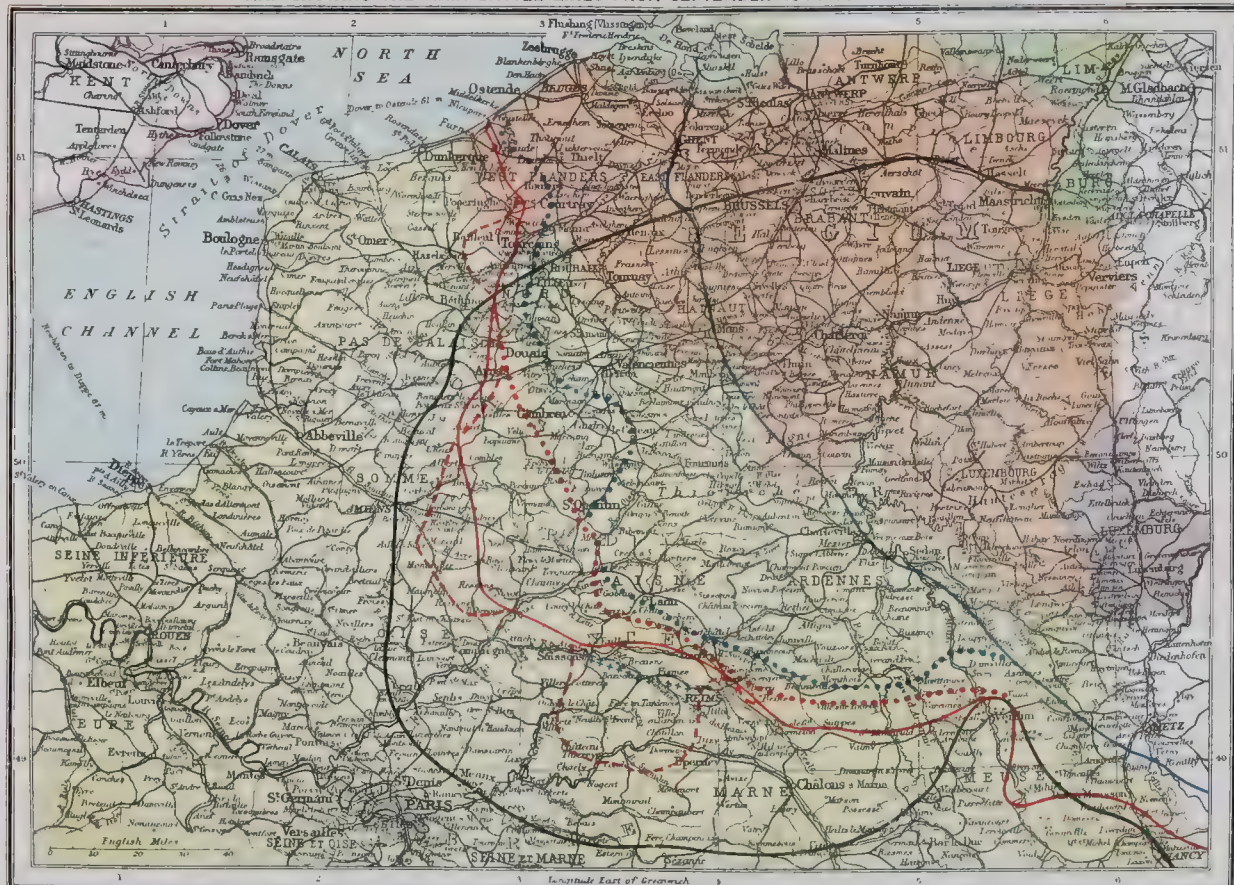
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# THE THEATRE OF WAR ON THE WESTERN FRONT. MAP SHOWING THE MAIN BATTLE LINES FROM SEPTEMBER 1914 TO NOVEMBER 1918.



1. Limit of German Advance up to First Battle of the Marne, Sept., 1914.
2. Allies' Line in February, 1915 six months after declaration of war
3. Before German Offensive, March 21st, 1918.
4. After German Offensive to July 15, 1918.
5. After Foch's Counter-attack on the Marne, July 18, 1918.
6. Battle for the Hindenburg Line, Oct. 10th, 1918.
7. Armistice Lines, Nov. 11th, 1918.



pletely disarmed, and there placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. All vessels of the auxiliary fleet shall be disarmed. All vessels selected for internment shall be ready to leave German ports seven days after the signature of the armistice. Sailing orders shall be given by wireless.

24. The Allies and the United States shall have the right to sweep all mine-fields and destroy all obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters. The position of such mine-fields and obstructions is to be indicated.

25. Freedom of access to and egress from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers; to secure this the Allies and the United States shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries, and defence works of all kinds in all the channels from the Cattegat into the Baltic, and to sweep and destroy all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters. The plans and exact positions of the above shall be furnished by Germany, who may not raise any question of neutrality.

26. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allied and Associated Powers shall remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships met at sea shall remain liable to capture. The Allies and the United States contemplate the provisioning of Germany, during the armistice, to such extent as shall be found necessary.

27. All aircraft shall be concentrated and immobilized in German bases specified by the Allied Powers and the United States.

28. In evacuating the Belgian coast and ports, Germany shall leave *in situ* and intact all harbour material and material for inland navigation, all merchant craft, tugs, and barges; all naval aircraft, equipment, and stores, together with all armament, equipment, and stores of every description.

29. All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; Russian warships of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States; all neutral merchant ships seized are to be released; war and other material of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned, and German material as specified in clause 28 is to be abandoned.

30. All merchant ships now in German hands belonging to the Allied and Associated Powers shall be restored, without reciprocity, in ports specified by the Allies and the United States.

31. No destruction of ships or of material to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

32. The German Government shall formally notify all neutral Governments, and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, that all restrictions imposed on the trading of their vessels with the Allied and Associated countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of ship-building materials or not, are immediately cancelled.

33. No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after the signature of the Armistice.



Drawn by Douglas Macpherson

Armistice Day in London: scene outside Buckingham Palace—continued from the opposite page—when the King and Queen appeared to receive the cheers of the people and the troops from overseas



## (F.)—Duration of the Armistice

34. The duration of the armistice shall be thirty-six days, with option to extend.

During such period the armistice may, owing to non-execution of any of the above clauses, be denounced by one of the contracting parties, who shall give forty-eight hours' notice of its intention to that effect. It is agreed that the armistice shall not be denounced owing to non-sufficient execution of the stipulations of clauses 3 and 18 within the time-limits specified, except in the case of intentional negligence in execution. To ensure the adequate fulfilment of the present agreement, the principle of a Permanent International Armistice Commission is admitted. This Commission shall work under the high authority of the military and naval Command-in-Chief of the Allied forces.

This armistice was signed on the 11th November, 1918, at 5 A.M. (French time).

## ANNEXE

*Conditions relating to the means of Communication (railways, waterways, roads, river harbours, seaports, telegraphs and telephones)*

1. All means of communication up to and including the Rhine, or included on the right bank of that river within the bridge-heads occupied by the Allied armies, shall be placed under the full and complete control of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, who shall have the right to take any steps which he may judge necessary in order to secure their occupation and use. All documents relating to the means of communication shall be held in readiness to be delivered to him.

2. All the material and all civil and military personnel at present employed for the upkeep and use of the means of communication will be maintained *in toto* on these communications throughout the territory evacuated by the German troops.

Any additional material necessary for the maintenance of these lines of communication in the territories on the left bank of the Rhine shall be furnished by the German Government throughout the duration of the armistice.

3. *Personnel.*—The French and Belgian personnel belonging to the communication services, whether interned or not, shall be returned to the French or Belgian Armies within fifteen days of the signature of the Armistice. The personnel directly employed on the Alsace-Lorraine railway system shall be retained or shall return to their posts in order to keep these railways running.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies shall have the right to change or replace any of the personnel of the communication services as he may think fit.

4. *Material.*—

(a.) *Rolling-Stock.*—The rolling-stock handed over to the Allied Armies in the zone between the front line and line No. 3<sup>1</sup> (not including Alsace-Lorraine) shall amount to at least 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 wagons. Delivery of this rolling-stock shall be carried out within the periods fixed by clause 7 of the armistice, and under the detailed conditions to be settled by the Permanent International Armistice Commission.

All this rolling-stock shall be in a good state of

repair and in running order, and provided with all usual spare parts or accessories. It shall be used (with its own or any other personnel) at any point of the railway system of the Allied Armies.

The rolling-stock directly employed on the railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be retained *in situ* or returned to the French Army.

The material to be left *in situ* in the territories on the left bank of the Rhine, as well as within the bridge-heads, must allow of normal traffic being maintained on the lines in these areas.

(b) *Permanent-way, Signals, and Workshop Plant.*—The signalling apparatus, machinery and tools removed from the workshops and depots of the French and Belgian railways shall be replaced in accordance with detailed conditions to be settled by the Permanent International Armistice Commission. The permanent-way material, rails, appurtenances, apparatus, bridging material, and timber necessary for repairing the destroyed lines beyond the present front shall be supplied to the Allied Armies.

(c) *Fuel and Materials for Upkeep.*—During the period of the armistice, fuel and materials for upkeep shall be supplied by the German Government to the depots normally serving the traffic in the territories on the left bank of the Rhine.

5. *Telegraphic and Telephonic Communications.*—All telegraph and telephone lines and fixed wireless stations shall be surrendered to the Allied Armies with all the civil and military personnel and all equipment, including all stores existing on the left bank of the Rhine.

All additional stores necessary for the maintenance of traffic shall be supplied by the German Government during the period of the armistice, as and when required.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies shall assume military control of this system, guarantee its organization, and replace or change any of the personnel as he may think fit.

He shall return to the German Army all the military personnel which he does not consider necessary for the working and maintenance of the system.

All plans of the German telegraph and telephone systems shall be handed over to the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies.

## ADDENDUM

The Allied representatives declare that owing to recent events<sup>2</sup> it appears necessary to them that the following condition should be added to the clauses of the Armistice:—

“In the event of the German vessels not being handed over within the periods specified, the Allied and United States Governments will have the right to occupy Heligoland so as to ensure the surrender of the vessels.”

(Signed) R. E. WEMYSS, *Admiral*.  
F. FOCH.

The German Delegates state that they will transmit this declaration to the German Chancellor with the recommendation that it should be accepted, together with the reasons upon which this demand on the part of the Allies is based.

(Signed) ERZBERGER.  
WINTERFELDT.  
OBERNDORFF.  
VANSELOW.

<sup>1</sup>The line marking the territory to be evacuated by the Germans within fifteen days after the signing of the armistice

<sup>2</sup>A reference to the mutinous state of the German fleet.

## CHAPTER VIII

## CLOSING PHASES OF THE AERIAL WAR

Rapid Developments in Aerial Warfare—Allies' Increasing Superiority—Last of the Zeppelin Raids—British Air Raids into Germany—Work of the Independent Air Force—Some Famous Pilots—Secrets of their Success.

THE final stages of the war by air saw a very rapid development in those uses of the aeroplane which experience had proved effective, and, more particularly, outside the actual battle areas, in the bombing of enemy munition areas and centres of supply. This led, naturally, to a great and growing demand for bombing-machines. In the first instance fast fighters, and also reconnaissance machines, had been used for this purpose, but later came special aeroplanes designed exclusively for this work. In this regard, so far as our own Air Service was concerned, we were able to provide bombing-machines in the later stages of the war which were so fast in flight, and so well armed, that we could send them out over enemy territory, even in daylight, without any escorting squadron of fighting-machines such as had previously been considered essential. They were powerful enough to fight their way out to their objective, drop their bombs, and then, if necessary, fight their way home again. In nothing, indeed, so much as in this question of raiding was the development of air-power revealed; and in nothing, either, was the steady swing of the pendulum more strikingly demonstrated in favour of the Allies.

In a previous section we have dealt

with the air-ship raids on England, leaving the last of those on London for such a brief review as will be convenient here. And, putting the point very concisely, it may be said that once we had organized a defensive of guns and search-lights, and more particularly when we had trained aeroplane pilots to fly at night, and had given them incendiary bullets with which to ignite the hydrogen in the air-ships' flimsy hulls, then the doom of the Zeppelin was sealed. The bringing down of the air-ship at Cuffley by the late Captain Leefe Robinson, witnessed as it was by the crews of ten other raiders who were in the air at the same time, was the beginning of the end.

The sting was taken out of the campaign, and the subsequent raids of the Germans with their air-ships, many of which we were able to gain warning of in London even before the machines left their sheds, only convinced the enemy that this form of attack had seen its day, and was becoming suicidally costly to them. For one thing, though they built quite 120 of these big air-ships during the war, they never had at any given time more than about fifteen ready to take the air; while, apart from those brought down by the defensive action of the Allies, a number were destroyed by

accidents in Germany and Belgium. As a matter of fact, the reign of terror of the Zeppelin, short though it was, would never have been possible at all had we been able to adopt in sufficient time the defensive measures which ultimately proved effective.

With the aeroplane raiders who followed after the vanquished airships the problem of defence was considerably more difficult. They flew faster and higher, and were far less vulnerable. But even here, where at first our peril seemed very grave indeed, determination and organization, aided as they were by the superlative skill of our pilots, won the day. After our humiliating experience in broad daylight on June 13, 1917, when fifteen German aeroplanes raided London without sustaining any casualties, and killed 157 people and injured 432 more in the streets of our capital, the full gravity of this menace had a tardy recognition. The defence organization was provided post-haste with more search-lights and more guns, while every nerve was strained to increase the number of our night-flying airmen. In September, 1917, came the wave of night-raiding by the enemy, the objective again being London; but though the ordeal was a very severe one, and some of the inhabitants fled into the country, unable to bear the cumulative strain of a succession of attacks, neither the *moral* of the city as a whole, nor the defence organizations, failed to respond to the severe call made upon them. Save for a really insignificant minority, the people obeyed without panic their raid instructions; while the heroism

of aviators, gunners, and search-light men, who all worked with an intense and tireless concentration, broke up the enemy formations before they could reach the city itself, and prevented all save one or two from pene-



In the Early Days of the Zeppelin Raids: house wrecked by a bomb at Antwerp, 100 yards from King Albert's residence

trating the inner ring of the barrage. This barrage, indeed, grew so terrible in its intensity, as more and more guns became available, that none but the stoutest-hearted among the raiders ever succeeded in getting through.

Meanwhile, our night-flying pilots, increasing in numbers and with swifter machines, and being provided with an improved anti-aircraft bullet to fire





Drawn by Joseph Simpson

"Trench Strafing": British low-flying scouts co-operating in an infantry attack on the Western Front



from their guns, began to exact a heavier toll among the ruthless raiders. Still the Germans persisted, and with larger, multi-engined machines, and huge bombs of immensely destructive power, planned an even greater reign of terror for the summer nights of 1918. This sinister ambition, however, they failed to realize, because, as usual, they under-rated their antagonists. How rude was their awakening was shown at Whitsuntide of that year, when, sending a squadron of their latest bombers on a night flight to London, they lost no fewer than seven machines in this one raid alone. It was a staggering shock to them; and although our authorities were well aware of the fact that attacks of an even greater magnitude had been planned, these failed altogether to materialize. The crews of the machines refused to face the ordeal of the combined defences of London; it was more than human endurance could stand.

Turning now to the general question of aerial raiding as apart from specific instances, the main difficulty of the war, in developing this offensive, both to the Allies and the enemy, lay in a lack of men and material—neither of which could be provided fast enough to give a sufficient surplus over and above the heavy wastages of the field. This made it difficult—indeed practically impossible—to maintain a sustained effort. Raids were spasmodic instead of being frequent. Therefore the real power of the aeroplane in this direction was not demonstrated in the war. It was an indication rather than a fulfilment.

So far as we were concerned, however, much was done in the later stages. Take, for example, the case of the machines operating from the Nancy area against the German chemical and iron industries. These give a clear idea of what might be done by a persistent policy of industrial harassing. Valuable work also was accomplished by bombing and interrupting the enemy's lines of communication, and in raids on his camps and points of concentration.

Where the final air work of the British was so effective was in the fact that we did our very best to give the enemy no respite; as soon as we had enough machines there was day-bombing as well as night-bombing. For this purpose the Independent Air Force, our purely offensive organization, was divided up into day and night squadrons, so as not only to worry the enemy while he slept, but also to get at him again when he began to move about at his day's work; and this was, of course, much more demoralizing than night-raiding alone.

We played the enemy, indeed, at his own game, and beat him at it soundly. Of course we had to keep pilots and craft in this country to deal with his raids, but he had soon to provide a very large number of machines—which he could afford very much less than we could—to try to cope with the growing force and frequency of our attacks, a task all the more difficult owing to the fact that these could be distributed at will over so wide an area.

More than 500 tons of bombs were,



Captain Guynemère, the French hero of the air, killed in 1917 after bringing down his fifty-third enemy aeroplane

in the last few months of the war, dropped by us on industrial centres associated with the war, railway stations, and aerodromes, and it is no exaggeration to say that this had a marked effect on the final stages of the great conflict. Some of the most effective of our raids were directed against railway lines of communication, such as the vitally important centre at Metz-Sablon and the junction at Thionville—the very nerve-centres of the German supply.

One of the most interesting features of the purely fighting operations in the air was the rise to fame of great aerial champions or “duellists”, who, flying high-speed, single-seated fighting-craft, swooped upon enemy pilots, and, by the swiftness and skill of their onslaught, claimed victim after victim, until the toll of one or two of them

grew till it numbered more than fifty machines sent crashing to the earth. What, it has often been asked, was their secret? In reply it may be said that most of them studied and perfected some very specialized form of attack. Each of them had a wonderful natural eye for speed and distance; while, above all, each of them acquired an extreme skill in the use of the machine-gun. This, indeed, is where so many of them scored. They learned very patiently—and altogether apart from their skill as pilots—to fire a machine-gun with almost unerring skill.

Guynemère, Richthofen, M'Cudden, Bishop, Ball, Navarre—the fame of these great aerial champions has already become legendary. Each developed some wonderful trick of attack which puzzled and discomfited



Major J. B. M'Cudden, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., killed in 1918 after fifty-eight aerial victories

his opponents. To the patient soldiers in the trenches the wonderful feats of these airmen became a never-ending source of encouragement and inspiration. In the case of the French at Verdun, in particular, the extraordinary ravages made by Navarre among the German airmen did no little to hearten the heroic occupants of the French trenches in their long-sustained fight against heavy odds. But this much we should always remember. Where there was one pilot who became famous there were a hundred heroes who remained obscure.

Here, indeed, lay the real strength of our own flying corps---in the high level of general skill which it attained.

It was this that the Germans came to fear and envy, and led them to make an almost superhuman hero of a fine pilot when they produced one. Thus, at the time that Germany was making an idol of Immelmann, one of our own flying-corps men was heard to say: "Immelmann! Why, we turn out Immelmanns by the dozen!" Which, though perhaps a pardonably exaggerated statement, certainly contained the germs of truth. Man for man we were better in the air; and it was this, altogether apart from organization or equipment, which gave us our supremacy.

C. G. - W.  
H. H.

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## OFFICIAL SYNOPSIS OF BRITISH AIR EFFORT DURING THE WAR<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Development of the British Air Service

On the 5th August, 1914, the British Air Service consisted of a Naval Wing, known as the R.N.A.S., a Military Wing, known as the R.F.C., and a Central Flying School. The Naval Wing, which was controlled by the Admiralty, comprised an air-ship squadron recently taken over from the Military Wing, and 3 aeroplane and sea-plane squadrons with a total of 93 machines. The Military Wing, which was controlled by the War Office, comprised 4 aeroplane squadrons with a total of 179 machines. The two wings had a total combined personnel of 197 officers and 1647 other ranks. The squadron was the tactical unit, and still remains so. The Royal Air-craft Factory at Farnborough was mainly engaged on experimental work, and the bulk of the machines and equipment for the Air Service was supplied by private manufacturing firms.

On the declaration of war some additional squadrons were hastily formed by the R.N.A.S. from all available resources in the country, and certain cross-Channel and other vessels were chartered and converted into air-craft carriers. Two squadrons of aeroplanes, manned by the R.N.A.S., were sent to Belgium with the Naval Division to attempt to

defend Antwerp, and the air-craft flown from the carriers undertook the protection of the ship channels off the east coast of England from minelaying, and made attacks on the German Frisian coast. The squadrons with the Naval Division constituted the nucleus of the force which was later formed at Dunkirk, under naval control, for the attack of the bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend. The employment of the small air-craft carriers originated the practice, since largely developed, of carrying air-craft in men-of-war, in lighters, and in special large aircraft-carrying ships attached to the fleet.

At the same time, all pilots and machines of the Military Wing, available for service overseas, were mobilized and concentrated at Dover, and on the 13th August, 1914, 4 squadrons (56 machines) of the Military Wing, accompanied by an air-craft park, proceeded to France. The machines landed at Amiens, flew to Maubeuge, where there was an aerodrome, and at once commenced work in co-operation with the British Expeditionary Force. These squadrons played their part in the retreat from Mons, and suffered heavy casualties both in personnel and machines, but with the advance to the Aisne sufficient reinforcements were sent out from home to make good the wastage, and to permit of expansion, so that by the end of November, 1914, there were 6 squadrons in France, which were then divided into 2 wings of 3 squad-

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the official text [Cmd. 100] by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.



rons each. This wing system of organization was continued, and as further squadrons were sent to France new wings were formed, the administration of which was throughout 1915 centred in Headquarters, R.F.C., France. With a continued increase in numbers, it was found that this method of administration was unwieldy, and in January, 1916, the first R.F.C. Brigade was formed. The organization was now found to work satisfactorily, and, on the conclusion of the Armistice, the Royal Air Force operating with the British Army in France consisted of 6 brigades, comprising 17 wings, 84 squadrons, 5 special-duty flights, and 26 miscellaneous units.

The development of the Home organization, to keep pace with the ever-growing requirements in various theatres of war, presented a problem of extreme difficulty, as the dispatch overseas in August, 1914, of all the immediately available machines and pilots left only a small nucleus behind upon which to build. The bulk of the machines were supplied by 8 private firms, who built to either Government or private design, and the remainder were produced by the Royal Air-craft Factory, at Farnborough. The orders placed with the contractors had been given under peace conditions, and were very small, particularly as the Government design of aeroplanes was, at the moment, in a state of transition.

The supply of engines presented a task of equal difficulty. On the outbreak of war, the aero-engine industry was practically non-existent: lack of experience, lack of skilled labour, and lack of suitable plant made its organization and development at high pressure an extremely arduous undertaking. None the less, steady progress was made, and in 1918 England possessed the largest and most efficient air-craft industry in the world. Some idea of the growth of aeroplane and engine production during the war may be gathered by reference to the Appendix.

Linked with the difficult problems of the supply of aeroplanes, engines, and other technical material were equally difficult problems involved in the supply of highly-specialized personnel. Chief among the latter was the question of supply of pilots. For these, the main source was the Central Flying School at Upavon, which had accommodation for about 40 pupils, and from which many of the serviceable machines had necessarily been taken for the first overseas expedition. During the first six months of the war, instruction was further hampered by the scarcity of experienced instructors, and by the fact that there were only 4 Government aerodromes in the British Isles. Civilian flying schools were pressed into use and fresh service stations constructed, with the result that by May, 1915, training was being carried out at 11 stations, and 234 officers were actually under instruction. In May, 1916, 15 training stations were in full working order, and a further 10 in course of construction, with 963 officers and other ranks under flying instruction. In the same year, schools of military aeronautics were opened at Oxford and Reading, and, in addition to flying instruction, a high standard of technical education was aimed at.

By March, 1917, there were 32 training stations in existence, 15 more under construction, and a school of special flying for training instructors. Cadet wings were started to deal with the influx of pupils, and special schools of aerial gunnery, aerial fighting, and artillery and infantry co-operation were established.

In addition, Egypt and Canada were provided with training facilities, and by December, 1917, there were 78 training squadrons at home, 15 in Canada, and 5 in Egypt. On the conclusion of the Armistice there was a total of 199 training squadrons, and the pupils under instruction, inclusive of cadets, numbered 30,000. 21,957 pilots have been trained and graduated as efficient for active service, and, though the training of pilot and observer personnel has been one of the heaviest responsibilities of the Air Ministry, it is believed that the British system of training is the best that has yet been evolved. We have also rendered assistance in this respect to all our Allies, especially to the Americans, who have adopted our system. In the early days of the war, the urgency of the demand rendered it necessary for pilots to go overseas immediately they had reached the minimum standard of efficiency, and five hours solo flying qualified a pilot for France. This minimum time was gradually raised, and at present the official minimum is thirty-five hours, including five hours on the service type of machine to be flown overseas, and, in fact, very few pilots have done less than fifty hours before they are sent on active service. Apart from the actual instruction in flying, pilots and observers receive a specialized training for the particular work they have to do in connection with reconnaissance, aerial fighting, spotting and bombing for the fleet, anti-submarine, and army duties. The improved efficiency obtained from this scientific mode of training has been one of the principal factors in the attainment of the air supremacy.

In addition to the training of flying and observer personnel, it has been necessary to establish a number of technical schools, in which equipment officers and other ranks receive suitable training in the various specialized branches of their work, such as engine construction, wireless telegraphy, photography, armament, navigation, &c. In the Appendix will be found a table setting forth the growth in personnel of the British Air Service since 1914. Then it consisted of 197 officers and 164 other ranks, whereas to-day (December, 1918) there are 27,906 officers and 263,842 other ranks.

Turning to the developments in the general organization, it will be remembered that for the first two and a half years of the war the expansion of the fighting air services was developed to a large extent by the Navy and Army along parallel lines, and there is no doubt that the existence of these separate air-service organizations resulted not only in considerable unnecessary expenditure, but also in confusion and delay in obtaining supplies.

In February, 1917, an attempt was made to remedy these defects by the formation of an Air Board upon which the Admiralty and the War Office were represented. All questions of supply were at the same time placed under an Air-craft



Production Department of the Ministry of Munitions, which successfully solved this difficult problem. The Air Board became responsible for the design and allocation of air-craft and accessories, but the actual administration of the two services remained separate. Although this was an improvement on the old system, it was found that there was still considerable duplication of effort and waste of energy, and it was finally decided to amalgamate the two air services and to place them under one central control. Accordingly, in January, 1918, a Secretary of State for Air was appointed, and the Air Board was reconstituted as the Air Ministry, to take over the administration of both the naval and military air services, which were amalgamated to form the Royal Air Force in April, 1918. Prior to this amalgamation, the organization of the Royal Flying Corps at home consisted of a training division comprising 109 squadrons and 13 schools. The schools were directly under the training division, and the squadrons were organized into four training brigades with 22 wings. The R.N.A.S. consisted of a number of groups, which were administered directly by the Admiralty. It was recognized that both these systems were capable of considerable improvement, and a new organization was set up. Great Britain was divided into 5 areas under the direct control of the Air Ministry, but each area was responsible for its own internal administration, and was sub-divided into training and operational groups.

It is under this new organization that the main development in the air service has taken place, and it is claimed that the results achieved in all theatres of war, as well as in home defence, have more than justified the establishment of the Royal Air Force as an independent fighting force of the Crown. It is not possible in this brief review of the development of the air services to enter into any great detail, nor has it been considered necessary to describe or to trace very closely the successive steps in its growth. It may be interesting, however, to give some few details of the development and achievements of the air services in the various theatres of war.

## 2. Co-operation in the Army

In this theatre (Western front) the British air service has expanded from 4 squadrons to 84 squadrons, with 5 special-duty flights and 26 miscellaneous units, such as air-craft parks, repair depots, &c. Owing to the difficulty of collecting detailed records from some of the earlier formed units, and the fact that many records have either been lost or destroyed, it is impossible at the moment to give any accurate summary of operations in the air previous to July, 1916. Since that date careful records have been kept, and will be found collected in the Appendix. It is worth noting that, from July, 1916, to the 11th November, 1918, the Royal Air Force on the Western front (including the Independent Force) destroyed or brought down 7054 enemy air-craft, dropped 6942 tons of bombs, flew over

900,000 hours (nearly 103 years), and fired over 103 million rounds at ground targets.

In addition to the work of the main force working with the armies on the Western front, the operations of the Independent Force, R.A.F., are worthy of special mention. During 1914 and 1915 isolated raids were made by the R.N.A.S. on Cuxhaven, Düsseldorf, and Friedrichshafen, but shortage of material and other difficulties made it impossible to keep up sustained efforts. In October, 1917, the 8th Brigade, R.F.C., was formed to operate from the Nancy area against the German chemical and iron industries. This brigade accomplished much valuable work, but only consisted of 3 squadrons, and on the 1st April, 1918, when the Royal Air Force came into being, the Air Ministry immediately recognized the great possibilities of a policy of strategic interception, as well as the opportunities for striking at the *moral* of the German nation. Every effort was made to build up and maintain in the field a powerful striking force to execute a series of systematic raids on the key munition and chemical industries of Germany. Accordingly, on the 8th June, 1918, the Independent Force, Royal Air Force, was constituted, and the 3 squadrons of the original 8th Brigade, R.F.C., were gradually increased to 10. Of these, 5 were for day bombing, 4 for night bombing, while the 10th consisted of scouts for the protection of the raiding formations and for defensive operations against the enemy fighters.

The effect, both morally and materially, of the raids on German territory carried out during the summer of 1918 can hardly be over-estimated. The utterances of the German press and public bear eloquent testimony to the results of the new policy, and it is known that the German High Command were compelled to recall at least 20 fighting squadrons from the Western front, and to immobilize a large number of ground troops to man anti-aircraft batteries and an elaborate system of search-lights and balloon barrages. In fact, the policy was so successful that when the Armistice was signed on the 11th November, 1918, it was intended to increase the Independent Force to a total of 48 squadrons by the end of May, 1919.

The Air Force in the Gallipoli campaign was supplied entirely by the R.N.A.S. In spite of many and severe hardships, and almost insuperable difficulties in regard to transport, supply, and workshop and repair arrangements, much excellent work was accomplished, particularly during the latter stages of operations. In addition to the normal duties of co-operating with the Army and the various units of the fleet, the R.N.A.S. was called upon to photograph the greater portion of the Peninsula for map-making purposes, and by means of these photographs the first very inaccurate maps were corrected. Constant bombing operations were also carried out on various objectives on the Peninsula and in the Straits, and frequent raids were made on the enemy's lines of communication, on the mainland, and upon Constantinople itself. The Dardanelles campaign was essentially a joint enterprise, and the fact that the R.N.A.S. was able to supply the needs of both

Navy and Army is a tribute to its efficiency and adaptability. A single intelligence system was maintained, and the photographs and observations were distributed to both the naval and military Staffs. Further, it is not too much to claim that the success of the evacuations from Suvla and Helles were, in a considerable measure, due to the reconnaissance and patrol work of the R.N.A.S. It was in this campaign that torpedoes were for the first time carried by air-craft, and three enemy ships were destroyed in the Dardanelles by this means.

While the development of the R.F.C. was in progress in France, development on a similar, though smaller, scale was taking place in the Middle East. The organization in this theatre began in connection with the Turkish operations against the Suez Canal early in 1915. As soon as the intended attack on the Canal became known, a flight of aeroplanes was made up by taking two machines which were on their way to India, and a few others which happened to be in Egypt for exhibition purposes. By the autumn of 1915 this flight had been expanded to a squadron and dispatched to Mesopotamia, while one other squadron sent from England took its place in Egypt and became the nucleus of expansion for the Middle East. A training organization was set up in Egypt, new units were trained, and early in 1916 the wing in Egypt was able to detach a squadron to Salonika. The organization continued to develop, and in July, 1916, was formed into a brigade with three service wings in Macedonia, Sinai, and Mesopotamia respectively, a training wing in Egypt, and a squadron in East Africa. In 1917 the Middle East Brigade became a Major-General's Command, and in October, 1918, consisted of:—

Egypt—1 training brigade of eight squadrons,  
3 schools of special flying, 1 cadet wing,  
1 school of military aeronautics;  
Palestine—1 brigade of 7 squadrons;  
Mesopotamia—1 wing of 3 squadrons;  
Macedonia—1 wing of 3 squadrons;

in addition, the Command included 1 air-craft depot, 3 air-craft parks, 1 air-craft factory, and a number of engine-repair sections. Details of the achievements of these units in their respective theatres will be found in the Appendix.

The British Air Service did not operate on the Italian front until November, 1917, after the Italian retreat from the Isonzo, when the Italian Brigade was formed and dispatched. A brief mention of the assistance given to our Allies in this theatre will be found on p. 148, and the results achieved are set out in the Appendix. It is acknowledged that our squadrons rendered very valuable assistance in turning the Austrian retreat into a rout.

Co-operation with the Russians commenced in the latter part of 1916, and short details of the assistance given will be found on p. 148.

In 1917 two squadrons were provided for India, where they have played an important part in quelling trans-frontier risings. In 1916 a flight of aeroplanes was dispatched from Egypt to Kordofan,

and played a useful part in the expedition against Darfur. During 1917 half a flight was dispatched from Egypt to co-operate with the British forces at Aden, and a flight was sent to Jeddah to co-operate with the forces of the King of the Hejaz.

The Palestine Brigade was formed in 1917 by expanding the wing attached to the E.E.F. This in turn had developed from the nucleus of one flight, which was formed to co-operate with our troops in the defence of the Suez Canal early in 1915. The Air Force in this theatre has had an exceptionally splendid record, which culminated in the Palestine Brigade achieving complete air supremacy during the critical period of the final operations. No single hostile aeroplane crossed our line. It is worthy of note that such complete air supremacy has not been obtained elsewhere by any belligerent in any theatre of war. The wing in Macedonia is also a very efficient organization; it has maintained the best traditions of the Royal Air Force, and its work has been repeatedly praised by the Army Commander. During the present year its air supremacy has been almost complete.

The Air Force in Mesopotamia consisted in 1915 of a composite squadron of aeroplanes which was sent from Egypt. This squadron was severely handicapped through lack of machines, climatic conditions, and inadequate personnel. In 1916 one additional squadron was sent out to form a wing, which was placed for administration under the Head-quarters of the Middle East Brigade. This wing rapidly gained a marked ascendancy over the enemy's air service, which was manned and equipped by Germany. This supremacy has been consistently maintained, and the wing in Mesopotamia holds a record of good work under extremely difficult conditions which compares favourably with that of any wing in the Royal Air Force.

Operations in East Africa were commenced by the R.N.A.S. sending out some sea-planes to operate on the coast late in 1914. Their early work is described later. . . . In 1915 this force was brought up to a strength of 2 squadrons, the sea-planes being replaced by aeroplanes, and was placed under the orders of the military forces operating in the north. Most valuable reconnaissance work over dense bush country was carried out under difficult conditions. Every landing-ground had to be constructed by making clearings in the bush, and at one time the lines of communication were over 600 miles in length. Shortly afterwards additional squadrons were sent out by the R.F.C. to operate farther south and also did valuable work.

### 3. Co-operation with the Navy

In November, 1914, the R.N.A.S. supplied air-craft to the fleet for reconnaissance purposes and defence against Zeppelins, and by the spring of 1915 a trans-Atlantic liner and two smaller vessels had been provided equipped with reconnaissance and fighter sea-planes. These were subsequently replaced by aeroplanes which were flown from the decks and turrets of ships while the latter were under way. The potential value of aerial scouts



was soon realized, with the result that several other large aircraft-carrying ships were added to the fleet, and the practice was in process of being established by which each battle-ship, battle-cruiser, and light cruiser was to carry its own air-craft on proceeding to sea. By July, 1918, 70 aeroplanes were being carried by the fleet as part of the battle equipment. Few opportunities presented themselves for employment of these air-craft in the face of the enemy, but the arrangements for their employment prior to and during a fleet action were systematically improved. Very valuable work was done during the battle of Jutland, in several raids into the Heligoland Bight, and in attacks on German air-ships met in the North Sea.

The patrol of waters infested by enemy submarines was commenced by the R.N.A.S. in September, 1914, and was gradually increased in scope until, at the time of the declaration of the Armistice, there were no less than 39 sea-plane and 26 aeroplane stations round the British coast and in the Mediterranean engaged in this duty. The duties of the air-craft engaged consisted of carrying out patrols over the seas in search of enemy submarines, in escorting convoys, and in assisting surface vessels to hunt submarines known to be in their vicinity. It may be claimed that the success which has attended the anti-submarine campaign has been largely due to their activities.

As mentioned on p. 140, the R.N.A.S. squadrons which proceeded to the Dunkirk district were engaged against the enemy very early in the war. Their numbers were gradually increased to 8 fighters and bombers, and during the following four years an unremitting attack by air on the submarine bases at Zeebrugge, Ostend, &c., was carried out in spite of strong anti-aircraft defences. The Dover-Dunkirk group also constantly assisted in denying the Dover Straits to enemy submarines, in attacking enemy aeroplanes proceeding to or returning from London, and in spotting for the British monitors, &c., bombarding the enemy bases and forts.

In addition to anti-submarine operations, the air-craft under naval orders in the locality of Harwich and the Nore have been continuously engaged in locating and destroying mines laid by the enemy off our coasts. Special long-distance reconnaissance work was also carried out from this area, and flights were made into localities infested with enemy sea-planes, and often resulted in heavy engagements, necessitating as many as 5 machine-guns being carried in the large sea-planes.

In view of the great activities of enemy submarines in the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas, the work of the air-craft engaged on anti-submarine duties has been of a most important character. Anti-submarine air-craft have been stationed in the Ægean, and at Malta, Gibraltar, and latterly at Alexandria. In the early part of 1917 a wing was also formed in Italy to assist the Otranto barrage in closing the southern end of the Adriatic to enemy submarines, and in bombing the Austrian naval ports in the Adriatic. These units have also assisted materially in protecting convoys and in harassing submarines in all parts of the Mediter-

anean. Other functions have been the bombing of lines of communication and places of military importance in Turkey and Albania, and the defence of Allied territory from enemy aerial attack. The operations of the R.N.A.S. in the Dardanelles, Palestine, and the Red Sea have already been referred to.

As already stated, sea-planes were sent to the east coast of Africa early in 1915 to take part in the operations on the Rufigi River, the approaches to which had been fortified by the crew of the German cruiser *Königsberg*, and rendered valuable assistance in locating the position of the cruiser and of the gun emplacements, and in directing the fire of our ships over the bush. Several air-craft at a later date were sent to Lake Tanganyika to co-operate with the Belgian forces.

In 1918 the air-craft carrier H.M.S. *Nairana* was sent to assist the Navy in the attack on Archangel. The sea-planes did valuable reconnaissance and bombing work, and materially assisted the capture of the port.

#### 4. Air-ship Service

On the outbreak of war this service consisted of 3 air-ships only, with a personnel of 24 officers and 174 other ranks; there are now (December, 1918) 103 ships in service, with a personnel of 580 officers and 6534 other ranks.

During the transportation of the original Expeditionary Force to France in 1914, two of the three existing air-ships assisted in patrolling the Channel. These were subsequently employed on similar patrol duties from Kingsnorth and Barrow. The third air-ship was based at Dunkirk in the early part of 1915, and co-operated with the Belgian artillery at Ostend. The development of our present air-ship service, however, may be said to date from February, 1915, when approval was given for the construction of the first S.S. air-ship. During the year 27 ships of this type were completed, the construction of a further 20 was begun, and the new "Coastal" type was also developed. In the meantime, experiments were directed to extending the range and duration of patrols, and a number of other new types were produced and commissioned.

In August, 1915, an air-ship contingent was dispatched to the Dardanelles, and was incorporated in the force referred to on p. 142. Its head-quarters were at first at Imbros, but were subsequently transferred to Mudros. Early in 1916 an outlying station was formed at Kassandra for anti-submarine work. Towards the end of 1916 one air-ship was stationed at Dunkirk and another was lent to the R.F.C. for work in France. In 1917 a detachment was sent to Italy in connection with 6 air-ships purchased by the Italian Government.

The duties carried out by the air-ship service are reconnaissance, coastal and anti-submarine patrols escorts, and mine detecting.

#### 5. Kite Balloons

Four units of this branch were sent to France to operate with the Army, and one unit was sent out

to the Dardanelles in H.M.S. *Manica*, a merchant vessel chartered and fitted out for the purpose. The work of these units was so successful that additional sections were rapidly formed. The R.F.C. took over the balloon work on the Western front, and five other vessels were equipped for balloon service in East Africa, in the Mediterranean, and off the Belgian coast.

At the end of 1915 a great advance in the development of balloons was made by the introduction of the practice of towing them from ships under way. The invention of the French Cuaquot balloon in 1916 assisted in the development, and the employment of balloons towed from all types of ships, from submarines to battle-cruisers, for reconnaissance and artillery-spotting purposes was soon a prevalent practice. By July, 1918, no less than 30 balloons were being taken to sea by the Grand Fleet on all occasions. Balloons have aided materially in the anti-submarine campaign, and have been towed from drifters, trawlers, and motor-launches in large numbers for reconnaissance purposes when hunting submarines, and also when escorting convoys. The expansion on the Western front has also been great, and at the present time (December, 1918) there are no less than 83 kite-balloon sections in the Royal Air Force.

## 6. Home Defence

Enemy air raids on Great Britain did not assume serious proportions until 1915, before which hostile aeroplanes and air-ships came over merely for purpose of reconnaissance. During 1914 and 1915 the anti-aircraft organization was under the control of the Admiralty. In 1915 a few machines of the 18th Wing were specially detailed for defence against air raids, and in February, 1916, when the responsibility for home defence was taken over by the War Office, No. 19 Training Squadron, in addition to its training duties, was entrusted with the defence of London against enemy air-craft attacks; in addition, detachments, each consisting of two B.E.2.c machines, were stationed at various points around the capital.

The systematic training of night-flying pilots was not commenced at Hounslow until the armament and fittings for night flying were standardized. The first home defence Squadron (No. 39) was formed in May, 1916, and by the end of the year 11 home defence squadrons and 1 night-training squadron had been formed and distributed throughout England. During 1916 the squadron responsible for the defence of London accounted for 5 Zeppelins, and the squadron protecting the Tyne and Tees brought down 1.

A home defence Wing was formed in September, 1916, and in April, 1917, on the formation of the northern home defence Wing at York, the existing home defence Wing became the home defence Group. This was later expanded, and finally became the 6th Brigade. The organization of this brigade now consists of 6 wings and 18 service squadrons, in addition to 10 night-training squadrons, 4 of which are night-bombing squadrons. Its duties are: the aerial defence of England and South

Scotland, co-operation with coastal batteries, the training of night-flying pilots, and the formation of night-fighting squadrons for the expeditionary forces. These night-fighting squadrons had the valuable dual effect of reducing the enemy bombing of our back areas in France, and at the same time forming a first line of air defence against aerial attack on the British Isles.

The search-light and anti-aircraft gun defences of London were at first under the control of the Admiralty, but in August, 1917, it was decided to place these and the aeroplane defences under a single command. The London Air-craft Defence Area was accordingly formed under a general officer, and the results emphasize the importance of co-operation between all units of anti-aircraft defence.

## 7. Development of Special Functions

In the early days of the war machines were either entirely unarmed or the pilot carried a revolver, service rifle, or Winchester repeater. Some German machines carried machine-guns in August, 1914, and the R.F.C. first fitted an aeroplane with a gun in September. Since then continual progress has been made in this direction. The types of machine-gun fitted are the Vickers and the Lewis, of which 19,500 and 18,400 respectively are in use in the R.A.F. to-day. The rate of fire of these guns has been greatly increased since their introduction: in the case of the Vickers from a normal 550-600 rounds a minute to 1000, and in the case of the Lewis from 500 to 700 a minute. Synchronizing gears have been invented, enabling the gun to be fired through the propeller at its full rate of fire. Continual improvements in the mountings have been devised both for the pilot and the observer, so as to bring the guns into the best possible positions for fighting, and also for rectifying faults and stoppages. A further great improvement has been the substitution of metallic disintegrating links for the original webbing belts used with the Vickers gun.

In addition to machine-guns, continual experiments have been carried out with guns of considerably larger calibre, firing a shell weighing over a pound. Heavy armament has now reached a stage of definite equipment, and a certain number of machines in the field have already been fitted with a 37-mm. gun firing a 1½-pounder shell. Sights are now compensated to allow for the speed of our machines as well as that of the enemy, and illuminated sights have been produced for night work. Air fighting called for the development of special ammunition, and a number of types of incendiary, tracer, and armour-piercing bullets have been produced and supplied in addition to the standard bullet.

Owing to the great cold of the altitudes at which pilots must now fly (20,000 feet and over) it has been necessary to make special heating apparatus both for the pilot and the engine. This apparatus is used in all night-flying squadrons. A further difficulty arising from the rarefaction of the atmosphere at these heights has been overcome by the



use of oxygen apparatus, which enables pilots to do their work under conditions which would otherwise be insupportable. At the other end of the scale is the low-flying machine, whose duty is to co-operate directly with the infantry and Tanks in action, and to attack, with bomb and machine-gun, enemy trenches and troops on the march or concentrating for an attack. For work of this nature, which is carried out from a height of a few hundred feet, an armoured machine has recently been devised.

The development of fighting in the air proceeded very rapidly. The first recorded combat occurred in September, 1914, when, in spite of the rudimentary armament, a total of 5 machines was brought down. By the middle of 1915 fighting in the air had become a recognized feature in operations, and since then it has steadily increased in intensity. The tendency has been to eliminate the single combats of the early days in favour of battles between patrols, and, in many cases, between large formations of machines, as many as 70 or 80 being engaged at one time.

The original and, at first, the only duty of the aeroplane in war was reconnaissance, and the earliest reconnaissance reports were of the utmost value. The information gained immediately prior to and during the retreat from Mons in 1914 was of the greatest possible assistance to the British and French Armies. The effect of regular, rapid, and accurate reconnaissance at once made itself apparent. With the development of trench warfare, it became necessary to supplement reconnaissance reports by full information as to the position of enemy trenches and the location of his batteries. In November, 1914, the first successful aerial photograph was taken of the village of Neuve Chapelle. During the early experimental stages photographs were taken at an altitude of 3000 feet, but the rapid development of anti-aircraft fire has forced the aerial photographer to an altitude of 22,000 feet.

During the first month that the photographic section operated in France only 40 negatives were taken. During October, 1918, 23,247 negatives were exposed, and approximately 650,000 prints were issued. A high standard of photographic work has been reached, and whole areas of country, lines of railway, and trench systems have been photographed, and accurate maps prepared. The photographic section in 1914 consisted of 2 officers and 3 other ranks. Their outfit comprised 2 cameras and a portable box of developing chemicals. The photographic personnel at the present day consists of 250 officers and 3000 other ranks, distributed throughout all theatres in which photographic work is carried out, and a large training school of photography has been formed at Farnborough. Up to September of this year (1918) as many as 5,287,826 prints of aerial photographs had been issued by the Air Service in the field.

It was realized from the first that one of the most important duties of the aeroplane would be co-operation with the artillery, and various methods of communication between machines and batteries or ships were devised. At first, signals were passed by evolutions of the machine over the target, and

later by signal lamps or smoke-balls fired from Very pistols. These, however, involved great delay and trouble in returning from target to battery, as signals were only visible at close range.

At the outbreak of war the use of wireless telegraphy in connection with air-craft was in its infancy; a certain amount of experimental work had been carried out, but no standard types of apparatus had been adopted. Only one of the machines which left with the original Expeditionary Force was fitted with wireless apparatus, which was not employed until some stable condition was reached on the Aisne, when work in conjunction with the artillery was started. From this time onwards wireless grew very rapidly, and every battery was gradually equipped with a wireless receiving station; at the end of 1916 there were about 2000 Air Service wireless operators and mechanics, and by the end of 1917 this number had increased to approximately 3760. The earliest experiments in wireless telephony were carried out between Farnborough and Brooklands, but it was not until 1917 that anything like an efficient set was designed and demonstrated in the air. About this time night-bombing machines in France (F.E.2.b.s) were fitted with C.W. transmitters, and this means of communication, which had a range of about 75 miles, proved of great value in reporting lighted enemy aerodromes and other suitable targets. At the present time there are about 80 C.W. wireless stations maintained by the R.A.F. in France alone, providing communications between various units in the field. There are also several hundred battery stations. To meet the steadily-increasing demands for trained officers and operators, a training school was started in 1916, with about 30 officer pupils and 500 other ranks. This school has now 152 officers and 2400 other ranks under instruction. The wireless branch now consists of approximately 520 officers and 6200 other ranks.

In the early days of the war pilots sometimes carried a few small bombs to be dropped by hand as opportunity offered. The Germans made the first organized bomb raid on Compiègne during the retreat, but day bombing has now become a highly-specialized operation, and the development of bombs and bombing aeroplanes has been carried to a high pitch of efficiency. The machines employed have steadily improved in range and weight-carrying capacity. There has been a very great improvement in the size and destructive power of bombs, and progress in this direction has kept pace with the development of the lifting power of air-craft. Whereas in 1914 we were only using 20-lb. bombs, to-day (1918) bombs weighing as much as 3000 lb are in use. High-explosive and incendiary bombs are the chief types used, whilst others of special design are employed for anti-submarine operations. A special type of smoke-bomb has also been evolved, which was very successfully used in the recent offensive in Palestine. Bombing has been developed on all fronts, both in the form of organized raids by day and by night for short or long distances, and also as one of the principal weapons for use against troops and other ground targets by our low-flying machines.

## 8. The Aerial War Effort of the Dominions

The assistance rendered—especially in personnel by the Dominions to the air forces of the Empire during the war has been fully proportionate to that given to the land forces. In 1915 the Dominion Governments, foreseeing the inevitable development of aerial co-operation in land and sea operations, initiated their support by offering to organize their own flying formations, and by generally encouraging their younger men to volunteer and take



Major W. A. Bishop, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., the  
Canadian Hero of the Air  
(From a photograph by Langley)

up flying. Even prior to this many who aspired to qualify as pilots and observers were coming over to join the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service, and during the whole course of the war service of the highest value has been performed by pilots from the Dominions who were destined to play an important part in building up and maintaining the air-fighting forces in every theatre of war. The following details give some idea of the extent of the efforts of the principal Dominions:—

The inauguration of the Australian Flying Corps in 1915 was the result of an offer by the Australian Government to form a flying unit for co-operation with our Indian forces in Mesopotamia. Four flying officers and 60 other ranks arrived at Basra in May, 1915, and took part in the Kut

operations. The first complete Australian squadron left Australia for Egypt in March, 1916, and later played an important part in the work of the 40th Wing in the Middle East Brigade. Three additional squadrons were organized for service in France, the first arriving there in August, 1917; these were responsible for the destruction of over 400 enemy machines between that time and the signing of the Armistice. Further, 4 training squadrons were formed in England, in which most of the Australian pilots were trained, the entire personnel being drawn from Australia or from the Australian Imperial forces in France. Some months ago a central flying school was created at Melbourne, and the aeroplane industry has now been definitely established in Australia. The strength of the Australian Flying Corps in November, 1918, amounting to over 250 pilots and a total personnel of considerably over 3000, gives an impression of the part played by Australia in gaining aerial supremacy.

In the early days of the war a large number of Canadians came over to join the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service, and as many as 800 officers and cadets had been enrolled in the former corps up to the time when a training centre for flying cadets was organized in Canada itself. A total of 1239 Canadian officers have been seconded or attached to the Royal Flying Corps, Royal Naval Air Service, and the Royal Air Force, and, since training in Canada was begun, over 4000 Canadian cadets have been commissioned in the flying services, while the number of other ranks transferred and subsequently commissioned is about 2750. Altogether over 8000 Canadians have served as officers in our flying services, and at the date of the Armistice there were nearly 2500 in the Royal Air Force, while 1200 Canadian cadets were undergoing training in England and in Canada. It may be added that several Canadian firms have maintained a large output both of machines and engines; Canada was producing, in November, 1918, about 350 light machines and 8 large flying boats per month.

Over 300 New Zealanders have served as officers in the British Flying Services during the war, and at the time of the Armistice there were 142 cadets in training. The Dominion has presented six aeroplanes to the Imperial Government, and lent two others. Since the outbreak of the war, two Schools of Instruction in Aviation have been established in New Zealand.

On the outbreak of war many South Africans came to England to take up flying, and by the beginning of 1916 nearly 2000 were serving in England or Egypt as probationary flight officers. When the 28th Squadron Royal Flying Corps was sent to co-operate with the forces in East Africa, it was largely composed of South Africans, and came to be known as the South African Squadron. The total number of South Africans who have been commissioned in the flying services is about 3000, who have taken part in the campaigns in France, Egypt, Palestine, and Africa. The Colony presented a large number of machines to the Imperial Government during the war.

### 9. Assistance to the Allies

The Government of the United States has paid a striking tribute to the British Air Service by adopting our system of training. The first 500 American officer cadets to be trained went through the School of Military Aeronautics at Oxford, subsequently graduating at various aerodromes in England. These officers formed the nucleus of American schools which were eventually started both in the United States and in France. In addition to this training of American pilots, 10 American squadrons were partially trained in Canada under a reciprocal agreement whereby Canada obtained the use of certain American aerodromes at seasons when weather conditions rendered some of the Canadian aerodromes temporarily unavailable. Four of these squadrons completed their training in England, and were then attached to the R.A.F. in the field to gain experience under service conditions for six to eight months. The remaining 6 went direct to the American authorities in France. In all, about 700 American pilots have passed through our schools and graduated at our aerodromes. An agreement was also entered into under which a pool of American mechanics up to a maximum of 15,000 at a time was maintained in England. This arrangement was mutually advantageous, as, while relieving the demand for skilled tradesmen in the R.A.F., it also assisted the Americans to train their own squadrons for service in the field. This personnel, coming from America untrained, was attached to training units for three to eight months, being then sent to France from time to time in the form of complete squadrons until a total of 59 squadrons was reached, in accordance with the demands of the American Command in France.

We have also supplied large numbers of aeroplanes of modern standard type, and when the question of producing a standardized engine was considered, every facility was given and all our experience placed at the disposal of the American Government, with the result that the Liberty engine was evolved. Some 95 officers were sent out to the United States to assist in an advisory capacity, and a large number of American officers have both visited and undergone courses at most of the schools and training stations of the Royal Air Force. In addition, a very large amount of material, supplies, samples, drawings, and technical information was supplied to both the American Army and Naval Aviation Services.

We have assisted the French Government to a considerable extent in training her pilots, more especially in aerial fighting. For this purpose 4 Gosport instructors together with 4 mono-Avro aeroplanes were sent to France. We have supplied 48 complete machines and various new types of engines to the French Government, and an order for 150 Sunbeam engines is on the point of completion. About 600 Hythe gun cameras were also supplied during 1917-18 to the French schools for training purposes. French officers have constantly

visited this country with a view to studying our methods, and have been given every facility for visiting schools, training centres, and technical establishments.

Immediately after the Italian retreat in November, 1917, 4 British aeroplane squadrons were sent to the Italian front to co-operate with the Italian Air Service and with the British forces in Italy; these 4 squadrons have been maintained, and a fifth squadron has recently been added. The brief record of the work performed by these squadrons, given in the Appendix, illustrates the valuable assistance they have rendered to our Ally. During 1918 the Italian Government were supplied with 150 Vickers guns each month, and with upwards of 2000 Lewis guns. A number of Hythe gun cameras have been sent out, and between 200 and 300 sights and lenses, as well as photographic chemicals.

To Belgium. In 1916 a number of Sopwith 1½ strutters were provided by the R.N.A.S. In 1917, 22 more machines of this type were supplied, and 22 R.E. 8.s for artillery co-operation. In 1918, 36 "Camel" and 18 D.H. 9 machines were furnished to the Belgian Aviation Corps.

The Greek Government have been supplied with 20 sea-planes. 40 D.H. 6 machines and 6 Sopwith "Camels", together with complete equipment and transport, had been allotted and were ready for dispatch, but have been held back owing to the cessation of active hostilities.

In 1916 a mission was sent to Russia to assist in training and organizing the Russian Flying Corps, and during the latter part of 1916 and during 1917 Russia was supplied with 251 aeroplanes. In May, 1918, orders were issued for the dispatch of a R.A.F. contingent in conjunction with a special mission which was being sent to Northern Russia to operate from Archangel. The force consisted of 8 D.H. 4 (R.A.F. 3a) machines with a complement of personnel and stores. On arrival at Archangel sufficient machines were collected from those which had previously been sent to Russia to form 2 squadrons of Nieuports and 1½ strutters. In August, 1918, reinforcements were dispatched to Archangel, consisting of a proportion of British officers, N.C.O.'s, and men, a wing head-quarters, an Intelligence Section, one flight of R.E. 8.s, and two Repair Sections for engines and air-craft respectively. On the 12th November, 1918, a further reinforcement of 6 Sopwith scouts and a six months' supply of stores were dispatched.

To Japan. Several officers have been undergoing courses on aeroplanes and sea-planes. Seventy-seven complete machines and 100 Le Rhone engines have been supplied.

To Brazil. Several officers have graduated as pilots under the tuition of our instructors. Two flying boats have been supplied to the Brazilian Government.

To Roumania. Several officers have been given instruction and have graduated as pilots. Twenty Sopwith machines have also been supplied.

*Air Ministry, 1st January, 1919.*



# APPENDIX TO OFFICIAL SYNOPSIS OF BRITISH AIR EFFORT DURING THE WAR

## PERSONNEL

	August, 1914.			December, 1916.			December, 1917.			October, 1918.		
	Officers.	Other Ranks.	Total.	Officers.	Other Ranks.	Total.	Officers.	Other Ranks.	Total.	Officers.	Other Ranks.	Total.
R.F.C. ...	147	1097	1244	5982	51,915	57,897	15,522	98,738	114,260	...	...	...
R.N.A.S. ...	50	550	600	2764	26,129	28,893	4765	43,050	47,815	...	...	...
R.A.F. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27,000	203,842	291,748
Total ...	...	...	1844	...	...	86,790	...	...	162,075	...	...	291,748

## MACHINES AND ENGINES ON CHARGE

	August, 1914.		January, 1917.		January, 1918.		October, 1918.	
	Machines.	Engines.	Machines.	Engines.	Machines.	Engines.	Machines.	Engines.
R.F.C. ...	179	...	3029	6056	8350	14,755	...	...
R.N.A.S. ...	93	...	1567	3672	2741	6,902	...	...
R.A.F. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22,171	37,702
Total ...	272	...	5496	9728	11,091	21,657	22,171	37,702

## OUTPUT OF MACHINES AND ENGINES

	August, 1914, to May, 1915 (10 months).		June, 1915, to February, 1917 (21 months).		March, 1917, to December, 1917 (10 months).		January, 1918, to October, 1918 (10 months).	
	Machines.	Engines.	Machines.	Engines.	Machines.	Engines.	Machines.	Engines.
R.F.C. ...	530	141	7137	8917	12,275	...	...	...
R.N.A.S. ...	No record	No record	No record	No record	1,246	...	...	...
R.A.F. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26,685	29,561
Total ...	530	141	7137	8917	13,521	13,979	26,685	29,561

## EXPANSION OF MOTOR TRANSPORT

Motor Transport (All Types).	R.F.C. Only.				R.A.F.
	August, 1914.	August, 1915.	August, 1916.	August, 1917.	October 31, 1918.
On charge ...	320	2469	5282	8584	23,260

## SQUADRONS MAINTAINED

	Service.		Training. (1 Training Depot Station reckoned as 3 Squadrons)		
	August, 1914	October 31, 1918.		August, 1914.	October, 31, 1918.
Western Front ...	4 (R.F.C.)	84 & 5 flights	Home ...	1 (R.F.C.)	174
Independent Force ..	...	10		2 (R.N.A.S.)	
5 Group ...	...	3	Egypt ...	...	10
India ...	...	2	Canada ...	...	15
Italy ...	...	4			
Middle East ...	...	13			
Russia ...	...	1 <sup>3</sup>			
Home defence ...	...	18			
Naval units ...	1 (R.N.A.S.)	64			
Total ...	5	198 $\frac{1}{2}$ & 5 flights	...	3	199

## RESULTS OF OPERATIONS IN THE AIR

	July, 1916, to Nov. 11, 1918.	January 1, 1918, to November 11, 1918.								
	Western Front.	Independ- ent Force.	Home Forces.	5th Group and Naval Units.	Italy	Egypt.	Mesopo- tania.	Salonica	Palestine	India & Aden.
Enemy air-craft ac- counted for, i.e. brought down or driven down	6,904	150	8	470	405	25	6	59	81	...
Our machines missing	2,484	111	...	114	44	9	13	8	24	...
Bombs dropped (tons)	6,402	540	...	662	50	43	25	130	74	30
Hours flown ...	889,526	11,784	...	39,102	25,206	7,022	7,802	13,417	21,848	579
Rounds fired at ground targets	10,238,182	353,257	...	...	222,704	50,937	107,503	193,354	735,550	7527
Photographs taken	401,375	3,682	...	3,440	14,506	8,135	66,720	15,587	27,030	542
Enemy balloons brought down	258	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
										258

NOTE.—Records are not available of results obtained by Expeditionary Force, Western front, prior to July, 1916, or by 5th Group and Naval Units, or in Eastern theatres prior to January, 1918. The absence of these records, however, will not materially affect the totals shown as regards enemy air-craft accounted for, our machines missing, or the weight of bombs dropped, owing to the comparatively recent growth in intensity of aerial fighting and the smaller number of air-craft engaged.

## CHAPTER IX

## THE ARMISTICE PERIOD

(November, 1918—July, 1919)

The Position of the Armies on November 11—British Advance to the Rhine—Sir Douglas Haig's Dispatch—Union Jack floats over Cologne—Enemy's Homeward March—How British Prisoners returned—Events in Russia—"Twenty-three Little Wars"—Egypt and Afghanistan—The League of Nations—World-wide Unrest—Peace Day Celebrations.

**I**N the chapter on the last phase of the German retreat we have seen generally the position of the armies on November 11, 1918, when the enemy accepted the armistice terms. The British were in Mons, the Belgians in Ghent, while the French occupied the Charleville-Mézières region, and the Americans were on the Sedan and Meuse line. Within the next fortnight, in all the theatres of war, movements of occupation by the victors were in progress. The Allied fleet passed through the Dardanelles; Constantinople and Budapest were occupied by French troops; the German East African Force surrendered under the armistice; British and Russian troops were in Baku; the Poles occupied Posen; on the Adriatic the Italians had possessed themselves of Fiume, the harbour around whose destiny so fierce a diplomatic struggle was to ensue against the Jugo-Slavs during the Peace Conference; the Belgians were again in occupation of Brussels. French troops had entered Metz, and on November 25, under Marshal Foch, made a formal entry into Strasburg, the capital of Alsace-Lorraine.

The precise extent of the British front when the armistice took effect was about 60 miles, from the neighbourhood of Montbliart, east of Avesnes, to just north of Grammont. This front, from south to north, was held by troops of the Fourth, Third, First, Fifth, and Second British Armies, all of whom were in hot pursuit of the enemy when the armistice was granted. Troops were at once directed not to advance east of the line reached by them at the time when hostilities ceased, and certain parties of Germans taken prisoner after that hour were returned to the enemy.

The forward movement of the Allied armies was carried out on a co-ordinated plan. In the case of the British, the zone of action extended from the front then held by us in an easterly direction as far as the German frontier, whence it continued in a north-easterly direction to the Cologne bridge-head. Sir Douglas Haig decided that the opening stages should be carried out by the Second and Fourth Armies, under the command of the two senior Army Commanders, General Plumer and General Rawlinson, and that each army should



consist of four corps each of four divisions. To ensure rapidity of movement and to facilitate supply the artillery and auxiliary arms and services were cut down to a minimum, yet throughout the whole of the advance, and especially in the stage which followed the crossing of the German frontier, great but unavoidable difficulties were encountered in connection with supply.

At five o'clock on the morning of November 17 the 2nd Cavalry Division, covering the front of the Fourth Army, and the 1st and 3rd Cavalry Divisions, covering the front of the Second Army, crossed the line reached on November 11, and began to march to the German frontier. The leading infantry divisions moved forward on the following day. In his subsequent dispatch describing the advance, Sir Douglas Haig wrote:—

“Among all arms the general bearing, smartness, and march discipline of the troops were of a high order, reflecting credit on the army and the nation. All traces of the desperate fighting and forced marches of the previous months had been removed, and men, horses, guns, and vehicles appeared as though turned out for parade. Throughout the advance, despite long distances covered under difficult conditions, indifferent billets, and the absence of the usual opportunities for bathing or renewing clothes, the same general standard of excellence was maintained in a remarkable degree.”

Every town and village was festooned with flags, and men, women, and children thronged to meet the victorious British troops and exchange greetings in French and English. The march, however, was very trying,

owing to the damaged state of roads and railways, and leading troops were denied for long periods comforts which they had been accustomed to obtain even under battle conditions. No small demands were made upon both forms of transport by the duty here thrown upon the British army of pro-



Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Lawrence, appointed Chief of Staff to Sir Douglas Haig in January, 1918  
(From a photograph by F. W. Swaine)

viding food and medical attendance for the civil population of the liberated districts through which they passed, a population which in France alone amounted to nearly 800,000 persons. It entailed the supply and distribution of more than 5,000,000 rations during a period exceeding six weeks.

The line of advance traversed the northern portion of the Ardennes, and the country was of a most difficult character.

"Our way lay across a country of great hills rising to over 2000 feet, covered by wide stretches of forest, and cut by deep and narrow valleys, along the steep sides of which the roads wound in countless sudden curves. Marches were long, while the surface of the roads, which had already borne the traffic of the retreating German armies, suffered anew under the passage of our columns. Even under conditions approximating to those of peace, severe demands were made upon the spirit and endurance of the troops."

On the morning of December 1, 1918, "a date for ever memorable", wrote Sir Douglas Haig, "as witnessing the consummation of the hopes and efforts of four and a half years of heroic fighting", the 1st Cavalry Division crossed the frontier between Belgium and Germany. Five days later the 2nd Brigade of the division was sent forward to Cologne, in response to a request made by the German authorities, in order that the town might not be left without troops after the withdrawal of the German forces. The first of the British to cross the line was a detachment of armoured cars of the 17th (A.B.) Battalion, Tank Corps, escorting the General Officer Commanding the division.

A great concourse of people thronged the streets of Cologne to watch the arrival of our troops. Next day the 28th Infantry Brigade of the 9th Division arrived by rail, and on December 11 the Military Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Fergusson, also arrived by train. Accompanied by an escort of the 9th Lancers he proceeded through crowded streets to the Hotel Monopol, where

he took up the duties of his office. As Sir Charles reached the hotel entrance the Union Jack was hoisted above the building. The British flag floated out for the first time over the roof tops of Cologne. Next day—the appointed time—the 1st Cavalry Division crossed the Rhine and began the occupation of the Cologne bridge-head; the 2nd and 1st Canadian Divisions and the 29th and 9th Divisions followed, and by the evening of December 16 the occupation of the bridge-head was completed. Before Christmas Day the troops of the Second Army had reached their final areas in the occupied territories of Germany.

December was also a month of distinguished visits to London, beginning with those of Foch, Clemenceau, Orlando, and Sonnino, and concluding with that of President Wilson on Boxing Day. None was more heartily greeted than Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, to whom and his generals the people of the capital gave an enthusiastic welcome on December 19. Haig did not come home finally, however, until March, 1919, on being appointed to the Home Command, when General Sir William Robertson went out to take command of the Rhine armies.

Meanwhile, in Germany, after the acceptance of the armistice, Solf, in Berlin, was seizing every opportunity that offered to present in the newspapers of the Allied countries a whine against the terms and a plea for food. The armistice terms, though by no means the last word, made resumption of the war hopeless for the

enemy. Germany was in the power of the Allies, who now held the three bridge-heads of Cologne, Mainz, and Coblenz for a radius of 30,000 yards beyond each of the three crossings of the river. Let us turn from contemplation of the victors to see how the German troops behaved under defeat. A strong attempt was made to uphold

their country to the uttermost. He added:—

"The armistice binds us to return—binds us to return home quickly. Under present conditions it is a hard task which demands self-restraint and devotion from every man. It will be a severe test of the spirit and *moral* of the army. You have never left your Field-Marshal in the lurch. I rely on you still."



With the British Army of Occupation on the Rhine: General Sir William Robertson, Commanding-in-Chief, inspecting one of the Highland regiments

the *moral* of the retreating army. Hindenburg was still a name to conjure with in Germany. He issued an order of the day to the army on November 13, stating that the armistice had been signed; that the Germans had borne their arms honourably up to the present day, keeping the foe from their frontiers and preserving their homes from the horrors of war; and that they gained new strength from the knowledge that they had defended their honour and

A few days later Hindenburg and General Head-quarters arrived at Cassel to superintend from Wilhelms-höhe the demobilization of the army. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Cassel were at pains to honour his loyalty to the new Government and his courage in commanding the retreating army. They greeted him with a public notice in the Cologne Press, praising the greatness of his devotion to the people in their adversity, and pointedly assuming that he was



safe from any annoyance. Perhaps this effusion was not unconnected with a desire to prevent a repetition of untoward events which had occurred elsewhere. The city of Hanover had been the scene of a little battle between the garrison and the Bremen "flying" division, which had lately arrived there; the Hanoverians won, and twenty Bremeners were reported killed. Trouble, no doubt due to unauthorized movements of formations, occurred in the 18th Army Corps district (Frankfurt-on-Main) and in the 1st Bavarian Army Corps district (Munich). In all districts the newspapers maintained that the army was unbeaten although the war was lost. When General von der Marwitz passed through Trier at the head of the Fifth Army, the Town Council had prepared for the event by the following advertisement:—

"Welcome home, heroes!—Overpowered but unconquered, deserted by friend, unbeaten by foe. You who have warded the Fatherland, hearth and home, our Moselle land, and our venerable city from the horrors of war, we greet you with pride. Welcome home!"

It was typical to find those same German civic authorities who had led public rejoicing in the spoliation of Belgium and France now hugging themselves over their own safety from "the horrors of war", and trying to persuade the troops who had carried out that spoliation that the Allied armies had not defeated them.

Movements of German troops were hampered by shortage of rolling-stock. On November 18 the Germans issued a general statement on

the War Ministry's demobilization plans, which outlined in optimistic phrases schemes for the period of transition from war to peace organization.

However great the confusion in the German retreat, it was an orderly march homeward compared with the conditions of irregular demobilization in Austria-Hungary, following the armistice signed on November 3 in the name of the Emperor by the Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal Kövess. Bodies of troops had only one idea—to reach their homes as quickly as possible. The States Council had ordered that every soldier should remain at his post while a scheme for the demobilization of all men and material within nine months should be carried out; but soldiers demobilized themselves, and even prisons were abandoned by their guards, allowing a herd of criminals to flood the country. Each State set about the task of forming a national army from the returned troops, and in Hungary the new War Minister, Bartha, published a decree abolishing the term *gemeiner* (private) owing to its derogatory implication!

Much indignation was aroused by stories which reached Great Britain of the ill-treatment of prisoners in Germany even at this stage. During the march to the German frontier the British army met large numbers of released prisoners of war, French and British. The enemy had liberated the majority of the Allied prisoners west of the Rhine without making any provision for their feeding and conveyance. The suffering thus caused to



The Occupation of German Territory: map illustrating the Armistice terms on the Western Front

these unfortunate individuals was in violent contrast to the fine sentiments with which the German authorities—with their eye at this time on a softening of the peace terms—had regaled them. A leaflet entitled “A Parting Word”, was put into the hands of British prisoners of war on their way home from German camps.

“You have suffered in confinement—as who would not?” said this unctuous document. “It was the fate of every prisoner in every prison camp in the world to eat his heart out with longing, to chafe against loss of liberty, to suffer from homesickness, brooding, discouragement, blank despair. . . . We know that errors have been committed, and that there have been hardships, for which the former system was to blame. There have been wrongs and evils on both sides. We hope that you will always think of that—and be just.”

The tale went on:—

“You entered the old Empire of Germany; you leave the new Republic—the newest and, as we hope to make it, the freest land in the world. We are sorry that you saw so little of what we were proud of in the former Germany—our arts, our sciences, our model cities, our theatres, schools, industries, our social institutions, as well as the beauties of our scenery and the real soul of our people, akin in so many ways to your own. But these things will remain part of the New Germany. Once the barriers of artificial hatred and misunderstanding have fallen, we hope that you will learn to know, in happier times, these grander features of the land whose unwilling guest you have been. A barbed-wire enclosure is not the proper point of view from which to survey or judge a great nation. The war has blinded all nations. But if a true and just peace will result in opening the eyes of the peoples to the fact that their interests are common—that no difference

in flags, Governments, speech, or nationalities can alter the great truth of the fraternity of all men, this war will not have been fought in vain. If the peoples at last realize that it is not each other that are their enemies, but the ruthless forces of Imperialism and Capitalism, of Militarism of all sorts, of Jingo Journalism that sows falsehood, hatred, and suspicion, then this war will not have been fought for nothing. Then peace will not be established in vain.”

Throughout the armistice period also the peoples of the Allied countries regarded with some concern, not unmixed with scepticism, the constant stream of reports of turbulence and revolution which emanated from Germany. British doubts were due to well-grounded suspicion that the enemy would employ every species of cunning at his command to “win the peace” though he had lost the war. Consequently it was with unfeigned satisfaction that people at home saw their representatives apply a fresh turn of the screw at every sign of German truculence in fulfilling the terms. The original armistice (the text of which is printed on pp. 130–34) was granted for thirty-six days. Early in January, 1919, the Peace Conference preliminaries began in Paris. President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and Signor Orlando, sitting as the Supreme War Council, settled in consultation with Marshal Foch terms for the extension of the armistice for one month, and the convention was signed at Trèves on January 17 by Marshal Foch, Admiral Browning, and the German delegates. Besides the handing-over of the German merchant fleet to the Allies to assure the pro-



visioning of Germany and the rest of Europe, and the surrender by the Germans of large numbers of agricultural machines and implements instead of the balance of the locomotive and railway material which had not been delivered, the new armistice terms reserved to the Allies the right, whenever they thought fit, by way of new guarantees, to occupy the sector of the fortress of Strasburg formed by the fortifications of the right bank of the Rhine. There were also supplemental naval provisions.

We need not follow the long course of German tergiversation. Again at Trèves, on February 14, Marshal Foch presented new conditions which were at once simple and drastic. Germany was at once to cease her offensive against Poland, and to carry out all the conditions still remaining unfulfilled of the previous renewals; and the extension was indefinite, with the provision that the Allies might denounce it after seventy-two hours' notice. The delegates protested and threatened, only to be informed by Marshal Foch that the terms must be signed within his limit of forty-eight hours, or military operations would at once be resumed. Of course they signed, and went home to Weimar to ease their feelings by denouncing to their own people the barbarity of the Allies. The National Assembly adjourned as a token of national mourning. In March the "barbarous" Allies began to send shiploads of food to these same German people, though the raising of the blockade was deferred until such time as peace had been signed and ratified.

Why the Germans kept up a pretence that the Allies did not realize the change that had taken place in the Fatherland can only be explained by the notorious incapacity of the German to read the psychology of other peoples. A letter from Berlin headed "Berlin To-day: A Warning", to which *The Times* gave prominence on May 6, 1919, was remarkable for the emphasis laid on the statement that the Germans, being used to an autocratic form of Government, were completely unmanned by the absence of dominating authority. The Government, said the writer ("Viator") "is hanging on solely in the hope that it can get something out of the Entente or outwit them in some way or other, both Brockdorff-Rantzau and his cousin Bernstorff being notoriously past masters of that particular form of diplomacy". And he stated further: "The majority of those in responsible positions—the bankers and big business men—are hopeful that peace will *not* be signed, and that a further Allied occupation will result, bringing with it the order and industry already prevailing in the occupied Rhineland and almost nowhere else in Germany".

This description of the occupied Rhineland was vividly true. It seemed an immensely prosperous country. There the British army was absolute master. General Plumer's sentries were posted everywhere. Every hotel and castle about Cologne was the head-quarters of a British regiment. The Hohenzollern Bridge was under British guard; the White Ensign was flying on the Rhine over H.M. motor-launch flotilla. A British civilian

visitor, looking on at the scene, came home and reported that the Germans were "disgustingly friendly and obsequious", and "only too anxious to serve their new masters as willing slaves". A declaration signed on June 16, 1919, by President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, and Mr. Lloyd George, agreed that as soon as the Allied and Associated Powers were convinced that the conditions of disarmament by Germany were being satisfactorily fulfilled, the annual amount of the sums to be paid by Germany to cover the cost of occupation "shall not exceed 240 million marks (gold)". By another agreement a civilian body was constituted as the Inter-Allied Rhine-land High Commission.

Great Britain now had learnt the total cost of the war. Far more than the £30,000,000,000 in treasure which the Allies had spent, she was impressed by the number of men who had dauntlessly laid down their lives for imperishable ideals. At the same time Sir Douglas Haig took the view that, given the military situation existing in August, 1914, our losses in the war had been no larger than were to be expected. The total British casualties in all theatres of war—killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners, including native troops—were approximately three millions (3,076,388). Of this total some two and a half millions (2,569,934) were incurred on the Western Front. Another figure of interest is that the mobilized strength of the British and Dominion troops, including Indian, at the date of the armistice (November 11, 1918) was 5,680,247, compared with the French

5,075,000 and the United States 3,707,132. On the Western Front the number of British and Dominion troops was 1,932,000, of American 1,903,000, and of French 2,563,000.

The dispatch of troops to Russia after the armistice was a great peg upon which the pacifist and pro-German agitators at home could hang the propaganda of revolt. In January, 1918, Lenin's Government had dissolved the Constituent Assembly, which was considered unduly bourgeois in character. The National Debt was repudiated; the Bolsheviks made Moscow their capital; the ex-Tsar Nicholas and his family were foully murdered; and hideous atrocities against the educated classes marked the process in Russia of what Liebknecht called "the internationalization of civil war". In the middle of October, 1918, the Allied forces, including a British contingent, passed Lake Baikal and reached Irkutsk. The two Governments which existed at Omsk joined with the Ufa Council to form a ministry, with Admiral Koltchak at its head, to be a central organ of the anti-Bolshevist forces. As time went on, however, and the summer of 1919 found Koltchak in retreat, even some sober elements of the population in Great Britain resented the intervention policy. This policy was increasingly identified with Mr. Churchill, Secretary for War in the new Coalition Ministry which had resulted from the General Election of December, 1918.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion in the

<sup>1</sup> Women voted for the first time, and the electorate was the largest in British history. The Coalition had a signal triumph, winning 485 out of a total of 707 seats.

Peace Conference, however, that the Allies should confer with the Bolsheviks (among other representatives of *de facto* Russian Governments), followed by the proposal of President Wilson that a meeting should take place on Prinkipo Island, in the Sea of Marmora, was firmly repudiated by

shevists had handed over the Black Sea fleet to the Germans, and treacherously attacked the Czecho-Slovaks when the latter only desired to get out of Russia in order to fight. British sympathies were overwhelmingly with the loyal Russians who had remained faithful to the Allies; yet news from all



Before the Bolshevist Reign of Terror: the Grand-Duke Nicholas (afterwards assassinated) addressing the victorious Russian troops at Erzerum

the newly-elected House of Commons.

We could not forget that not only had the original Russian surrender to the enemy let loose hundreds of thousands of German troops for employment in the fighting against us on the Western Front, but the Bolshevik betrayal of the Allies had also permitted Roumania, with its rich resources in grain and oil, to fall into the hands of the Germans. The Bol-

parts of Russia was distressingly contradictory, and Bolshevik arms seemed still to be powerful. The Bolshevik usurpers trampled on democratic principles. They even employed Chinese troops to act as executioners; bodies of victims showed that they died under torture, whether inflicted by Chinese or the Bolsheviks themselves. And although they were represented by their friends here as,



on the whole, innocent persons who wanted only to be let alone, it was constantly in evidence that the Bolshevik regime was a clever movement for making trouble for us wherever it could. Even Afghanistan was to provide an example of their inspiration.

The Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, Sir Henry Wilson, remarked in a Paris interview in June, 1919, that while the terms of world peace were being prepared there were no fewer than twenty-three little wars still in progress. At a first glance this was difficult to comprehend, but close study revealed the following operations:—

Murmansk (British expedition).  
 Archangel (British expedition).  
 Eastern Front (Admiral Koltchak).  
 Southern Front (General Denikin).  
 Northern Front (Olonetz), Finnish troops.  
 Cossack Front (Orenburg and Uralsk).  
 Esthonian Front (Narva, Pskoff).  
 Lithuanian Front.  
 Letts *v.* Germans.  
 Bolsheviks *v.* Roumanians.  
 Ukraine risings.  
 Siberia (where Colonel John Ward, M.P., and the Middlesex Regiment distinguished themselves).  
 Afghanistan.  
 Hungarians *v.* Czecho-Slovaks.  
 Hungarians *v.* Roumanians.  
 Austria.  
 Austrians (Carinthians) *v.* Jugo-Slavs.  
 Poles *v.* Bolsheviks (Russia).  
 Poles *v.* Ukrainians.  
 Poles *v.* Germans.  
 Germans *v.* Esthonians.  
 Trans-Caspia.  
 Bolsheviks *v.* Ukrainians.

In spite of the armistice, Germans under von der Goltz had continued active in the Baltic provinces until at the end of July, 1919, the Supreme

Council in Paris at last decided that the German troops must be evacuated by August 20. For several weeks von der Goltz, at Mitau, had been in communication with the British General Gough, representing the Allies, but the Allied requirements had met with no response.

Our Archangel expedition was under General Ironside and the Murmansk under General Maynard. The British had landed at Murmansk, the Arctic terminus of the Murman-Petrograd railway and of the Peterhead submarine cable, about the time that the Germans were beginning the "Kaiser's battle" in 1918, to prevent the Germans from using the coast as a submarine base, and to protect the large amount of stores we had there. In August, 1918, we went to Archangel. It was expected that we should rally large forces of Russians to our side; but at the end of April, 1919, Koltchak was informed that all the Allied troops would be withdrawn from North Russia before the winter. Three months later found us pinning our faith to the volunteer army of General Denikin in the south, which alone among loyal Russian forces at this period was doing well against the Bolshevik mercenaries. It was supported by considerable British supplies.

Serious riots in Egypt figured among many disturbing features of the armistice period. The disorder in Cairo in March, 1919, was especially grave, and General Allenby was sent out with very wide powers to deal with what appeared to British eyes to be a widespread rising. It was in fact the agitation for self-government in Egypt

in a violent form; and Mr. Balfour's absence in Paris on the Peace Conference led some critics of the British Foreign Office to assume that Downing Street had mismanaged a visit which Egyptian leaders had suggested they should pay to London in connection with the Nationalist movement. The official recognition of the British Protectorate in Egypt by the United States came appropriately at this juncture, while the prestige of General Allenby, allied to the firm measures which he took to suppress the revolt, produced such an effect that on July 15, in view of the complete restoration of tranquillity, he abolished the Military Courts which had been constituted to try offenders. During the disturbances 800 natives were killed and 1500 wounded. The British and Indian military casualties were 29 killed and 114 wounded; while 31 civilians were killed and 35 wounded.

After Egypt, Afghanistan came as a bolt from the blue. The murder of the Ameer—shot while in camp at Laghman on February 20, 1919—deprived Great Britain of a trusted friend. Amanullah, the new Ameer, influenced by Bolshevik intrigue, began his reign by invading the Khyber Pass and attempting to stir up the frontier tribes to a Holy War against Great Britain. General Barrett, an old hand at frontier warfare, met the situation in the most competent fashion; and the Ameer was soon made to realize that the advent of aeroplanes rendered his capital of Kabul no longer secure.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peace was signed between the British and Afghan Governments on August 8, 1919. As a mark of displeasure the British Government withdrew the privilege enjoyed by former Ameer's of importing arms and am-

munition through India. The settlement also included confiscation of the late Ameer's subsidy; and no subsidy was to be granted to the present Ameer.



Prince Fuad Pasha—youngest son of the Khedive Ismail Pasha—who became Sultan of Egypt on the death of his brother, Hussein Kamel, in 1917

the "Napoleon of Peace". But just as there had been no war in the world's history on so vast a scale as that which German lust of dominion had called forth, so there had never been so great an impulse as now among thinking

munition through India. The settlement also included confiscation of the late Ameer's subsidy; and no subsidy was to be granted to the present Ameer.

people, especially in English-speaking countries, to make another great war impossible.

When he addressed the delegates of the Trade Unions, who had met to discuss war aims at the Central Hall, Westminster, on January 5, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George affirmed that the establishment of an international organization for the maintenance of peace was the only alternative to a condition of perpetual liability to and fear of war. The Prime Minister's declarations were confirmed by Mr. Balfour in a speech on January 10, 1918, in the Usher Hall at Edinburgh. The Foreign Secretary urged the need for a League of Nations to secure peace, and the freedom of peoples from the everlasting menace of force. A co-operation of all the families of mankind, he held, was better and more effective than the alliance of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed in Paris after the final fall of Napoleon in 1815, "which broke down on the moral side".

This conception of a League of Nations, in which the aspirations of mankind (other than the military cliques of Central Europe which admired war as always beautiful in itself) found expression, had grown as the great struggle went on. A vigorous impulse was given to it by the first paragraph of the King's Speech to Parliament on February 6, 1918. His Majesty said:—

"Since last I addressed you great events have happened. Within a few weeks of that occasion the United States of America decided to take their stand by the side of this country and our allies in defence of

the principles of liberty and justice. Their entry into the war, followed by that of other neutral States, has united practically the whole civilized world in a League of Nations against unscrupulous aggression, has lent additional strength to our arms, and inspires fresh confidence in the ultimate triumph of our cause."

The hope grew that a League of Nations which was formed for such a purpose, and could win, would also endure, based on the good-will and intelligent appreciation of their interests in all peoples.

The conception matured in due course. In the hall of the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, on Monday, April 28, 1919, the members of the Peace Conference met, with M. Clemenceau in the chair, and at the instance of President Wilson agreed to what idealists called the New Law of the World, or the League of Nations Covenant. This document consisted of twenty-six clauses, and was defined in the opening words: "In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace". The league's machinery is an assembly and a council, the former the supreme organ, of 150 members, the latter a smaller body which will meet at least once a year and may deal at its meetings with any matter "affecting the peace of the world". Articles 8–17 of the covenant contain the provisions designed to secure international confidence and the avoidance of war, and the obligations which the members of the league accept to this end. They comprise:—

(1) Limitation of armaments. (2) A mutual guarantee of territory and indepen-





The Peace Celebrations in London: Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig in the Victory Day Procession

dence. (3) An admission that any circumstance which threatens international peace is an international interest. (4) An agreement not to go to war till a peaceful settlement of a dispute has been tried. (5) Machinery for securing a peaceful settlement, with provision for publicity. (6) The sanctions to be employed to punish a breach of the agreement in (4). (7) Similar provisions for settling disputes where States not members of the league are concerned.

There is nothing in the covenant of the league to forbid defensive conventions between States, so long as they are really and solely defensive, and their contents are made public. The vital points are the recognition that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of armaments; the agreement by the nations that "if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they

will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council"; the setting up of a permanent Court of Justice; and the decision to register—at the seat of the league in Geneva—and as soon as possible publish "every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the league". In deference to Republican criticisms in America, a clause provides expressly that nothing in the covenant is to affect the validity of "regional understandings" like the Monroe doctrine.

The original members of the league were the United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz,

Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, Uruguay—all, with the exception of China<sup>1</sup>, signatories of the Treaty of Peace; while the following States were invited to accede to the covenant: Argentine Republic, Chili, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

<sup>1</sup> China refused to sign the Peace Treaty solely on account of the following provision in Section VIII: "Germany renounces *in favour of Japan* all her rights, title, and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines, and submarine cables—which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung".

Germany was excluded from the league for the time being. "As soon as we can feel reasonably sure that the German Government is a real thing and not a passing phantasm, and it has shown by its actions that Germany has done with her bad past"—such was the limit put by Lord Robert Cecil on Germany's entry. Although bearing no responsibility for the treaty proper, Lord Robert had been a powerful and an official British agent in Paris for the drafting of the covenant.

The armistice period, while all these matters were being threshed out in council chambers, imposed severe



A Salute from the Guards: Marshal Foch, baton in hand, riding at the head of the French troops in the Victory Day Procession in London

tests upon the peoples of every country. No man's mind was free of perturbation or foreboding. London in the winter of 1918-9 had in fact a spell of greater dislocation than had ever been experienced during the war. A "tube" strike, the electricians' threat to put the metropolis in darkness, police trouble, the menace of the Triple Industrial Alliance, the high prices and the perpetual demands for increased wages, made unrest of every variety a constant topic. In France M. Clemenceau's life was attempted. Italy experienced serious disorders. Malta was the scene of riots. At home, in Ireland, the usual turmoil was marked by an innovation in the shape of a "Soviet" movement in Limerick; while in England and Wales, among troops impatient to be sent home, there were frequent camp disturbances. A welcome relief from all this was the interest taken in the pioneer achievement of the airmen, Captain Alcock and Lieutenant Brown, who in an aeroplane made the first direct air crossing of the Atlantic on June 15—Newfoundland to Galway in sixteen and a quarter hours. Three weeks later this was followed by an equally brilliant performance by the British Government airship *R 34*. With thirty persons on board, captained by Major G. H. Scott, A.F.C., this giant vessel, starting from East Fortune in Haddington, went to Long Island and back in ten days, the actual time occupied by the two trips in the air on this unprecedented voyage being only 183¼ hours.

Distraction of another sort had been afforded earlier in this eventful summer by the reception in England of the bodies of Nurse Cavell and Captain Fryatt, brought from their resting-places in Belgium for sepulture on British soil. Both ceremonies were the occasion of reverent tributes by the populace to the memory of these victims of German hatred of Great Britain.

It was in this atmosphere that the people at home heralded the signing of peace with the principal enemy. Met at Charing Cross station on his return from Paris by the King, Mr. Lloyd George had a great ovation on entering the House of Commons on June 30, and members of Parliament spontaneously sang the National Anthem. The official peace celebrations throughout the country on July 19 were marked by intense enthusiasm. In London great crowds assembled along the route to witness such a procession as the people of London in any age had never seen. The navy, the army, auxiliary services of every description, great generals and troops of the Allied nations were represented in a brilliant pageant which took two hours to pass a given point. Foch and Haig, Beatty and Pershing, were wildly cheered in south-west and south London. A cenotaph by Lutyens in Whitehall, inscribed "To the Glorious Dead", was saluted in solemn and silent tribute to the hosts who had made the great sacrifice that this day of days might dawn.

G. T.





Photo: Eudwer

Victory Day in London, July 19, 1919: view in Whitehall as the naval section in the procession passed the Duke of Cambridge memorial—with the cenotaph, to "The Glorious Dead", in the distance

## CHAPTER X

## THE DOWNFALL OF AUTOCRACY

At last Germany realizes the Truth—Attacks on the Kaiser—Prince Bülow's Effort to save the Monarchy—Revolution begins at Kiel—Scenes in Berlin—Bavaria's Lead—Hohenzollern's Undignified Exit—Karl abdicates and Austria-Hungary breaks up—The Spartacists—General Election—The German Republic—German Crisis on Receipt of Peace Terms—Unconditional Signature of Treaty—King George's Message to the Empire.

THROUGHOUT every change of fortune in the long four years of war, the British people had never doubted that sooner or later the day must come when the autocracies of Central Europe would collapse. For the suddenness and completeness of the event, however, no one was prepared. Rotten to the core, and impotent, the Austro-Hungarian and the German Empires fell into ruins at last with a rapidity unparalleled in history. Yet the conditions which produced the collapse were widely different in the two cases. Austro-Hungary had been in a state of disintegration from the very beginning; growing privation and military failure only served to emphasize faint-heartedness and doubt. But the Germans were a united people, on whose spirit privation made no material impression until overwhelming disaster stared them in the face. And the thing that could not happen to the British Empire fighting for a righteous cause had happened to the German as a result of their evil courses—their troops were deprived of the moral support of the people at home.

By the middle of October, 1918, the naked and terrible truth of the military situation had begun to find

public expression in quarters free from the taint of mere war-weariness. The Berlin *Die Post*, organ of ironmasters and armament rings, sobbed outright: "What makes our humiliation so deep and tragic is the circumstance that we must silently renounce all the successes attained by our tremendous sacrifices of blood and treasure, leave to the enemy all our conquests, and with bowed head wait for that judgment which may seem good to the Entente". Such an utterance was a portent of upheaval.

For a time the old regime strove to save itself at the cost of constitutional changes. The diplomatic exchange of notes with the United States marks this period. It is doubtful if the Kaiser's position would have been untenable but for the insistence of President Wilson that if the United States must deal with the military masters and monarchical autocrats of Germany, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender. The managers of the German Empire had hoped that the dexterity which made Prince Max of Baden the successor to Count Hertling as Chancellor on October 4, and introduced some tame Socialists to the Government, would convince her enemies that a deep-rooted change

had occurred; and Solf, in charge of the Foreign Office, sought to lure the Allies into arrangements for German evacuation of French and Belgian territory, on the ground that the Chancellor was now speaking in the name of the German people. The Wilson notes, however, combined



Prince Max of Baden, who succeeded Count Hertling as German Chancellor

with the logic of the stricken field, unsteadied the whole relationship between the German people and their Kaiser.

A manifesto, issued by the Government on November 4, detailed what they had done to bring about happier times for the people. Equal franchise in Prussia; a new Government formed from representatives of the Majority parties; fundamental rights transferred from the person of the Emperor to the

representatives of the people; declarations of war and conclusions of peace made subject to the consent of the Reichstag; subordination of the military administration to the responsible Chancellor—these were among the things already achieved, and the Government promised to continue resolutely the transformation of Germany into a People's State which should not be behind any country in the world in political freedom and provision for social welfare. Prince Bülow followed this up by his own effort to save the Kaiser. As a faithful servant of the monarchy for many years, he wrote an article arguing that a democratized Kaiserdom, such as Germany now had, offered a sure guarantee that the new process of development would be undisturbed. He urged, as one who had known Europe long and intimately, that Germany had had enough alteration in her political structure for the present. He quoted the Emperor's "momentous" saying: "The Emperor's official duty is the service of the people"; and pathetically expressed his conviction—the more frankly since he had not seen him for two years—that the Emperor's intentions were honest.

According to Prince Max's testimony afterwards, there were powerful influences at work at this period which convinced the Kaiser that his abdication would have given the signal for the dissolution of the front. We may trace the direction of other influences in this address which the Kaiser delivered on receiving the new Secretaries and Under Secretaries of State (October 21).



"In the fearful storm of the world war the task has been set to us of securing the building of the empire at home on new and better foundations. The convulsions of the world war have enabled us to see where the pillars of the house which protects us all are weak, and where they need renewal. And they have also enabled us to see the new sources of strength which are welling up to the light among our people. The new order is to correspond to the new time. In a series of pronouncements, I have confirmed these decisions. The German people is to be called upon in a comprehensive fashion to co-operate in the shaping of its destinies, and shall stand, in political freedom, behind no nation on earth, nor shall it shrink from any comparison with regard to its internal policy and firm political feeling. Gentlemen, whom I welcome to-day as my fellow-workers, I know that we are one in the sacred will to lead back the German people through the stress of this time to a quiet and peaceful development."

In the Reichstag, two days later, Herr Haase, the Independent Socialist, whose record of opposition to the war was clean, spoke of crowns rolling to the ground, and asked: "Must Germany alone, surrounded by republics, still have the wearer of a crown?"

It was given out when Ludendorff resigned that he felt unable to acquiesce in the Constitutional changes, particularly in the restriction of the Kaiser's authority with regard to army appointments. Noske asserted that even in Conservative circles people no longer took seriously the defence of the Kaiser's person; but Count Westarp, the Conservative leader, strongly repudiated the suggestion that the German nation should abase itself so far as to abandon the

Kaiser in bad times, under the new illusion that it would make its opponents lenient by so doing. Westarp, though "deeply pained by the report, with all its arresting tragedy", that Ludendorff's resignation had been accepted, repeated even at this date (October 27) that nothing could turn the scale of destiny except one more decision of the German people to struggle to the last. Not all the beating of the Prussian war-drum, however, could rouse the people from the sullen lethargy which had spread among them. Powerful newspapers in Frankfurt and Munich showed that moderate opinion would be delighted if the Kaiser would gracefully retire; while *Vorwärts* insisted that nothing could any longer stifle the thunderous demands of the German people. "What will the Emperor do," asked the organ of the Majority Socialists, "and when will he do it?"

At the beginning of November events occurred which had a decisive influence and were an ultimatum to the monarch who once called Social Democrats "fellows without a country". The German revolution broke out at Kiel on Sunday, November 3, when sailors invaded the parade-ground and demanded the immediate release of stokers of the battleship *Markgraf*, who had been imprisoned for disobeying orders. During the day the sailors gained control of the greater part of Kiel, and, though they were dispersed with bloodshed in the evening, they formed a Workers' and Soldiers' Council during the night and met with no resistance anywhere in the morning. A general strike was

declared. Herren Haussmann (Secretary of State) and Noske arrived from Berlin. Noske, who saw Kiel had set an example to the other cities of the empire, took control of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. Prince Henry of Prussia escaped in a motor-car flying the red flag; he was grazed on the wrist by a bullet, and his wife was injured in the upper arm. From Kiel sailors went to Wilhelmshaven (where mutiny broke out on November 6 because of the order to put to sea to fight), Lübeck, where they arrived in four battleships, and Bremen, where the garrison promptly surrendered and the commander joined the Soldiers' Council. Hamburg and Munich had separate movements, and in the former violent fighting took place.

Prince Max hurried out an announcement that the Government would make peace on the Allied terms; he implored the people to preserve order. Perhaps, indeed, it was sheer nervelessness that now permitted the entry of revolution to the capital. The influx of sailors led to the closing of the line to Berlin, whereupon transports of armed revolutionaries attempted to break through the railway blockade. General von Linsingen, Commander of the Mark, finding the Berlin garrison unreliable, gave the order not to fire. It is alleged that the Government had already given a similar order; and German historians will probably have some difficulty in deciding whether the civil or the military authority was responsible for not acting rigorously against the revolutionaries at this critical juncture.

On November 9 the crisis came to a head. A general strike was declared. All the Socialists—Schiedemann, David, Bauer, Schmidt, and August Müller—resigned from the Government in the morning. Prince Max transferred to Herr Ebert, the Socialist saddler of Heidelberg, the charge of the business of Imperial Chancellor. Then Ebert, Schiedemann, and Landsberg, "the Government", issued an appeal beginning:

Fellow-citizens—To-day has brought the accomplishment of the liberation of the people. The Kaiser has abdicated, his eldest son has renounced the throne.

Berlin towards mid-day realized the news. Workmen came into the streets; processions were formed; when a soldier was met who still wore a badge he was requested to remove it. There were cheers and waving of caps. In addition to the red flag some carried large boards with "Brothers, no shooting!" "Brothers, come to us!" Motor-lorries, fantastically crowned with soldiers and sailors, rattled through the crowd. There was stillness in the palace of the Emperor; a small red flag hung from the candelabra before the entrance. The same at the Crown Prince's palace. Late in the day *Vorwärts* came out with an appeal signed by the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, hailing the Socialist Republic. Next day several Independent Socialists joined the Government by invitation.

It is due to South Germany to say that it led Berlin. At Munich, on November 5, Kurt Eisner and Pro-

fessor Jaffé headed a great peace demonstration which marched to the Royal Palace and then to the Police Präsidium, where it secured the release of strike leaders. Two days later the Social Democrats demanded the immediate abdication of the Kaiser and repudiated national defence. That night a Council of Workers and Soldiers was formed. King Ludwig renounced the government and left Munich with his family for Schloss Wildenwarth; Eisner took over the Presidency of the Republic and the Foreign Ministry; Jaffé had the portfolio of Finance. On behalf of the Bavarian People's State the picturesque Eisner—whose critics called him “a Galician Jew”—addressed to the Allies and the proletariat of all countries a grandiloquent appeal asserting that Bavaria had been the first to set aside everything and everybody that was guilty of the war. “The other States of Germany are following our example with irresistible impulse and are thus for the first time laying the bases for the real domestic unity of Germany.”

Disregarding the true purpose of the appeal—a typically German whine that if the “appalling” terms of the armistice were immutable “the new republic would in a short time be dissolved in chaos”—we may note that Eisner's description of the widespread overthrow of the old order in the empire was accurate. In Saxony, for instance, a Workers' and Soldiers' Council declared the King deposed, the two Chambers dissolved and a new preliminary Government formed, with the Landtag deputy

Fleissner and the Reichstag deputy Rühle at the head of it. In Württemberg a republic was declared, with the Social Democrat, Bloss, at the head of it, King Wilhelm sending “farewell greetings” and abdicating leisurely. Baden witnessed the formation in Karlsruhe of a Soldiers' Council and a Welfare Council, which elected a provisional Government of which Anton Geiss, Landtag member for Mannheim, was President; and the Grand Duke Friedrich II, on abdicating, was referred to in very friendly terms by the Baden Provisional People's Government. In Hesse the Workers' and Soldiers' Council declared the Grand-Duke deposed and formed a new Ministry under deputy Ulrich. In Oldenburg the Grand-Duke abdicated and the former Minister, Scheer, was at the head of a new Government. Saxe-



Ludwig III, who renounced the Throne of Bavaria





Friedrich Augustus III, deposed from the Throne of Saxony

Weimar got a new Government under the deputy Baudert, the Grand-Duke abdicating after lengthy negotiations. The Princes of Reuss and Lippe also abdicated. In Coburg-Gotha the deputy Bock was head of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. The three Hansa towns, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, were completely in the power of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, which took over the administration. In the Prussian monarchy the larger towns, such as Frankfurt, Cologne, Hanover, Stettin, &c., were absolutely in the possession of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

All over the German Empire the statesmanship of the military, political, and diplomatic props of the old regime was bankrupt. "In three days", said Hermann Müller afterwards, "twenty-two despots vanished like spectres, and it would be difficult

even for a Goethe or a Schiller to find a hero among these fallen idols, or a martyr either for that matter, for they have been tolerantly dealt with by the people they deceived." Certainly the Emperor made a most undignified descent from his pedestal. He was neither with his troops in their last despairing efforts nor with his subjects in Berlin at the revolution. Like a criminal escaping from justice, he crossed the frontier into Holland on November 10, to find sanctuary with his friend, Count Carlos Bentinck, while the former Governor-General of the Dutch Indies, General van Hentz, overlooked the arrangements on behalf of the Netherlands Government. Dressed in the uniform of a Prussian general, the fallen autocrat leant on his walking-stick and



Wilhelm III, who renounced the Throne of Württemberg

looked very depressed. This was no longer the haughty "All Highest" at whose word half Europe shivered, but a shrunken, grey figure, with hollow cheeks and uninterested glances. Among the crowd outside Eysden station were many Belgians. "À bas Guillaume l'assassin!" they cried.

In Holland the Kaiser's abdication was signed on November 28, 1918.

"I hereby, for all the future, renounce my rights to the Crown of Prussia and my rights to the German Imperial Crown. At the same time I release all officials of the German Empire and Prussia, as well as all the non-commissioned officers and men of the navy, and of the Prussian army and of the Federal contingents, from the Oath of Fealty which they have made to me as their Kaiser, King, and supreme Commander. I expect of them that until the re-organization of the German people they will assist those who have been entrusted with the duty of protecting the nation against the threatening danger of anarchy, famine, and foreign rule. Given with our own hand and our Imperial Seal. Amerongen, Nov. 28, 1918. Wilhelm."

The Crown Prince, who also turned up in Holland after stories had been circulated that he had fallen a victim to the fury of his troops, issued this renunciation:—

"I expressly and definitely give up all rights of the Crown of Prussia and the Imperial Crown which have devolved upon me, owing to His Majesty, the Emperor's abdication, or for other reasons. Done under my own hand. Weiringen, Dec. 1, 1918. Wilhelm."

About the same time the well-meaning but ineffective Karl of Austria was turning his back on the Viennese.

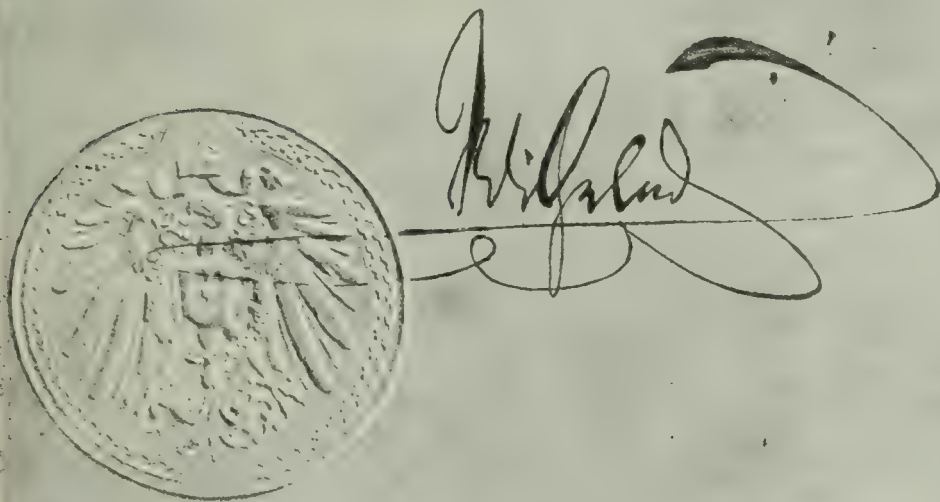
We may step aside from the German spectacle to that presented by her more fragile neighbour and ally, who had so long been *in extremis*. Here, too, there were attempts to secure the second best in order to preserve the existing order. In the last days of Hussarek's ministry the Premier and Baron Burian had prepared for the change of Austria into a Federal State; and the Emperor's manifesto of October 18 called upon the different parties to give expression to their desire for national autonomy within the limits prescribed by the Pragmatic Sanction. In Vienna Professor Lammasch succeeded Hussarek, his business being to "liquidate"—in other words, to transfer the Government to the separate national States. The Lammasch Cabinet, which proved to be the last ministry of the old regime, was appointed on October 27; and Count Andrássy, who had succeeded Burian as Foreign Minister, promptly made an urgent appeal to President Wilson, in which he expressed readiness to enter into *pour-parlers* for an armistice "without awaiting the result of other negotiations". The Hungarian partner, meanwhile, had abolished Dualism and substituted "Personal Union" with Austria. This historic event was declared by Premier Wekerle at the opening of the autumn session of Parliament in Budapest on October 16, 1918. Hungary hoped to be in a position to coerce or cajole her non-Magyar peoples without interference from their Austrian sympathizers. The Wekerle Government made a fusion with Tisza's party, but the combination

Ich verzichte hierdurch für alle Zukunft auf die Rechte an der Krone Preussen und die damit verbundenen Rechte an der deutschen Kaiserkrone.

Zugleich entbinde ich alle Beamten des Deutschen Reiches und Preussens sowie alle Offisiere, Unteroffisiere und Mannschaften der Marine, des Preussischen Heeres und der Truppen der Bundeskontingente des Treueides, den sie Mir als ihrem Kaiser, König und Obersten Befehlshaber geleistet haben. Ich erwarte von ihnen, dass sie bis zur Neuordnung des Deutschen Reichs den Inhabern der tatsächlichen Gewalt in Deutschland helfen, das Deutsche Volk gegen die drohenden Gefahren der Anarchie, der Hungersnot und der Fremdherrschaft zu schützen.

Urkundlich unter Unserer Höchstehändigen Unterschrift und beigedrucktem Kaiserlichen Insiegel.

Gegeben Auerongen, den 28. November 1918.

The image shows a facsimile of the original document. On the left is a circular seal, the Imperial Eagle of the German Empire, with the words 'Kaiserliches Insiegel' inscribed around its border. To the right of the seal is a large, elegant cursive signature, which is the signature of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The signature is written in dark ink and spans across the width of the page.

Facsimile of the Deed of Abdication of the German Emperor, William II



quickly collapsed on the announcement that Fiume had been seized by Croatian regiments, and it was succeeded by the semi-revolutionary authority of a National Council under Karolyi. Tisza, while out walking, was shot dead a few days after he

is Premier of Hungary by the grace of the people, and Hungary is now resolved to obey the National Council". Following the receipt of a note from the Allies demanding the evacuation of a broad strip of territory in the region claimed by Roumania, Count



The Ex-Kaiser in Exile: a snapshot of the deposed emperor, with his suite, on the bridge over the moat at Amerongen, the castle of Count Bentinck, where William II sought refuge in his flight into Holland

had defended his part—certainly a guilty one—in the origin of the war.

On the last Sunday evening in October Count Karolyi, a man of great possessions, arrived in Budapest from Vienna. Awaiting him at the station was a crowd numbering tens of thousands, and he was carried shoulder-high to the club of the 1848 Independent Party. Here the deputy, M. Barza, declared: "Count Karolyi

Karolyi and the whole of the Hungarian Government resigned on March 21, handing over power to "the proletariat of the Hungarian peoples". Thereupon the Budapest Workers' Council formed a Soviet Government, and the Bolsheviks assumed full control, with Bela Kun as Foreign Minister. This revolutionary, to whose Government General Smuts went from Paris on a mission for the Allies, was

a Hungarian Social Democrat, ignorant and vain, who was captured by the Russians early in the war, and studied on the spot the desperate experiments in Bolshevik Russia, where he was employed to infect German, Austrian, and Hungarian prisoners. It was the unhappy fate of Hungary now to be subjected to Communist practice by a body of thirty-two office-holders, twenty-five of whom were Jews; but by the beginning of August, 1919, thanks largely to Roumanian military operations, the Hungarian people were freed from the tyranny of these extremists.

To return to Vienna, October 30 saw the practical winding-up of the Reichsrat at the Conference of Heads, when Lammasch made an attempt at a speech, but was ruled out of order, and had to give an informal address at the conclusion of the sitting. At four o'clock next day he handed over the administration of German-Austria to the State Council. This last act of the Hapsburg administration in Vienna was recorded by the *Neue Freie Presse* in small type. In the new cabinet the most distinguished socialist in Austria, Felix Adler, was Foreign Minister.

On November 12 the Emperor Karl abdicated, and the Austro-German Republic was officially proclaimed.

"Ever since my accession to the throne", wrote Karl, "I have unceasingly tried to deliver my peoples from the tremendous war, for which I bear no responsibility. . . . Filled with unalterable love for all my peoples, I will not in my person be a hindrance to their free development. . . . I

relinquish all participation in the administration of the State. . . . Internal peace alone will be able to heal the wounds which this war has caused."

An inquisitive Briton, arriving in Vienna during the revolution, found only one window-pane broken. Viennese society was hardly stirred. Many



Count Tisza, leader of the pro-German party in Hungary, assassinated in 1918

had said in the old days "Francis Joseph is the Austro-Hungarian Empire; without Francis Joseph the Austro-Hungarian Empire will cease to exist". With Karl it had ceased. Accompanied by the ex-Empress Zita and their five children he left the imperial castle of Schönbrunn on the evening of November 11. The party were in seven motor-cars, from the backs of which the imperial crown had been removed. The guard mounted

at the gates of the park showed no mark of respect for the departing ruler. Charles's destination was Eckhartsau on the Danube, one of the favourite residences of the murdered Archduke Francis Ferdinand.

It remains to add to the story of

tion of the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. When the new German-Austrian National Assembly met in Vienna on March 4, 1919, it was without the fifty-four representatives of German Bohemia and the Sudetic Lands. These lands,



Berlin under the new Regime, November, 1918: scene outside the Reichstag during Herr Scheidemann's proclamation of a republic

Austro-Hungarian disruption that on November 15, 1918, Professor Masaryk, who had been a refugee in London, was elected President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic—Prague had been the first celebrant of rejoicing when Austria sued for separate peace with the Allies—and that, as a pendant to the Austrian Treaty, Great Britain subsequently announced her recogni-

tion of which the Czecho-Slovaks were in military possession, extend in an irregular border round Bohemia and into Moravia.

Germany itself throughout the armistice and the peace negotiations was a scene of sporadic disorder which Europe watched with some anxiety as to whether the revolution would retain a German character or become



increasingly Bolshevik. All the bourgeois parties had maintained an attitude of dignified acquiescence in the revolution, and demanded the convocation of a constituent Assembly. A conference of the revolutionary Governments of the Federal States met on November 25, 1918, in Berlin, and resolved to hasten preparations for the elections.

The opposition to the National Assembly came from the Spartacus group, an extreme wing of the Independent Socialists, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. This group took its name from Spartacus, the Thracian slave leader of noble descent who, between 73 and 71 B.C., defied the power of the Roman State.<sup>1</sup> Its method was to meet violence with violence, and it was in close communication with Russia. The Russian Soviet Government appealed to German soldiers and sailors not to be persuaded by any National Assembly, and not to lay down their arms, "for with weapon in hand power can be secured everywhere, and a Soldiers' and Sailors' Government formed under Liebknecht". Bolshevism had penetrated Berlin factories; its German missionaries hoped to spread it into the countries of the Allies. The discovery of a Russian courier's box of propaganda created bad blood, and the removal of the Soviet Embassy from Berlin was one of the last acts of Prince Max's Government.

Early in December of the same year the Spartacus group attempted

a *coup*, and Liebknecht, in an access of confidence at Dortmund, boasted that in Berlin he had actual might in his hands, and that the Bolshevik wave would wash over the whole of the capital and destroy everything that resisted it. Christmas Eve was marked by violent collisions. The Spartacists were at one time reported as having taken over the Government, with the more or less unwilling co-operation of the Independents. A purely Majority Government was formed, of which Ebert remained the head, while Schiedemann took over the Foreign portfolio. Again, in January Liebknecht made a determined but abortive effort to expel the Ebert Government. Ostensibly the trouble arose through the dismissal of the police president, Eichorn. This official refused to go, and demonstrations were organized to protest against his removal. The Spartacists seized newspaper and telegraph offices, and for a few days there was confused fighting until the Government used troops vigorously, and recaptured the newspaper strongholds in a pitched battle. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg fell victims to their own Terrorist methods. It was at first announced that the man had been shot in the back while trying to escape from his guards, and the woman lynched by the crowd; but later versions suggested that they were murdered, and it was even said that the military party had used them as tools to provoke the opportunity for increased military rule. Certainly an instructive lesson of this revolt was that the army saved the situation. Seven generals,

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that one of the Subversives in the French Revolution called himself "Spartacus".

with Hindenburg at their head, were in control.

The Spartacist revolt was a last desperate effort to seize power before the General Election, and its failure allowed the voting for the National Assembly to take place, as arranged, on Sunday, January 19, 1919. The electorate consisted of about 21,000,000 male and 18,000,000 female voters—women voting for the first time. A very large proportion voted (95 per cent in Berlin). The elections, conducted with remarkable orderliness, were on a basis of universal suffrage and proportional representation. The result established Ebert and his Majority Socialists as the strongest party with 165 seats; the Centre Party were next with 91, Democrats 75, Conservatives 38, National Liberals 22, Independent Socialists 22, other parties 8—total, 421.

When, early in February, 1919, the German National Assembly met at Weimar, the spirit of the old regime was still strong in Ebert, who had supported the ex-Kaiser's war policy from the outset. Of course he said that the kings and princes had gone for ever, and that Germany had lost the war through the fault of the old Imperial Government. But he protested vigorously against the intention of the Allies to obtain indemnities, and against the "unheard-of severity" of the armistice. He even inveighed against the assumption that Alsace belonged to France. Warning us not to try them beyond their endurance, he announced his own motto as being: "The worst privations rather than dishonour". Needless to say,

he added that Germany might refuse to enter into peace negotiations. The Assembly elected him as the first Imperial President of the German Republic. A feature of the German Republic thus early was the resumption of the conventional party machines, David, Gröber, and von



Herr Friedrich Ebert, the First Imperial President of the German Republic

Payer being elected as the leaders of the Majority Socialists, the Centre, and the Democrats respectively. In the new administration of fourteen members, Scheidemann was Chancellor, and six other Majority Socialists had portfolios. The Democrats had three members, while the Centre's four in the coalition included Count Brockdorff Rantzau (Foreign Affairs) and Herr Erzeberger, without portfolio.

Attention was again drawn to Berlin by a conflict which, beginning with a general strike proclaimed by the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils for March 4, developed into an insurrection. It was definitely crushed by Noske, who employed trench-mortars and bombing-planes in the process;

by the shooting, within the building, of several of his colleagues. Eisner had shown a determination to publish everything he could find relating to the origin of the war, and shortly after becoming Prime Minister he published records of the Bavarian diplomatic service which caused a



Revolutionary Scenes in Berlin: a car full of soldiers and sailors, flying the red flag, passing the Brandenburg Gate

but there was a sinister suggestion on this occasion that Scheidemann was bargaining with the Bolsheviks to the extent of promising the Councils parallel authority with the National Assembly, and the nationalization of industry on broad lines.

One of the most disturbed portions in all Germany at this period was Bavaria. In February, Eisner was assassinated on his way to the Assembly House, and this was followed

sensation. Berlin, not liking the look of this conscientiousness on the part of Munich, thereupon took its own archives into custody. From Eisner's point of view he was the one who had been consistently opposed to the war. The powers in Munich regarded Erzeberger, Solf, David, and Schiedemann as "discredited representatives of the old regime", and Eisner had gone so far as to break off diplomatic relations with Berlin. He spoke of the



Berlin Foreign Office as the nest that had to be smoked out if they were going to get peace:—

"There the old people still sit, with the same apparatus in The Hague, in Berne, and in Stockholm. It is still the home of corruption and trickery. I said to Erzberger: 'I am in possession of the Bavarian documents, and among them there are a few bits of interesting information concerning you'. Then he lowered his head, reddened, and was silent. Can we expect the Entente to have confidence in such men?"

Another trouble assailed Bavaria in April, when the Bolsheviks, hitherto foiled, seized power. The Socialist Ministry under Herr Hoffmann, however, moved from Munich to Nuremberg, and announced that, as representing the majority of the newly-elected Parliament, it still governed Bavaria as a whole.

That the tribulation through which Germany was passing while engaged in framing a new Constitution did not deprive her of her old gift of impudence was shown in the attitude she assumed when summoned to Versailles to receive the Peace Treaty. She actually proposed to send messengers to fetch the document. The Allies, however, would tolerate none of this. Count Rantzau and his fellow-delegates duly arrived, and began the long series of notes and protests in regard to the terms, which were presented to them on May 7, fourth anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Someone has likened Austria to a horse that was lying flat on its side, and Germany to a horse lying on its back kicking

hard. It "kicked hard now", by organizing demonstrations everywhere against the treaty; but the "Protest Sunday", and the week of mourning, and the rest of these exhibitions of simulated rage left the Peace Conference cold.

One of the serious products of this period was a German proposal for a League of Nations. In the German idea the league was to be a permanent institution "for all time", and there should be no resignation of membership on two years' notice. It would include all belligerent and neutral States belonging to the Hague Convention. There should be a World Parliament to sit side by side with the Congress of the States: the latter would represent the Governments and the former the Parliaments of the world. The German scheme also ordained that the judgments of the arbitration committees must be accepted by the contending parties, the possibility of war being absolutely excluded.

A ludicrous proposal from Turkey, which was, roughly, that she should retain her lost territories, served to remind us that Talaat and Enver had been harboured in Germany in November of 1918. But Germany's attitude to the signing of the treaty was the great interest now. An agitated crisis preceded the decision to sign. Rantzau, rather than be a party to it, left Versailles and went home. The Schiedemann Ministry was divided, and retired to make way for another. The fact that the Independents were gaining ground by their advocacy of signature influenced

the Catholic Centre and the Majority Socialists. Herr Bauer, an aged trade-union official, became Premier by seniority; Hermann Müller, socialist and journalist, became Foreign Secretary; Herr Noske remained at the War Office. Meeting the Assembly on Sunday, June 22, as head of the new Ministry, Bauer made the most of the Allies' assurance that the treaty could be revised from time to time. By 236 votes to 89 the Assembly supported the new Ministry's policy. At the eleventh hour it was sought in vain to manœuvre out of the terms two points which touched "German honour". The reply of Paris was a firm refusal of any reservation, M. Clemenceau telegraphing that the treaty must be accepted or rejected as a whole within twenty-four hours. Premier Bauer again met the Assembly on Monday, when the members, by standing silently in their places, gave assent to unconditional signature. "It has been a day of agony here," wrote a sympathetic British correspondent from Weimar, "of moral suffering that has been painful to watch and too intense to describe."

In that case the guilty nation, which had been brutally and cynically indifferent for over four years to the suffering it imposed upon others, was itself, at last, in anguish. But the depth of German repentance was still a matter upon which scepticism was general in the countries of the Allies; and only a week before this, while the monarchical party was reading with unfeigned satisfaction of the scuttling of the interned German war-ships at

Scapa Flow, it had actually been touch-and-go whether the military—the Ludendorffs, the Lettow Vorbecks, the Rheinhardts—might not substitute a Government that would refuse to sign the treaty. Be it "scrap of paper" or not, however, the Germans had now resolved to sign. "Yielding to overwhelming force", they said to the Allies, "but without on that account abandoning its view in regard to the unheard-of injustice of the conditions of peace, the Government of the German Republic therefore declares that it is ready to accept and sign the conditions of peace imposed by the Allied and Associated Governments."

The French spared the German delegates to Versailles a return of that elaborate ceremonial which marked the triumph of Germany over France in 1871 in that same palace. Proceedings began at three o'clock on Saturday, June 28, 1919—the fifth anniversary of the Sarajevo murders which heralded the Great War—and lasted just under an hour. As President of the Peace Conference, M. Clemenceau, in opening, pointed out that the signatures signified a solemn undertaking to abide loyally and faithfully by the conditions of peace. He called upon the German plenipotentiaries to sign, and the Germans did so. The signatories for Germany were Herr Hermann Müller, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Bell, Minister of Railways. They signed at 3.12.

Thus, to the relief of Europe, the curtain fell on the great German drama of "World Dominion" or

Downfall". The Hohenzollerns, terrified and humiliated, had thrown up their part and fled, and the obscure German actors who improvised in this last scene of the tragedy went furtively from the stage.<sup>1</sup>

Over in London, where enthusiastic

crowds at Buckingham Palace were acclaiming the royal family, the King that evening sent a message round the British Empire declaring "the victory of the ideals of freedom and liberty for which we have made untold sacrifices".

G. T.

<sup>1</sup> On July 9, 1919, President Ebert signed the instrument of ratification as follows: "Having been approved by the legislative organs of the German Empire, and having been submitted to me, I declare that I ratify the Treaty, the Protocol, and the Convention, and I promise to fulfil and duly execute the clauses thereof". When in the following August the German Constitution was pub-

lished it was found that by one of its 181 Articles representatives of Austria were allowed to sit (though not to vote) in the Diet. Apparently this foreshadowed a dangerous inroad in Article 80 of the Peace Treaty, which provides that the independence of Austria shall be inalienable unless with the consent of the League of Nations.



Victory Day in London, July 19, 1919: the procession as viewed from the roof of Buckingham Palace, looking up the Mall, with the Queen Victoria memorial in the foreground



# PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY<sup>1</sup>

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY and JAPAN,

These Powers being described in the Present Treaty as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers,

BELGIUM, BOLIVIA, BRAZIL, CHINA, CUBA, ECUADOR, GREECE, GUATEMALA, HAITI, THE HEJAZ, HONDURAS, LIBERIA, NICARAGUA, PANAMA, PERU, POLAND, PORTUGAL, ROUMANIA THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE, SIAM, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA and URUGUAY,

These Powers constituting with the Principal Powers mentioned above the Allied and Associated Powers,

And Germany,

of the one part;

of the other part;

Bearing in mind that on the request of the Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on November 11, 1918, to Germany by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in order that a Treaty of Peace might be concluded with her, and

The Allied and Associated Powers being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on August 1, 1914, and against France on August 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just and durable Peace,

For this purpose the HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES represented as follows:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, by:

The Honourable Woodrow WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority;

The Honourable Robert LANSING, Secretary of State;

The Honourable Henry WHITE, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris;

The Honourable Edward M. HOUSE;

General Tasker H. BLISS, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA, by:

The Right Honourable David LLOYD GEORGE, M.P., First Lord of His Treasury and Prime Minister;

The Right Honourable Andrew BONAR LAW, M.P., His Lord Privy Seal;

The Right Honourable Viscount MILNER, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., His Secretary of State for the Colonies;

The Right Honourable Arthur James BALFOUR, O.M., M.P., His Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

The Right Honourable George Nicoll BARNES, M.P., Minister without portfolio;

And for the DOMINION of CANADA, by:

The Honourable Charles Joseph DOHERTY, Minister of Justice;

The Honourable Arthur Lewis SIFTON, Minister of Customs;

for the COMMONWEALTH of AUSTRALIA, by:

The Right Honourable William Morris HUGHES, Attorney General and Prime Minister;

The Right Honourable Sir Joseph COOK, G.C.M.G., Minister for the Navy;

for the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, by:

General the Right Honourable Louis BOTHA, Minister of Native Affairs and Prime Minister;

Lieutenant General the Right Honourable Jan Christiaan SMUTS, K.C., Minister of Defence;

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the Official Text [Cmd. 153] by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

for the DOMINION of NEW ZEALAND, by:

The Right Honourable William Ferguson MASSEY, Minister of Labour and Prime Minister;

for INDIA, by:

The Right Honourable Edwin Samuel MONTAGU, M.P., His Secretary of State for India;  
Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of BIKANER, G.C.S.I.,  
G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., A.D.C.;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, by:

Mr. Georges CLEMENCEAU, President of the Council, Minister of War;  
Mr. Stephen PICHON, Minister for Foreign Affairs;  
Mr. Louis Lucien KLOTZ, Minister of Finance;  
Mr. Andre TARDIEU, Commissary General for Franco-American Military Affairs;  
Mr. Jules CAMBON, Ambassador of France;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY, by:

Baron S. SONNINO, Deputy;  
Marquis G. IMPERIALI, Senator, Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Italy at London;  
Mr. S. CRESPI, Deputy;

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN, by:

Marquis SAIONZI, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;  
Baron MAKINO, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Diplomatic Council;  
Viscount CHINDA, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H.M. the Emperor of Japan at London;  
Mr. K. MATSUI, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H.M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;  
Mr. H. IJUN, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H.M. the Emperor of Japan at Rome;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS, by:

Mr. Paul HYMANS, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister of State;  
Mr. Jules van den HEUVEL, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Minister of State;  
Mr. Emile VANDERVELDE, Minister of Justice, Minister of State;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA, by:

Mr. Ismael MONTES, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia at Paris;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL, by:

Mr. Joao Pandia CALOGERAS, Deputy, formerly Minister of Finance;  
Mr. Raul FERNANDES, Deputy;  
Mr. Rodrigo Octavio de L. MENEZES, Professor of International Law at Rio de Janeiro;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC,<sup>1</sup> by:

Mr. Lou TSENG-TSIANG, Minister for Foreign Affairs;  
Mr. Chengting Thomas WANG, formerly Minister of Agriculture and Commerce;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, by:

Mr. Antonio Sanchez de BUSTAMANTE, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Havana, President of the Cuban Society of International Law;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR, by:

Mr. Enrique DORN Y DE ALSA, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Ecuador at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES, by:

Mr. Eleftherios K. VENISELOS, President of the Council of Ministers;  
Mr. Nicholas POLITIS, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA, by:

Mr. Joaquin MENDEZ, formerly Minister of State for Public Works and Public Instruction, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Guatemala at Washington, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on special mission at Paris;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI, by:

Mr. Tertulien GUILBAUD, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Haiti at Paris;

<sup>1</sup> China refused to sign the Peace Treaty solely on account of the following provision in Section VIII: "Germany renounces *in favour of Japan* all her rights, title and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines, and submarine cables—which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HEJAZ, by:

Mr. Rustem HAIDAR;  
Mr. Abdul Hadi AOUNI;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS, by:

Dr. Policarpo BONILLA, on special mission to Washington, formerly President of the Republic of Honduras.  
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, by:

The Honourable Charles Dunbar Burgess KING, Secretary of State;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA, by:

Mr. Salvador CHAMORRO, President of the Chamber of Deputies;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA, by:

Mr. Antonio BURGOS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Panama at Madrid;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PERU, by:

Mr. Carlos G. CANDAMO, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru at Paris;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC, by:

Mr. Ignace J. PADEREWSKI, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs;  
Mr. Roman DMOWSKI, President of the Polish National Committee;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC, by:

Dr. Afonso Augusto da COSTA, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;  
Dr. Augusto Luiz Vieira SOARES, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ROUMANIA, by:

Mr. Ion I. C. BRATIANO, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs;  
General Constantin COANDA, Corps Commander, A.D.C. to the King, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE SERBS, THE CROATS, AND THE SLOVENES, by

Mr. Nicholas P. PACHITCH, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;  
Mr. Ante TRUMBIC, Minister for Foreign Affairs;  
Mr. Milenko VESNITCH, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF SIAM, by:

His Highness Prince CHAROON, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of Siam at Paris;  
His Serene Highness Prince Traidos PRABANDHU, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC, by:

Mr. Karel KRAMAR, President of the Council of Ministers;  
Mr. Eduard BENES, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY, by:

Mr. Juan Antonio BUERO, Minister for Foreign Affairs, formerly Minister of Industry;

GERMANY, by:

Mr. Hermann MULLER, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Empire;  
Dr. BELL, Minister of the Empire;

Acting in the name of the German Empire and of each and every component State.

WHO having communicated their full powers found in good and due form have AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the state of war will terminate. From that moment and subject to the provisions of this Treaty official relations with Germany, and with any of the German States, will be resumed by the Allied and Associated Powers.

## PART I

### THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

[Articles 1-26. See p. 163-5.]



## PART II

## BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY

## ARTICLE 27

The boundaries of Germany will be determined as follows:

1. *With Belgium:*

From the point common to the three frontiers of Belgium, Holland and Germany and in a southerly direction:

the north-eastern boundary of the former territory of *neutral Moresnet*, then the eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Eupen, then the frontier between Belgium and the *Kreis* of Montjoie, then the north-eastern and eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Malmédy to its junction with the frontier of Luxembourg.

2. *With Luxemburg:*

The frontier of August 3, 1914, to its junction with the frontier of France of July 18, 1870.

3. *With France:*

The frontier of July 18, 1870, from Luxemburg to Switzerland with the reservations made in Article 48 of Section IV (Saar Basin) of Part III.

4. *With Switzerland:*

The present frontier.

5. *With Austria:*

The frontier of August 3, 1914, from Switzerland to Czecho-Slovakia as hereinafter defined.

6. *With Czecho-Slovakia:*

The frontier of August 3, 1914, between Germany and Austria from its junction with the old administrative boundary separating Bohemia and the province of Upper Austria to the point north of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia situated at about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt.

7. *With Poland:*

From the point defined above to a point to be fixed on the ground about 2 kilometres east of Lorzenhof:

the frontier as it will be fixed in accordance with Article 88 of the present Treaty;

thence in a northerly direction to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania crosses the river Bartsch:

a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places in Poland: Skorischau, Reichthal, Trembat-schau, Kunzendorf, Schleise, Gross Kosel, Schreibersdorf, Rippin, Fürstlich-Niefken, Pawelau, Tscheschen, Konradau, Johannisdorf, Modzenowe, Bogdaj, and in Germany: Lorzenhof, Kaulwitz, Glausche, Dalbersdorf, Reesewitz, Stradam, Gross Wartenburg, Kraschen, Neu Mittelwalde, Domaslawitz, Wedelsdorf, Tscheschen Hammer;

thence the administrative boundary of Posnania north-westwards to the point where it cuts the Rawitsch-Herrnstadt railway;

thence to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania cuts the Reisen-Tschirnau road:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Triebusch and Gabel and east of Saborwitz;

thence the administrative boundary of Posnania to its junction with the eastern administrative boundary of the *Kreis* of Fraustadt;

thence in a north-westerly direction to a point to be chosen on the road between the villages of Unruhstadt and Kopnitz:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Geysersdorf, Brenno, Fehlen, Altkloster, Klebel, and east of Ulbersdorf, Buchwald, Ilgen, Weine, Lupitze, Schwenten;

thence in a northerly direction to the northernmost point of Lake Chlop:

a line to be fixed on the ground following the median line of the lakes; the town and the station of Bentschen however (including the junction of the lines Schwiebus-Bentschen and Züllichau-Bentschen) remaining in Polish territory;

thence in a north-easterly direction to the point of junction of the boundaries of the *Kreise* of Schwerin, Birnbaum and Meseritz:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Betsche:

thence in a northerly direction the boundary separating the *Kreise* of Schwerin and Birnbaum, then in an easterly direction the northern boundary of Posnania and to the point where it cuts the river Netze;

thence upstream to its confluence with the Küddow: the course of the Netze;

thence upstream to a point to be chosen about 6 kilometres south-east of Schneidemühl:

the course of the Küddow;

thence north-eastwards to the most southern point of the re-entrant of the northern boundary of Posnania about 5 kilometres west of Stahren:

a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the Schneidemühl-Konitz railway in this area entirely in German territory;

thence the boundary of Posnania north-eastwards to the point of the salient it makes about 15 kilometres east of Flatow;

thence north-eastwards to the point where the river Kamionka meets the southern boundary of the *Kreis* of Konitz about 3 kilometres north-east of Grunau:

a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places to Poland: Jasdrowo, Gr. Lutau, Kl. Lutau, Wittkau, and to Germany: Gr. Butzig, Cziskowo, Battrow, Böck, Grunau;

thence in a northerly direction the boundary between the *Kreise* of Konitz and Schlochau to the point where this boundary cuts the river Brahe;

thence to a point on the boundary of Pomerania 15 kilometres east of Rummelsburg:

a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places in Poland: Konarzin, Kelpin, Adl. Briesen, and in Germany: Sampohl, Neuguth, Steinfurt, Gr. Peterkau;

then the boundary of Pomerania in an easterly direction to its junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of Konitz and Schlochau;

thence northwards the boundary between Pomerania and West Prussia to the point on the river Rheda about 3 kilometres north-west of Gohra where that river is joined by a tributary from the north-west,

thence to a point to be selected in the bend of the Piasnitz river about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres north-west of Warschkau:

a line to be fixed on the ground;  
thence this river downstream, then the median line of Lake Zarnowitz, then the old boundary of West Prussia to the Baltic Sea.

## 8. With Denmark:

The frontier as it will be fixed in accordance with Articles 109 to 111 of Part III, Section XII (Schleswig).

### ARTICLE 28

The boundaries of East Prussia, with the reservations made in Section IX (East Prussia) of Part III, will be determined as follows:

from a point on the coast of the Baltic Sea about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres north of Pröbbernau church in a direction of about  $159^{\circ}$  East from true North:

a line to be fixed on the ground for about 2 kilometres;

thence in a straight line to the light at the bend of the Elbing Channel in approximately latitude  $54^{\circ} 19\frac{1}{2}'$  North, longitude  $19^{\circ} 26'$  East of Greenwich;

thence to the easternmost mouth of the Nogat River at a bearing of approximately  $209^{\circ}$  East from true North;

thence up the course of the Nogat River to the point where the latter leaves the Vistula (Weichsel);

thence up the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula, then the southern boundary of the *Kreis* of Marienwerder, then that of the *Kreis* of Rosenberg eastwards to the point where it meets the old boundary of East Prussia;

thence the old boundary between East and West Prussia, then the boundary between the *Kreise* of Osterode and Neidenburg, then the course of the river Skottau down stream, then the course of the Neide up stream to a point situated about 5 kilometres

west of Bialutten being the nearest point to the old frontier of Russia;

thence in an easterly direction to a point immediately south of the intersection of the road Neidenburg-Mlava with the old frontier of Russia:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Bialutten;

thence the old frontier of Russia to a point east of Schmallingken, then the principal channel of navigation of the Niemen (Memel) downstream, then the Skierwieth arm of the delta to the Kurisches Haff;

thence a straight line to the point where the eastern shore of the Kurische Nehrung meets the administrative boundary about 4 kilometres south-west of Nidden;

thence this administrative boundary to the western shore of the Kurische Nehrung.

### ARTICLE 29

The boundaries as described above are drawn in red on a one-in-a-million map which is annexed to the present Treaty (Map No. 1).

In the case of any discrepancies between the text of the Treaty and this map or any other map which may be annexed, the text will be final.

### ARTICLE 30

In the case of boundaries which are defined by a waterway, the terms "course" and "channel" used in the present Treaty signify: in the case of non-navigable rivers, the median line of the waterway or of its principal arm, and, in the case of navigable rivers, the median line of the principal channel of navigation. It will rest with the Boundary Commissions provided by the present Treaty to specify in each case whether the frontier line shall follow any changes of the course or channel which may take place or whether it shall be definitely fixed by the position of the course or channel at the time when the present Treaty comes into force.

## PART III

### POLITICAL CLAUSES FOR EUROPE

#### SECTION I.—BELGIUM

##### ARTICLE 31

Germany, recognizing that the Treaties of April 19, 1839, which established the status of Belgium before the war, no longer conform to the requirements of the situation, consents to the abrogation of the said treaties and undertakes immediately to recognize and to observe whatever conventions may be entered into by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, or by any of them, in concert with the Governments of Belgium and of the Netherlands, to replace the said Treaties of 1839. If her formal adhesion should be required to such conventions or to any of their stipulations, Germany undertakes immediately to give it.

##### ARTICLE 32

Germany recognizes the full sovereignty of Bel-

gium over the whole of the contested territory of Moresnet (called *Moresnet neutre*).

##### ARTICLE 33

Germany renounces in favour of Belgium all rights and title over the territory of Prussian Moresnet situated on the west of the road from Liège to Aix-la-Chapelle; the road will belong to Belgium where it bounds this territory.

##### ARTICLE 34

Germany renounces in favour of Belgium all rights and title over the territory comprising the whole of the *Kreise* of Eupen and of Malmédy.

During the six months after the coming into force of this Treaty, registers will be opened by the Belgian authorities at Eupen and Malmédy in which the inhabitants of the above territory will be entitled to

record in writing a desire to see the whole or part of it remain under German sovereignty.

The results of this public expression of opinion will be communicated by the Belgian Government to the League of Nations, and Belgium undertakes to accept the decision of the League.

#### ARTICLE 35

A Commission of seven persons, five of whom will be appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany and one by Belgium, will be set up fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty to settle on the spot the new frontier line between Belgium and Germany, taking into account the economic factors and the means of communication.

Decisions will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned.

#### ARTICLE 36

When the transfer of the sovereignty over the territories referred to above has become definitive, German nationals habitually resident in the territories will definitely acquire Belgian nationality *ipso facto*, and will lose their German nationality.

Nevertheless, German nationals who became resident in the territories after August 1, 1914, shall not obtain Belgian nationality without a permit from the Belgian Government.

#### ARTICLE 37

Within the two years following the definitive transfer of the sovereignty over the territories assigned to Belgium under the present Treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in those territories will be entitled to opt for German nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territories acquired by Belgium. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

#### ARTICLE 38

The German Government will hand over without delay to the Belgian Government the archives, registers, plans, title deeds and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial or other administrations in the territory transferred to Belgian sovereignty.

The German Government will likewise restore to the Belgian Government the archives and documents of every kind carried off during the war by the German authorities from the Belgian public administrations, in particular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Brussels.

#### ARTICLE 39

The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia which Belgium will have to bear on account of the territories ceded

to her shall be fixed in conformity with Articles 254 and 256 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

### SECTION II.—LUXEMBURG

#### ARTICLE 40

With regard to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Germany renounces the benefit of all the provisions inserted in her favour in the Treaties of February 8, 1842, April 2, 1847, October 20–25, 1865, August 18, 1866, February 21 and May 11, 1867, May 10, 1871, June 11, 1872, and November 11, 1902, and in all Conventions consequent upon such Treaties.

Germany recognizes that the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg ceased to form part of the German Zollverein as from January 1, 1919, renounces all rights to the exploitation of the railways, adheres to the termination of the régime of neutrality of the Grand Duchy, and accepts in advance all international arrangements which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers relating to the Grand Duchy.

#### ARTICLE 41

Germany undertakes to grant to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, when a demand to that effect is made to her by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the rights and advantages stipulated in favour of such Powers or their nationals in the present Treaty with regard to the economic questions, to questions relative to transport and to aerial navigation.

### SECTION III.—LEFT BANK OF THE RHINE

#### ARTICLE 42

Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the East of the Rhine.

#### ARTICLE 43

In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manœuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

#### ARTICLE 44

In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory of the present Treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

### SECTION IV.—SAAR BASIN

#### ARTICLE 45

As compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment towards the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war, Germany cedes to France in full and absolute possession, with exclusive rights of exploitation, unencumbered and free from all debts and charges of any kind, the coal-mines situated in the Saar Basin as defined in Article 48.



## ARTICLE 46

In order to assure the rights and welfare of the population and to guarantee to France complete freedom in working the mines, Germany agrees to the provisions of Chapters I and II of the Annex hereto.

## ARTICLE 47

In order to make in due time permanent provision for the government of the Saar Basin in accordance with the wishes of the population, France and Ger-



The Saar Basin

many agree to the provisions of Chapter III of the Annex hereto.

## ARTICLE 48

The boundaries of the territory of the Saar Basin, as dealt with in the present stipulations, will be fixed as follows:

*On the south and south-west:* by the frontier of France as fixed by the present Treaty.

*On the north-west and north:* by a line following the northern administrative boundary of the *Kreis* of Merzig from the point where it leaves the French frontier to the point where it meets the administrative boundary separating the commune of Saarhölzbach from the commune of Britten; following this communal boundary southwards and reaching the administrative boundary of the canton of Merzig so as to include in the territory of the Saar Basin the canton of Mettlach, with the exception of the commune of Britten; following successively the northern administrative boundaries of the cantons of Merzig and Hausstadt, which are incorporated in the aforesaid Saar Basin, then successively the administrative boundaries separating the *Kreise* of Sarrelouis, Ottweiler and Saint-Wendel from the *Kreise* of Merzig, Trèves (Trier) and the Principality of Birkenfeld as far as a point situated about 500 metres north of the village of Furschweiler (viz. the highest point of the Metzberg).

*On the north-east and east:* from the last point de-

fined above to a point about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres east-north-east of Saint-Wendel:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Furschweiler, west of Roschberg, east of points 418, 329 (south of Roschberg), west of Leitersweiler, north-east of point 464, and following the line of the crest southwards to its junction with the administrative boundary of the *Kreis* of Kusel;

thence in a southerly direction the boundary of the *Kreis* of Kusel, then the boundary of the *Kreis* of Homburg towards the south-south-east to a point situated about 1000 metres west of Dunzweiler;

thence to a point about 1 kilometre south of Hornbach:

a line to be fixed on the ground passing through point 424 (about 1,000 metres south-east of Dunzweiler), point 363 (Fuchs-Berg), point 322 (south-west of Waldmohr), then east of Jägersburg and Erbach, then encircling Homburg, passing through the points 361 (about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres north-east by east of that town), 342 (about 2 kilometres south-east of that town), 347 (Schreiners-Berg), 356, 350 (about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres south-east of Schwarzenbach), then passing east of Einöd, south-east of points 322 and 333, about 2 kilometres east of Webenheim, about 2 kilometres east of Mimbach, passing east of the plateau which is traversed by the road from Mimbach to Bockweiler (so as to include this road in the territory of the Saar Basin), passing immediately north of the junction of the roads from Bockweiler and Altheim situated about 2 kilometres north of Altheim, then passing south of Ringweilerhof and north of point 322, rejoining the frontier of France at the angle which it makes about 1 kilometre south of Hornbach.

A Commission composed of five members, one appointed by France, one by Germany, and three by the Council of the League of Nations, which will select nationals of other Powers, will be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to trace on the spot the frontier line described above.

In those parts of the preceding line which do not coincide with administrative boundaries the Commission will endeavour to keep to the line indicated, while taking into consideration, so far as is possible, local economic interests and existing communal boundaries.

The decisions of this Commission will be taken by a majority, and will be binding on the parties concerned.

## ARTICLE 49

Germany renounces in favour of the League of Nations, in the capacity of trustee, the government of the territory defined above.

At the end of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present Treaty the inhabitants of the said territory shall be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they desire to be placed.

## ARTICLE 50

The stipulations under which the cession of the mines in the Saar Basin shall be carried out, together with the measures intended to guarantee the rights and the well-being of the inhabitants and the government of the territory, as well as the conditions in accordance with which the plebiscite hereinbefore provided for is to be made, are laid down in the Annex hereto. This Annex shall be considered as an integral part of the present Treaty, and Germany declares her adherence to it.

## ANNEX

In accordance with the provisions of Articles 45 to 50 of the present Treaty, the stipulations under which the cession by Germany to France of the mines of the Saar Basin will be effected, as well as the measures intended to ensure respect for the rights and well-being of the population and the government of the territory, and the conditions in which the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they may wish to be placed, have been laid down as follows:

## CHAPTER I.—CESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF MINING PROPERTY

1. From the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, all the deposits of coal situated within the Saar Basin as defined in Article 48 of the said Treaty, become the complete and absolute property of the French State.

The French State will have the right of working or not working the said mines, or of transferring to a third party the right of working them, without having to obtain any previous authorization or to fulfil any formalities.

The French State may always require that the German mining laws and regulations referred to below shall be applied in order to ensure the determination of its rights.

2. The right of ownership of the French State will apply not only to the deposits which are free and for which concessions have not yet been granted, but also to the deposits for which concessions have already been granted, whoever may be the present proprietors, irrespective of whether they belong to the Prussian State, to the Bavarian State, to other States or bodies, to companies or to individuals, whether they have been worked or not, or whether a right of exploitation distinct from the right of the owners of the surface of the soil has or has not been recognised.

3. As far as concerns the mines which are being worked, the transfer of the ownership to the French State will apply to all the accessories and subsidiaries of the said mines, in particular to their plant and equipment both on and below the surface, to their extracting machinery, their plants for transforming coal into electric power, coke and by-products, their workshops, means of communication, electric lines, plant for catching and distributing water, land, buildings such as offices, managers', employees' and workmen's dwellings, schools, hospitals and dispensaries, their stocks and supplies of every description, their archives and plans, and in general everything which those who own or exploit the mines possess or enjoy for the purpose of exploiting the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

The transfer will apply also to the debts owing for products delivered before the entry into possession by the French State, and after the signature of the present Treaty, and to deposits of money made by customers, whose rights will be guaranteed by the French State.

4. The French State will acquire the property free and clear of all debts and charges. Nevertheless, the rights acquired, or in course of being acquired, by the employees of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in connection with pensions for old age or disability, will not be affected. In return, Germany must pay over to the French State a sum

representing the actuarial amounts to which the said employees are entitled.

5. The value of the property thus ceded to the French State will be determined by the Reparation Commission referred to in Article 233 of Part VIII (Reparation) of the present Treaty.

This value shall be credited to Germany in part payment of the amount due for reparation.

It will be for Germany to indemnify the proprietors or parties concerned, whoever they may be.

6. No tariff shall be established on the German railways and canals which may directly or indirectly discriminate to the prejudice of the transport of the personnel or products of the mines and their accessories or subsidiaries, or of the material necessary to their exploitation. Such transport shall enjoy all the rights and privileges which any international railway conventions may guarantee to similar products of French origin.

7. The equipment and personnel necessary to ensure the despatch and transport of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, as well as the carriage of workmen and employees, will be provided by the local railway administration of the Basin.

8. No obstacle shall be placed in the way of such improvements of railways or waterways as the French State may judge necessary to assure the despatch and the transport of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, such as double trackage, enlargement of stations, and construction of yards and appurtenances. The distribution of expenses will, in the event of disagreement, be submitted to arbitration.

The French State may also establish any new means of communication, such as roads, electric lines and telephone connections which it may consider necessary for the exploitation of the mines.

It may exploit freely and without any restrictions the means of communication of which it may become the owner, particularly those connecting the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries with the means of communication situated in French territory.

9. The French State shall always be entitled to demand the application of the German mining laws and regulations in force on November 11, 1918, excepting provisions adopted exclusively in view of the state of war, with a view to the acquisition of such land as it may judge necessary for the exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

The payment for damage caused to immovable property by the working of the said mines and their accessories and subsidiaries shall be made in accordance with the German mining laws and regulations above referred to.

10. Every person whom the French State may substitute for itself as regards the whole or part of its rights to the exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries shall enjoy the benefit of the privileges provided in this Annex.

11. The mines and other immovable property which become the property of the French State may never be made the subject of measures of forfeiture, forced sale, expropriation or requisition, nor of any other measure affecting the right of property.

The personnel and the plant connected with the exploitation of these mines or their accessories and subsidiaries, as well as the product extracted from the mines or manufactured in their accessories and subsidiaries, may not at any time be made the subject of any measures of requisition.



THE PARTITION OF EUROPE UNDER TREATIES OF PARIS, JUNE 1919.







12. The exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, which become the property of the French State, will continue, subject to the provisions of paragraph 23 below, to be subject to the régime established by the German laws and regulations in force on November 11, 1918, excepting provisions adopted exclusively in view of the state of war.

The rights of the workmen shall similarly be maintained, subject to the provisions of the said paragraph 23, as established on November 11, 1918, by the German laws and regulations above referred to.

No impediment shall be placed in the way of the introduction or employment in the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries of workmen from without the Basin.

The employees and workmen of French nationality shall have the right to belong to French labour unions.

13. The amount contributed by the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, either to the local budget of the territory of the Saar Basin or to the communal funds, shall be fixed with due regard to the ratio of the value of the mines to the total taxable wealth of the Basin.

14. The French State shall always have the right of establishing and maintaining, as incidental to the mines, primary or technical schools for its employees and their children, and of causing instruction therein to be given in the French language, in accordance with such curriculum and by such teachers as it may select.

It shall also have the right to establish and maintain hospitals, dispensaries, workmen's houses and gardens and other charitable and social institutions.

15. The French State shall enjoy complete liberty with respect to the distribution, despatch and sale prices of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

Nevertheless, whatever may be the total product of the mines, the French Government undertakes that the requirements of local consumption for industrial and domestic purposes shall always be satisfied in the proportion existing in 1913 between the amount consumed locally and the total output of the Saar Basin.

## CHAPTER II.—GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE SAAR BASIN

16. The Government of the territory of the Saar Basin shall be entrusted to a Commission representing the League of Nations. The Commission shall sit in the territory of the Saar Basin.

17. The Governing Commission provided for by paragraph 16 shall consist of five members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations, and will include one citizen of France, one native inhabitant of the Saar Basin, not a citizen of France, and three members belonging to three countries other than France or Germany.

The members of the Governing Commission shall be appointed for one year and may be re-appointed. They can be removed by the Council of the League of Nations, which will provide for their replacement.

The members of the Governing Commission will be entitled to a salary which will be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations, and charged on the local revenues.

18. The Chairman of the Governing Commission shall be appointed for one year from among the

members of the Commission by the Council of the League of Nations and may be re-appointed.

The Chairman will act as the executive of the Commission.

19. Within the territory of the Saar Basin the Governing Commission shall have all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia, or Bavaria, including the appointment and dismissal of officials, and the creation of such administrative and representative bodies as it may deem necessary.

It shall have full powers to administer and operate the railways, canals and the different public services.

Its decisions shall be taken by a majority.

20. Germany will place at the disposal of the Governing Commission all official documents and archives under the control of Germany, of any German State, or of any local authority, which relate to the territory of the Saar Basin or to the rights of the inhabitants thereof.

21. It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to ensure, by such means and under such conditions as it may deem suitable, the protection abroad of the interests of the inhabitants of the territory of the Saar Basin.

22. The Governing Commission shall have the full right of user of all property, other than mines, belonging, either in public or in private domain, to the Government of the German Empire, or the Government of any German State, in the territory of the Saar Basin.

As regards the railways an equitable apportionment of rolling stock shall be made by a mixed Commission on which the Government of the territory of the Saar Basin and the German railways will be represented.

Persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails coming from or going to the Saar Basin shall enjoy all the rights and privileges relating to transit and transport which are specified in the provisions of Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty.

23. The laws and regulations in force on November 11, 1918, in the territory of the Saar Basin (except those enacted in consequence of the state of war) shall continue to apply.

If, for general reasons or to bring these laws and regulations into accord with the provisions of the present Treaty, it is necessary to introduce modifications, these shall be decided on, and put into effect by the Governing Commission, after consultation with the elected representatives of the inhabitants in such a manner as the Commission may determine.

No modification may be made in the legal régime for the exploitation of the mines, provided for in paragraph 12, without the French State being previously consulted, unless such modification results from a general regulation respecting labour adopted by the League of Nations.

In fixing the conditions and hours of labour for men, women and children, the Governing Commission is to take into consideration the wishes expressed by the local labour organisations, as well as the principles adopted by the League of Nations.

24. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 4, no rights of the inhabitants of the Saar Basin acquired or in process of acquisition at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in respect of any insurance system of Germany or in respect of any pension of any kind, are effected by any of the provisions of the present Treaty.

Germany and the Government of the territory of the Saar Basin will preserve and continue all of the aforesaid rights.

25. The civil and criminal courts existing in the territory of the Saar Basin shall continue.

A civil and criminal court will be established by the Governing Commission to hear appeals from the decisions of the said courts and to decide matters for which these courts are not competent.

The Governing Commission will be responsible for settling the organisation and jurisdiction of the said court.

Justice will be rendered in the name of the Governing Commission.

26. The Governing Commission will alone have the power of levying taxes and dues in the territory of the Saar Basin.

These taxes and dues will be exclusively applied to the needs of the territory.

The fiscal system existing on November 11, 1918, will be maintained as far as possible, and no new tax except customs duties may be imposed without previously consulting the elected representatives of the inhabitants.

27. The present stipulations will not affect the existing nationality of the inhabitants of the territory of the Saar Basin.

No hindrance shall be placed in the way of those who wish to acquire a different nationality, but in such case the acquisition of the new nationality will involve the loss of any other.

28. Under the control of the Governing Commission the inhabitants will retain their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools and their language.

The right of voting will not be exercised for any assemblies other than the local assemblies, and will belong to every inhabitant over the age of twenty years, without distinction of sex.

29. Any of the inhabitants of the Saar Basin who may desire to leave the territory will have full liberty to retain in it their immovable property or to sell it at fair prices, and to remove their movable property free of any charges.

30. There will be no military service, whether compulsory or voluntary, in the territory of the Saar Basin, and the construction of fortifications therein is forbidden.

Only a local gendarmerie for the maintenance of order may be established.

It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to provide in all cases for the protection of persons and property in the Saar Basin.

31. The territory of the Saar Basin as defined by Article 48 of the present Treaty shall be subjected to the French Customs régime. The receipts from the customs duties on goods intended for local consumption shall be included in the budget of the said territory after deduction of all costs of collection.

No export tax shall be imposed upon metallurgical products or coal exported from the said territory to Germany, nor upon the German exports for the use of the industries of the territory of the Saar Basin.

Natural or manufactured products originating in the Basin in transit over German territory and, similarly, German products in transit over the territory of the Basin shall be free of all customs duties.

Products which both originate in and pass from the Basin into Germany shall be free of import duties for a period of five years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, and during the same

period articles imported from Germany into the territory of the Basin for local consumption shall likewise be free of import duties.

During these five years the French Government reserves to itself the right of limiting to the annual average of the quantities imported into Alsace-Lorraine and France in the years 1911 to 1913 the quantities which may be sent into France of all articles coming from the Basin which include raw materials and semi-manufactured goods imported duty free from Germany. Such average shall be determined after reference to all available official information and statistics.

32. No prohibition or restriction shall be imposed upon the circulation of French money in the territory of the Saar Basin.

The French State shall have the right to use French money in all purchases, payments and contracts connected with the exploitation of the mines or their accessories and subsidiaries.

33. The Governing Commission shall have power to decide all questions arising from the interpretation of the preceding provisions.

France and Germany agree that any dispute involving a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the said provisions shall in the same way be submitted to the Governing Commission, and the decision of a majority of the Commission shall be binding on both countries.

#### CHAPTER III.—PLEBISCITE

34. At the termination of a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the population of the territory of the Saar Basin will be called upon to indicate their desires in the following manner:

A vote will take place by communes or districts, on the three following alternatives:

(a) Maintenance of the régime established by the present Treaty and by this Annex; (b) union with France; (c) union with Germany.

All persons without distinction of sex, more than twenty years old at the date of the voting, resident in the territory at the date of the signature of the present Treaty will have the right to vote.

The other conditions, methods and the date of the voting shall be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations in such a way as to secure the freedom, secrecy and trustworthiness of the voting.

35. The League of Nations shall decide on the sovereignty under which the territory is to be placed, taking into account the wishes of the inhabitants as expressed by the voting:

(a) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favour of the maintenance of the régime established by the present Treaty and this Annex, Germany hereby agrees to make such renunciation of her sovereignty in favour of the League of Nations as the latter shall deem necessary. It will be the duty of the League of Nations to take appropriate steps to adapt the régime definitively adopted to the permanent welfare of the territory and the general interest;

(b) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favour of union with France, Germany hereby agrees to cede to France in accordance with the decision of the League of Nations all rights and title over the territory specified by the League;

(c) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the



League of Nations decides in favour of union with Germany, it will be the duty of the League of Nations to cause the German Government to be re-established in the government of the territory specified by the League.

36. If the League of Nations decides in favour of the union of the whole or part of the territory of the Saar Basin with Germany, France's rights of ownership in the mines situated in such part of the territory will be repurchased by Germany in their entirety at a price payable in gold. The price to be paid will be fixed by three experts, one nominated by Germany, one by France, and one, who shall be neither a Frenchman nor a German, by the Council of the League of Nations; the decision of the experts will be given by a majority.

The obligation of Germany to make such payment shall be taken into account by the Reparation Commission, and for the purpose of this payment, Germany may create a prior charge upon her assets or revenues upon such detailed terms as shall be agreed to by the Reparation Commission.

If, nevertheless, Germany after a period of one year from the date on which payment becomes due shall not have effected the said payment, the Reparation Commission shall do so in accordance with such instructions as may be given by the League of Nations, and, if necessary, by liquidating that part of the mines which is in question.

37. If, in consequence of the repurchase provided for in paragraph 36, the ownership of the mines or any part of them is transferred to Germany, the French State and French nationals shall have the right to purchase such amount of coal of the Saar Basin as their industrial and domestic needs are found at that time to require. An equitable arrangement regarding amounts of coal, duration of contract, and prices will be fixed in due time by the Council of the League of Nations.

38. It is understood that France and Germany may, by special agreements concluded before the time fixed for the payment of the price for the repurchase of the mines, modify the provisions of paragraph 36 and 37.

39. The Council of the League of Nations shall make such provisions as may be necessary for the establishment of the régime which is to take effect after the decisions of the League of Nations mentioned in paragraph 35 have become operative, including an equitable apportionment of any obligations of the Government of the territory of the Saar Basin arising from loans raised by the Commission or from other causes.

From the coming into force of the new régime, the powers of the Governing Commission will terminate, except in the case provided for in paragraph 35 (a).

40. In all matters dealt with in the present Annex, the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations will be taken by a majority.

## SECTION V.—ALSACE-LORRAINE

The HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, recognising the moral obligation to redress the wrong done by Germany in 1871 both to the rights of France and to the wishes of the population of Alsace and Lorraine, which were separated from their country in spite of the solemn protest of their representatives at the Assembly of Bordeaux,

Agree upon the following Articles:

### ARTICLE 51

The territories which were ceded to Germany in accordance with the Preliminaries of Peace signed at Versailles on February 26, 1871, and the Treaty of Frankfurt of May 10, 1871, are restored to French sovereignty as from the date of the Armistice of November 11, 1918.

The provisions of the Treaties establishing the delimitation of the frontiers before 1871 shall be restored.

### ARTICLE 52

The German Government shall hand over without delay to the French Government all archives, registers, plans, titles and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial or other administrations of the territories restored to French sovereignty. If any of these documents, archives, registers, titles, or plans have been misplaced, they will be restored by the German Government on the demand of the French Government.

### ARTICLE 53

Separate agreements shall be made between France and Germany dealing with the interests of the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51, particularly as regards their civil rights, their business and the exercise of their professions, it being understood that Germany undertakes as from the present date to recognise and accept the regulations laid down in the Annex hereto regarding the nationality of the inhabitants or natives of the said territories, not to claim at any time or in any place whatsoever as German nationals those who shall have been declared on any ground to be French, to receive all others in her territory, and to conform, as regards the property of German nationals in the territories indicated in Article 51, with the provisions of Article 297 and the Annex to Section IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Those German nationals who without acquiring French nationality shall receive permission from the French Government to reside in the said territories shall not be subjected to the provisions of the said Article.

### ARTICLE 54

Those persons who have regained French nationality in virtue of paragraph 1 of the Annex hereto, will be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers for the purposes of the present Section.

The persons referred to in paragraph 2 of the said Annex will from the day on which they have claimed French nationality be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers with retroactive effect as from November 11, 1918. For those whose application is rejected, the privilege will terminate at the date of the refusal.

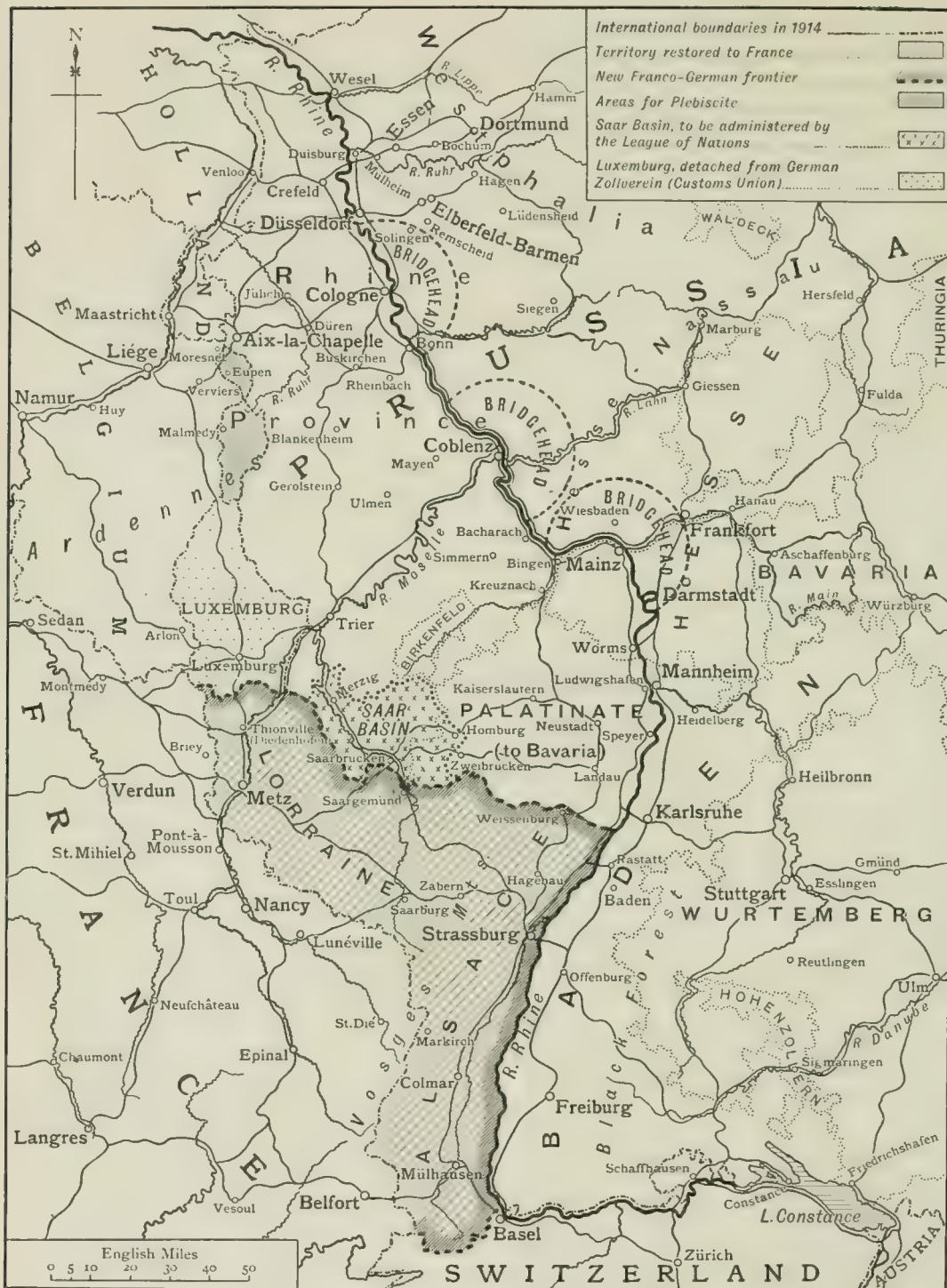
Such juridical persons will also have the status of Alsace-Lorrainers as shall have been recognised as possessing this quality, whether by the French administrative authorities or by a judicial decision.

### ARTICLE 55

The territories referred to in Article 51 shall return to France, free and quit of all public debts, under the conditions laid down in Article 255 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

### ARTICLE 56

In conformity with the provisions of Article 256 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty,



Germany's Western Frontier under the terms of the Peace Treaty



France shall enter into possession of all property and estate within the territories referred to in Article 51, which belong to the German Empire or German States, without any payment or credit on this account to any of the States ceding the territories.

This provision applies to all movable or immovable property of public or private domain together with all rights whatsoever belonging to the German Empire or German States or to their administrative areas.

Crown property and the property of the former Emperor or other German sovereigns shall be assimilated to property of the public domain.

## ARTICLE 57

Germany shall not take any action, either by means of stamping or by any other legal or administrative measures not applying equally to the rest of her territory, which may be to the detriment of the legal value or redeemability of German monetary instruments or monies which, at the date of the signature of the present Treaty, are legally current, and at that date are in the possession of the French Government.

## ARTICLE 58

A special Convention will determine the conditions for repayment in marks of the exceptional war expenditure advanced during the course of the war by Alsace-Lorraine or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine on account of the Empire in accordance with German law, such as payment to the families of persons mobilised, requisitions, billeting of troops, and assistance to persons who have been evacuated.

In fixing the amount of these sums Germany shall be credited with that portion which Alsace-Lorraine would have contributed to the Empire to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the Imperial revenues derived from Alsace-Lorraine in 1913.

## ARTICLE 59

The French Government will collect for its own account the Imperial taxes, duties and dues of every kind leviable in the territories referred to in Article 51 and not collected at the time of the Armistice of November 11, 1918.

## ARTICLE 60

The German Government shall without delay restore to Alsace-Lorrainers (individuals, juridical persons and public institutions) all property, rights and interests belonging to them on November 11, 1918, in so far as these are situated in German territory.

## ARTICLE 61

The German Government undertakes to continue and complete without delay the execution of the financial clauses regarding Alsace-Lorraine contained in the Armistice Conventions.

## ARTICLE 62

The German Government undertakes to bear the expense of all civil and military pensions which had been earned in Alsace-Lorraine on the date of November 11, 1918, and the maintenance of which was a charge on the budget of the German Empire.

The German Government shall furnish each year

the funds necessary for the payment in francs, at the average rate of exchange for that year, of the sums in marks to which persons resident in Alsace-Lorraine would have been entitled if Alsace-Lorraine had remained under German jurisdiction.

## ARTICLE 63

For the purposes of the obligation assumed by Germany in Part VIII (Reparation) of the present Treaty to give compensation for damages caused to the civil populations of the Allied and Associated countries in the form of fines, the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51 shall be assimilated to the above-mentioned populations.

## ARTICLE 64

The regulations concerning the control of the Rhine and of the Moselle are laid down in Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE 65

Within a period of three weeks after the coming into force of the present Treaty, the port of Strasburg and the port of Kehl shall be constituted, for a period of seven years, a single unit from the point of view of exploitation.

The administration of this single unit will be carried on by a manager named by the Central Rhine Commission, which shall also have power to remove him.

This manager shall be of French nationality.

He will reside in Strasburg and will be subject to the supervision of the Central Rhine Commission.

There will be established in the two ports free zones in conformity with Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty.

A special Convention between France and Germany, which shall be submitted to the approval of the Central Rhine Commission, will fix the details of this organisation, particularly as regards finance.

It is understood that for the purpose of the present Article the port of Kehl includes the whole of the area necessary for the movements of the port and the trains which serve it, including the harbour, quays and railroads, platforms, cranes, sheds and warehouses, silos, elevators and hydro-electric plants, which make up the equipment of the port.

The German Government undertakes to carry out all measures which shall be required of it in order to assure that all the making-up and switching of trains arriving at or departing from Kehl, whether for the right bank or the left bank of the Rhine, shall be carried on in the best conditions possible.

All property rights shall be safeguarded. In particular the administration of the ports shall not prejudice any property rights of the French or Baden railroads.

Equality of treatment as respects traffic shall be assured in both ports to the nationals, vessels and goods of every country.

In case at the end of the sixth year France shall consider that the progress made in the improvement of the port of Strasburg still requires a prolongation of this temporary régime, she may ask for such prolongation from the Central Rhine Commission, which may grant an extension for a period not exceeding three years.

Throughout the whole period of any such extension the free zones above provided for shall be maintained.

Pending appointment of the first manager by the



Central Rhine Commission a provisional manager who shall be of French nationality may be appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers subject to the foregoing provisions.

For all purposes of the present Article the Central Rhine Commission will decide by a majority of votes.

#### ARTICLE 66

The railway and other bridges across the Rhine now existing within the limits of Alsace-Lorraine shall, as to all their parts and their whole length, be the property of the French State, which shall ensure their upkeep.

#### ARTICLE 67

The French Government is substituted in all the rights of the German Empire over all the railways which were administered by the Imperial railway administration and which are actually working or under construction.

The same shall apply to the rights of the Empire with regard to railway and tramway concessions within the territories referred to in Article 51.

This substitution shall not entail any payment on the part of the French State.

The frontier railway stations shall be established by a subsequent agreement, it being stipulated in advance that on the Rhine frontier they shall be situated on the right bank.

#### ARTICLE 68

In accordance with the provisions of Article 268 of Chapter I of Section I of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, natural or manufactured products originating in and coming from the territories referred to in Article 51 shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The French Government may fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

Further, during the period of five years above mentioned, the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany and the free re-importation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges (including internal charges), of yarns, tissues, and other textile materials or textile products of any kind and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories referred to in Article 51, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerisation, gassing, twisting or dressing.

#### ARTICLE 69

During a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, central electric supply works situated in German territory and formerly furnishing electric power to the territories referred to in Article 51 or to any establishment the working of which passes permanently or temporarily from Germany to France, shall be required to continue such supply up to the amount of consumption corresponding to the undertakings and contracts current on November 11, 1918.

Such supply shall be furnished according to the contracts in force and at a rate which shall not be higher than that paid to the said works by German nationals.

#### ARTICLE 70

It is understood that the French Government preserves its right to prohibit in the future in the territories referred to in Article 51 all new German participation:

1. In the management or exploitation of the public domain and of public services, such as railways, navigable waterways, water works, gas works, electric power, etc.;

2. In the ownership of mines and quarries of every kind and in enterprises connected therewith;

3. In the metallurgical establishments, even though their working may not be connected with that of any mine.

#### ARTICLE 71

As regards the territories referred to in Article 51, Germany renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals as from November 11, 1918, all rights under the law of May 25, 1910, regarding the trade in potash salts, and generally under any stipulations for the intervention of German organisations in the working of the potash mines. Similarly, she renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals all rights under any agreements, stipulations or laws which may exist to her benefit with regard to other products of the aforesaid territories.

#### ARTICLE 72

The settlement of the questions relating to debts contracted before November 11, 1918, between the German Empire and the German States or their nationals residing in Germany on the one part and Alsace-Lorrainers residing in Alsace-Lorraine on the other part shall be effected in accordance with the provisions of Section III of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, the expression "before the war" therein being replaced by the expression "before November 11, 1918." The rate of exchange applicable in the case of such settlement shall be the average rate quoted on the Geneva Exchange during the month preceding November 11, 1918.

There may be established in the territories referred to in Article 51, for the settlement of the aforesaid debts under the conditions laid down in Section III of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, a special clearing office, it being understood that this office shall be regarded as a "central office" under the provisions of paragraph 1 of the Annex to the said Section.

#### ARTICLE 73

The private property, rights and interests of Alsace-Lorrainers in Germany will be regulated by the stipulations of Section IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

#### ARTICLE 74

The French Government reserves the right to retain and liquidate all the property, rights and interests which German nationals or societies controlled by Germany possessed in the territories referred to in Article 51 on November 11, 1918, subject to the conditions laid down in the last paragraph of Article 53 above.

Germany will directly compensate her nationals

who may have been dispossessed by the aforesaid liquidations.

The product of these liquidations shall be applied in accordance with the stipulations of Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE 75

Notwithstanding the stipulations of Section V of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, all contracts made before the date of the promulgation in Alsace-Lorraine of the French decree of November 30, 1918, between Alsace-Lorrainers (whether individuals or juridical persons) or others resident in

300 and 301 of Section V of Part X (Economic Clauses) shall be applied with the substitution for the expression "outbreak of war" of the expression "November 11, 1918," and for the expression "duration of the war" of the expression "period from November 11, 1918, to the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty."

## ARTICLE 76

Questions concerning rights in industrial, literary or artistic property of Alsace-Lorrainers shall be regulated in accordance with the general stipulations of Section VII of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the



What Alsations did to the Statue of William I at Metz: the memorial overturned by the inhabitants on the entry into the town of the French troops

Alsace-Lorraine on the one part and the German Empire or German States and their nationals resident in Germany on the other part, the execution of which has been suspended by the armistice or by subsequent French legislation, shall be maintained.

Nevertheless, any contract of which the French Government shall notify the cancellation to Germany in the general interest within a period of six months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, shall be annulled except in respect of any debt or other pecuniary obligation arising out of any act done or money paid thereunder before November 11, 1918. If this dissolution would cause one of the parties substantial prejudice, equitable compensation, calculated solely on the capital employed without taking account of loss of profits, shall be accorded to the prejudiced party.

With regard to prescriptions, limitations and forfeitures in Alsace-Lorraine, the provisions of Articles

present Treaty, it being understood that Alsace-Lorrainers holding rights of this nature under German legislation will preserve full and entire enjoyment of those rights on German territory.

## ARTICLE 77

The German Government undertakes to pay over to the French Government such proportion of all reserves accumulated by the Empire or by public or private bodies dependent upon it, for the purposes of disability and old age insurance as would fall to the disability and old age insurance fund at Strasburg.

The same shall apply in respect of the capital and reserves accumulated in Germany falling legitimately to other social insurance funds, to miners' superannuation funds, to the fund of the railways of Alsace-Lorraine, to other superannuation organisations established for the benefit of the personnel of public



administrations and institutions operating in Alsace-Lorraine, and also in respect of the capital and reserves due by the insurance fund of private employees at Berlin, by reason of engagements entered into for the benefit of insured persons of that category resident in Alsace-Lorraine.

A special Convention shall determine the conditions and procedure of these transfers.

#### ARTICLE 78

With regard to the execution of judgments, appeals and prosecutions, the following rules shall be applied:

(1.) All civil and commercial judgments which shall have been given since August 3, 1914, by the Courts of Alsace-Lorraine between Alsace-Lorrainers, or between Alsace-Lorrainers and foreigners, or between foreigners, and which shall not have been appealed from before November 11, 1918, shall be regarded as final and susceptible of immediate execution without further formality.

When the judgment has been given between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans or between Alsace-Lorrainers and subjects of the allies of Germany, it shall only be capable of execution after the issue of an *exequatur* by the corresponding new tribunal in the restored territory referred to in Article 51.

(2.) All judgments given by German Courts since August 3, 1914, against Alsace-Lorrainers for political crimes or misdemeanours shall be regarded as null and void.

(3.) All sentences passed since November 11, 1918, by the Court of the Empire at Leipzig on appeals against the decisions of the Courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be regarded as null and void and shall be so pronounced. The papers in regard to the cases in which such sentences have been given shall be returned to the Courts of Alsace-Lorraine concerned.

All appeals to the Court of the Empire against decisions of the Courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be suspended. The papers shall be returned under the aforesaid conditions for transfer without delay to the French Cour de Cassation which shall be competent to decide them.

(4.) All prosecutions in Alsace-Lorraine for offences committed during the period between November 11, 1918, and the coming into force of the present Treaty will be conducted under German law except in so far as this has been modified by decrees duly published on the spot by the French authorities.

(5.) All other questions as to competence, procedure or administration of justice shall be determined by a special Convention between France and Germany.

#### ARTICLE 79

The stipulations as to nationality contained in the Annex hereto shall be considered as of equal force with the provisions of the present Section.

All other questions concerning Alsace-Lorraine which are not regulated by the present Section and the Annex thereto or by the general provisions of the present Treaty will form the subject of further conventions between France and Germany.

#### ANNEX

##### 1

As from November 11, 1918, the following persons are *ipso facto* reinstated in French nationality:

(1.) Persons who lost French nationality by the

application of the Franco-German Treaty of May 10, 1871, and who have not since that date acquired any nationality other than German;

(2.) The legitimate or natural descendants of the persons referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph, with the exception of those whose ascendants in the paternal line include a German who migrated into Alsace-Lorraine after July 15, 1870;

(3.) All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine of unknown parents, or whose nationality is unknown.

##### 2

Within the period of one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty, persons included in any of the following categories may claim French nationality:

(1.) All persons not restored to French nationality under paragraph 1 above, whose ascendants include a Frenchman or Frenchwoman who lost French nationality under the conditions referred to in the said paragraph;

(2.) All foreigners, not nationals of a German State, who acquired the status of a citizen of Alsace-Lorraine before August 3, 1914;

(3.) All Germans domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine, if they have been so domiciled since a date previous to July 15, 1870, or if one of their ascendants was at that date domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine;

(4.) All Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine who have served in the Allied or Associated armies during the present war, and their descendants;

(5.) All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine before May 10, 1871, of foreign parents, and the descendants of such persons;

(6.) The husband or wife of any person whose French nationality may have been restored under paragraph 1, or who may have claimed and obtained French nationality in accordance with the preceding provisions.

The legal representatives of a minor may exercise on behalf of that minor, the right to claim French nationality; and if that right has not been exercised, the minor may claim French nationality within the year following his majority.

Except in the cases provided for in No. 6. of the present paragraph, the French authorities reserve to themselves the right, in individual cases, to reject the claim to French nationality.

##### 3

Subject to the provisions of paragraph 2, Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine shall not acquire French nationality by reason of the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, even though they may have the status of citizens of Alsace-Lorraine.

They may acquire French nationality only by naturalization, on condition of having been domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine from a date previous to August 3, 1914, and of submitting proof of unbroken residence within the restored territory for a period of three years from November 11, 1918.

France will be solely responsible for their diplomatic and consular protection from the date of their application for French naturalisation.

##### 4.

The French Government shall determine the procedure by which reinstatement in French nationality as of right shall be effected, and the conditions under which decisions shall be given upon claims to such



nationality and applications for naturalisation, as provided by the present Annex.

## SECTION VI.—AUSTRIA

### ARTICLE 80

Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria, within the frontiers which may be fixed in a Treaty between that State and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

## SECTION VII.—CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE

### ARTICLE 81

Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians. Germany hereby recognizes the frontiers of this State as determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the other interested States.

### ARTICLE 82

The old frontier as it existed on August 3, 1914, between Austria-Hungary and the German Empire will constitute the frontier between Germany and the Czecho-Slovak State.

### ARTICLE 83

Germany renounces in favour of the Czecho-Slovak State all rights and title over the portion of Silesian territory defined as follows:

starting from a point about 2 kilometres south-east of Katscher, on the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor;

the boundary between the two *Kreise*;

then, the former boundary between Germany and Austria-Hungary up to a point on the Oder immediately to the south of the Ratibor-Oderberg railway;

thence, towards the north-west and up to a point about 2 kilometres to the south-east of Katscher:

a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the west of Kranowitz.

A Commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Poland and one by the Czecho-Slovak State, will be appointed fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line between Poland and the Czecho-Slovak State.

The decisions of this Commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Germany hereby agrees to renounce in favour of the Czecho-Slovak State all rights and title over the part of the *Kreis* of Leobschütz comprised within the following boundaries in case after the determination of the frontier between Germany and Poland the said part of that *Kreis* should become isolated from Germany:

from the south-eastern extremity of the salient of the former Austrian frontier at about 5 kilometres to the west of Leobschütz southwards and up to the point of junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor:

the former frontier between Germany and Austria-Hungary;

then, northwards, the administrative boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor up to a point situated about 2 kilometres to the south-east of Katscher;

thence, north-westwards and up to the starting-point of this definition:

a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the east of Katscher.

### ARTICLE 84

German nationals habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czecho-Slovak State will obtain Czecho-Slovak nationality *ipso facto* and lose their German nationality.

### ARTICLE 85

Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, German nationals over eighteen years of age habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czecho-Slovak State will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Czecho-Slovaks who are German nationals and are habitually resident in Germany will have a similar right to opt for Czecho-Slovak nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain their landed property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Within the same period Czecho-Slovaks who are German nationals and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired the foreign nationality, to obtain Czecho-Slovak nationality and lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Czecho-Slovak State.

### ARTICLE 86

The Czecho-Slovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

The Czecho-Slovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the said Powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Germany and Prussia which the Czecho-

Slovak State will have to assume on account of the Silesian territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions not decided by the present Treaty which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

## SECTION VIII.—POLAND

### ARTICLE 87

Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of Poland, and renounces in her favour all rights and title over the territory bounded by the Baltic Sea, the eastern frontier of Germany as laid down in Article 27 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) of the present Treaty up to a point situated about 2 kilometres to the east of Lorzendorf, then a line to the acute angle which the northern boundary of Upper Silesia makes about 3 kilometres north-west of Simmenau, then the boundary of Upper Silesia to its meeting point with the old frontier between Germany and Russia, then this frontier to the point where it crosses the course of the Niemen, and then the northern frontier of East Prussia as laid down in Article 28 of Part II aforesaid.

The provisions of this Article do not, however, apply to the territories of East Prussia and the Free City of Danzig, as defined in Article 28 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) and in Article 100 of Section XI (Danzig) of this Part.

The boundaries of Poland not laid down in the present Treaty will be subsequently determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

A Commission consisting of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany and one by Poland, shall be constituted fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty to delimit on the spot the frontier line between Poland and Germany.

The decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority of votes and shall be binding upon the parties concerned.

### ARTICLE 88

In the portion of Upper Silesia included within the boundaries described below, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote whether they wish to be attached to Germany or to Poland:

starting from the northern point of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia situated about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt, the former frontier between Germany and Austria to its junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor;

thence in a northerly direction to a point about 2 kilometres south-east of Katscher;

the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor;

thence in a south-easterly direction to a point on the course of the Oder immediately south of the Ratibor-Oderberg railway;

a line to be fixed on the ground passing south of Kranowitz;

thence the old boundary between Germany and Austria, then the old boundary between Germany

and Russia to its junction with the administrative boundary between Posnania and Upper Silesia;

thence this administrative boundary to its junction with the administrative boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia;

thence westwards to the point where the administrative boundary turns in an acute angle to the south-east about 3 kilometres north-west of Simmenau;

the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia;

then in a westerly direction to a point to be fixed on the ground about 2 kilometres east of Lorzendorf: a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Klein Hennersdorf;

thence southwards to the point where the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia cuts the Städtel-Karlsruhe road;

a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Hennersdorf, Polkowitz, Noldau, Steinersdorf and Dammer, and east of Strehlitz, Nassadel, Eckersdorf, Schwirz and Städtel;

thence the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia to its junction with the eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Falkenberg;

then the eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Falkenberg to the point of the salient which is 3 kilometres east of Puschine;

thence to the northern point of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia situated about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt;

a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Zülz.

The régime under which this plebiscite will be taken and given effect to is laid down in the Annex hereto.

The Polish and German Governments hereby respectively bind themselves to conduct no prosecutions on any part of their territory and to take no exceptional proceedings for any political action performed in Upper Silesia during the period of the régime laid down in the Annex hereto and up to the settlement of the final status of the country.

Germany hereby renounces in favour of Poland all rights and title over the portion of Upper Silesia lying beyond the frontier line fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as the result of the plebiscite.

## ANNEX

### I

Within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty the German troops and such officials as may be designated by the Commission set up under the provisions of paragraph 2 shall evacuate the plebiscite area. Up to the moment of the completion of the evacuation they shall refrain from any form of requisitioning in money or in kind and from all acts likely to prejudice the material interests of the country.

Within the same period the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils which have been constituted in this area shall be dissolved. Members of such Councils who are natives of another region and are exercising their functions at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, or who have gone out of office since March 1, 1919, shall be evacuated.

All military and semi-military unions formed in the said area by inhabitants of the district shall be immediately disbanded. All members of such military organizations who are not domiciled in the said area shall be required to leave it.



2

The plebiscite area shall be immediately placed under the authority of an International Commission of four members to be designated by the following Powers: the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Italy. It shall be occupied by troops belonging to the Allied and Associated Powers, and the German Government undertakes to give facilities for the transference of these troops to Upper Silesia.

3

The Commission shall enjoy all the powers exercised by the German or the Prussian Government, except those of legislation or taxation. It shall also be substituted for the government of the province and the *Regierungsbezirk*.

It shall be within the competence of the Commission to interpret the powers hereby conferred upon it and to determine to what extent it shall exercise them, and to what extent they shall be left in the hands of the existing authorities.

Changes in the existing laws and the existing taxation shall only be brought into force with the consent of the Commission.

The Commission will maintain order with the help of the troops which will be at its disposal, and, to the extent which it may deem necessary, by means of gendarmerie recruited among the inhabitants of the country.

The Commission shall provide immediately for the replacement of the evacuated German officials and, if occasion arises, shall itself order the evacuation of such authorities and proceed to the replacement of such local authorities as may be required.

It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to ensure the freedom, fairness and secrecy of the vote. In particular, it shall have the right to order the expulsion of any person who may in any way have attempted to distort the result of the plebiscite by methods of corruption or intimidation.

The Commission shall have full power to settle all questions arising from the execution of the present clauses. It shall be assisted by technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population.

The decisions of the Commission shall be taken by a majority vote.

4

The vote shall take place at such date as may be determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, but not sooner than six months or later than eighteen months after the establishment of the Commission in the area.

The right to vote shall be given to all persons without distinction of sex who:

(a) Have completed their twentieth year on the 1st January of the year in which the plebiscite takes place;

(b) Were born in the plebiscite area or have been domiciled there since a date to be determined by the Commission, which shall not be subsequent to the 1st January, 1919, or who have been expelled by the German authorities and have not retained their domicile there.

Persons convicted of political offences shall be enabled to exercise their right of voting.

Every person will vote in the commune where he is domiciled or in which he was born, if he has not retained his domicile in the area.

The result of the vote will be determined by com-

munes according to the majority of votes in each commune.

5

On the conclusion of the voting, the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the frontier of Germany in Upper Silesia. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality.

6

As soon as the frontier has been fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the German authorities will be notified by the International Commission that they are free to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognised should be German; the said authorities must proceed to do so within one month of such notification and in the manner prescribed by the Commission.

Within the same period and in the manner prescribed by the Commission, the Polish Government must proceed to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognised should be Polish.

When the administration of the territory has been provided for by the German and Polish authorities respectively, the powers of the Commission will terminate.

The cost of the army of occupation, and expenditure by the Commission, whether in discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be a charge on the area.

## ARTICLE 89

Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit between East Prussia and the rest of Germany over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favourably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favoured nationality, origin, importation, starting point, or ownership as regards facilities, restrictions and all other matters.

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other similar duties.

Freedom of transit will extend to telegraphic and telephonic services under the conditions laid down by the conventions referred to in Article 98.

## ARTICLE 90

Poland undertakes to permit for a period of fifteen years the exportation to Germany of the products of the mines in any part of Upper Silesia transferred to Poland in accordance with the present Treaty.

Such products shall be free from all export duties or other charges or restrictions on exportation.

Poland agrees to take such steps as may be necessary to secure that any such products shall be available for sale to purchasers in Germany on terms as favourable as are applicable to like products sold under similar conditions to purchasers in Poland or in any other country.

## ARTICLE 91

German nationals habitually resident in territories recognised as forming part of Poland will acquire



Polish nationality *ipso facto* and will lose their German nationality.

German nationals, however, or their descendants who became resident in these territories after January 1, 1908, will not acquire Polish nationality without a special authorisation from the Polish State.

Within a period of two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in any of the territories recognised as forming part of Poland will be entitled to opt for German nationality.

Poles who are German nationals over 18 years of age and habitually resident in Germany will have a similar right to opt for Polish nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt may within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt.

They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties or charges may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Within the same period Poles who are German nationals and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired the foreign nationality, to obtain Polish nationality and to lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Polish State.

In the portion of Upper Silesia submitted to a plebiscite the provisions of this Article shall only come into force as from the definitive attribution of the territory.

#### ARTICLE 92

The proportion and the nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and Prussia which are to be borne by Poland will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

There shall be excluded from the share of such financial liabilities assumed by Poland that portion of the debt which, according to the finding of the Reparation Commission referred to in the above-mentioned Article, arises from measures adopted by the German and Prussian Governments with a view to German colonisation in Poland.

In fixing under Article 256 of the present Treaty the value of the property and possessions belonging to the German Empire and to the German States which pass to Poland with the territory transferred above, the Reparation Commission shall exclude from the valuation buildings, forests and other State property which belonged to the former Kingdom of Poland; Poland shall acquire these properties free of all costs and charges.

In all the German territory transferred in accordance with the present Treaty and recognised as forming definitively part of Poland, the property, rights, and interests of German nationals shall not be liquidated under Article 297 by the Polish Government except in accordance with the following provisions:

1. The proceeds of the liquidation shall be paid direct to the owner;

2. If on his application the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for by Section VI of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, or an arbitrator appointed by that Tribunal, is satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Polish Government outside its general legislation were unfairly prejudicial to the price obtained, they shall have discretion to award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by the Polish Government.

Further agreements will regulate all questions arising out of the cession of the above territory which are not regulated by the present Treaty.

#### ARTICLE 93

Poland accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

Poland further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the said Powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

### SECTION IX.—EAST PRUSSIA

#### ARTICLE 94

In the area between the southern frontier of East Prussia, as described in Article 28 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) of the present Treaty, and the line described below, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote the State to which they wish to belong:

The western and northern boundary of *Regierungsbezirk Allenstein* to its junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of Oletzko and Angerburg; thence, the northern boundary of the *Kreis* of Oletzko to its junction with the old frontier of East Prussia.

#### ARTICLE 95

The German troops and authorities will be withdrawn from the area defined above within a period not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty. Until the evacuation is completed they will abstain from all requisitions in money or in kind and from all measures injurious to the economic interests of the country.

On the expiration of the above-mentioned period the said area will be placed under the authority of an International Commission of five members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. This Commission will have general powers of administration and, in particular, will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to ensure its freedom, fairness and secrecy. The Commission will have all necessary authority to decide any questions to which the execution of these provisions may give rise. The Commission will make such arrangements as may be necessary for assistance in the exercise of its functions by officials chosen by itself from the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority.

Every person, irrespective of sex, will be entitled to vote who:

(a) Is 20 years of age at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, and

(b) Was born within the area where the vote will take place or has been habitually resident there from a date to be fixed by the Commission.

Every person will vote in the commune where he is habitually resident or, if not habitually resident in the area, in the commune where he was born.

The result of the vote will be determined by communes (*Gemeinde*) according to the majority of the votes in each commune.

On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the boundary of East Prussia in this region. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region.

If the line fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers is such as to exclude from East Prussia any part of the territory defined in Article 94, the renunciation of its rights by Germany in favour of Poland, as provided in Article 87 above, will extend to the territories so excluded.

As soon as the line has been fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the authorities administering East Prussia will be notified by the International Commission that they are free to take over the administration of the territory to the north of the line so fixed, which they shall proceed to do within one month of such notification and in the manner prescribed by the Commission. Within the same period and as prescribed by the Commission, the Polish Government must proceed to take over the administration of the territory to the south of the line. When the administration of the territory by the East Prussian and Polish authorities respectively has been provided for, the powers of the Commission will terminate.

Expenditure by the Commission, whether in the discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be borne by the local revenues. East Prussia will be required to bear such proportion of any deficit as may be fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

## ARTICLE 96

In the area comprising the *Kreise* of Stuhm and Rosenberg and the portion of the *Kreis* of Marienburg which is situated east of the Nogat and that of Marienwerder east of the Vistula, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote, to be taken in each commune (*Gemeinde*), whether they desire the various communes situated in this territory to belong to Poland or to East Prussia.

## ARTICLE 97

The German troops and authorities will be withdrawn from the area defined in Article 96 within a period not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the present Treaty. Until the evacuation is completed they will abstain from all requisitions in money or in kind and from all measures injurious to the economic interests of the country.

On the expiration of the above-mentioned period, the said area will be placed under the authority of an

International Commission of five members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. This Commission, supported if occasion arises by the necessary forces, will have general powers of administration and in particular will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to ensure its freedom, fairness and secrecy. The Commission will conform as far as possible to the provisions of the present Treaty relating to the plebiscite in the Allenstein area; its decisions will be taken by a majority.

Expenditure by the Commission, whether in the discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be borne by the local revenues.

On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the boundary of East Prussia in this region. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region, leaving in any case to Poland for the whole of the section bordering on the Vistula full and complete control of the river including the east bank as far east of the river as may be necessary for its regulation and improvement. Germany agrees that in any portion of the said territory which remains German, no fortifications shall at any time be erected.

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will at the same time draw up regulations for assuring to the population of East Prussia to the fullest extent and under equitable conditions access to the Vistula and the use of it for themselves, their commerce and their boats.

The determination of the frontier and the foregoing regulations shall be binding upon all the parties concerned.

When the administration of the territory has been taken over by the East Prussian and Polish authorities respectively, the powers of the Commission will terminate.

## ARTICLE 98

Germany and Poland undertake, within one year of the coming into force of this Treaty, to enter into Conventions of which the terms, in case of difference, shall be settled by the Council of the League of Nations, with the object of securing, on the one hand to Germany full and adequate railroad, telegraphic and telephonic facilities for communication between the rest of Germany and East Prussia over the intervening Polish territory, and on the other hand to Poland full and adequate railroad, telegraphic and telephonic facilities for communication between Poland and the Free City of Danzig over any German territory that may, on the right bank of the Vistula, intervene between Poland and the Free City of Danzig.

## SECTION X.—MEMEL.

### ARTICLE 99

Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territories included between the Baltic, the north



eastern frontier of East Prussia as defined in Article 28 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) of the present Treaty and the former frontier between Germany and Russia.

Germany undertakes to accept the settlement made by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in regard to these territories, particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants.

## SECTION XI.—FREE CITY OF DANZIG

### ARTICLE 100

Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territory comprised within the following limits:

from the Baltic Sea southwards to the point where the principal channels of navigation of the Nogat and the Vistula (Weichsel) meet;

the boundary of East Prussia as described in Article 28 of Part II (Boundaries of Germany) of the present Treaty;

thence the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula downstream to a point about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres north of the bridge of Dirschau;

thence north-west to point 5,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres south-east of the church of Güttland;

a line to be fixed on the ground;

thence in a general westerly direction to the salient made by the boundary of the *Kreis* of Berent  $8\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres north-east of Schöneck;

a line to be fixed on the ground passing between Mülhbanz on the south and Rambeltsch on the north;

thence the boundary of the *Kreis* of Berent westwards to the re-entrant which it forms 6 kilometres north-north-west of Schöneck;

thence to a point on the median line of Lonkener See;

a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Neu Fietz and Schatarpi and south of Barenhütte and Lonken;

thence the median line of Lonkener See to its northernmost point;

thence to the southern end of Pollenziner See;

a line to be fixed on the ground;

thence the median line of Pollenziner See to its northernmost point;

thence in a north-easterly direction to a point about 1 kilometre south of Koliebkien church, where the Danzig-Neustadt railway crosses a stream;

a line to be fixed on the ground passing south-east of Kamehlen, Krissau, Fidlín, Sulmin (Richthof), Mattern Schäferei, and to the north-west of Neuendorf, Marschau, Czapielken, Hoch-and Klein-Kel-pin, Pulvermühl, Renneberg and the towns of Oliva and Zoppot;

thence the course of the stream mentioned above to the Baltic Sea.

### ARTICLE 101

A Commission composed of three members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, including a High Commissioner as President, one member appointed by Germany and one member appointed by Poland, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the coming into force of the present Treaty for the purpose of delimiting on the spot the frontier of the territory as described above, taking into account as far as possible the existing communal boundaries.

### ARTICLE 102

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to establish the town of Danzig, together with the rest of the territory described in Article 100, as a Free City. It will be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

### ARTICLE 103

A constitution for the Free City of Danzig shall be drawn up by the duly appointed representatives of the Free City in agreement with a High Commissioner to be appointed by the League of Nations. This constitution shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

The High Commissioner will also be entrusted with the duty of dealing in the first instance with all differences arising between Poland and the Free City of Danzig in regard to this Treaty or any arrangements or agreements made thereunder.

The High Commissioner shall reside at Danzig.

### ARTICLE 104

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to negotiate a Treaty between the Polish Government and the Free City of Danzig, which shall come into force at the same time as the establishment of the said Free City, with the following objects:

(1) To effect the inclusion of the Free City of Danzig within the Polish Customs frontiers, and to establish a free area in the port;

(2) To ensure to Poland without any restriction the free use and service of all waterways, docks, basins, wharves and other works within the territory of the Free City necessary for Polish imports and exports;

(3) To ensure to Poland the control and administration of the Vistula and of the whole railway system within the Free City, except such street and other railways as serve primarily the needs of the Free City, and of postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and the port of Danzig;

(4) To ensure to Poland the right to develop and improve the waterways, docks, basins, wharves, railways and other works and means of communication mentioned in this Article, as well as to lease or purchase through appropriate processes such land and other property as may be necessary for these purposes;

(5) To provide against any discrimination within the Free City of Danzig to the detriment of citizens of Poland and other persons of Polish origin or speech;

(6) To provide that the Polish Government shall undertake the conduct of the foreign relations of the Free City of Danzig as well as the diplomatic protection of citizens of that city when abroad.

### ARTICLE 105

On the coming into force of the present Treaty German nationals ordinarily resident in the territory described in Article 100 will *ipso facto* lose their German nationality, in order to become nationals of the Free City of Danzig.

### ARTICLE 106

Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age ordinarily resident in the territory



described in Article 100 will have the right to opt for German nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age.

All persons who exercise the right of option referred to above must during the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany.

These persons will be entitled to preserve the immovable property possessed by them in the territory of the Free City of Danzig. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties shall be imposed upon them in this connection.

## ARTICLE 107

All property situated within the territory of the Free City of Danzig belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers for transfer to the Free City of Danzig or to the Polish State as they may consider equitable.

## ARTICLE 108

The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia to be borne by the Free City of Danzig shall be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

All other questions which may arise from the cession of the territory referred to in Article 100 shall be settled by further agreements.

## SECTION XII.—SCHLESWIG

### ARTICLE 109

The frontier between Germany and Denmark shall be fixed in conformity with the wishes of the population.

For this purpose, the population inhabiting the territories of the former German Empire situated to the north of a line, from East to West:

leaving the Baltic Sea about 13 kilometres east-north-east of Flensburg,

running south-west so as to pass south-east of: Sygum, Ringsberg, Munkbrarup, Adelby, Tastrup, Jarplund, Oversee, and north-west of: Langballigholz, Langballig, Bönstrup, Rüllschau, Weseby, Kleinwolstrup, Gross-Solt,

thence westwards passing south of Frörup and north of Wanderup,

thence in a south-westerly direction passing south-east of Oxlund, Stieglund and Ostenau and north-west of the villages on the Wanderup-Kollund road,

thence, in a north-westerly direction passing south-west of Löwenstedt, Joldelund, Goldelund, and north-east of Kolkerheide and Högel to the bend of the Soholmer Au, about 1 kilometre east of Soholm, where it meets the southern boundary of the *Kreis* of Tondern,

following this boundary to the North Sea, passing south of the islands of Fohr and Amrum and north of the islands of Oland and Langeness,

shall be called upon to pronounce by a vote which will be taken under the following conditions:

(1.) Within a period not exceeding ten days from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the

German troops and authorities (including the *Oberpräsidenten*, *Regierungspräsidenten*, *Landräthe*, *Amtsvorsteher*, *Oberbürgermeister*) shall evacuate the zone lying to the north of the line above fixed.

Within the same period the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils which have been constituted in this zone shall be dissolved; members of such Councils who are natives of another region and are exercising their functions at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, or who have gone out of office since March 1, 1919, shall also be evacuated.



The frontiers of Schleswig under the terms of the Peace Treaty with Germany

The said zone shall immediately be placed under the authority of an International Commission, composed of five members, of whom three will be designated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; the Norwegian and Swedish Governments will each be requested to designate a member; in the event of their failing to do so, these two members will be chosen by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

The Commission, assisted in case of need by the necessary forces, shall have general powers of administration. In particular, it shall at once provide for filling the places of the evacuated German authorities, and if necessary shall itself give orders for their evacuation, and proceed to fill the places of such local authorities as may be required. It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to ensure the freedom, fairness, and secrecy of the vote. It shall be assisted

by German and Danish technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority.

One half of the expenses of the Commission and of the expenditure occasioned by the plebiscite shall be paid by Germany.

(2.) The right to vote shall be given to all persons without distinction of sex, who:

(a) Have completed their twentieth year at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty; and

(b) Were born in the zone in which the plebiscite is taken, or have been domiciled there since a date before January 1, 1900, or had been expelled by the German authorities without having retained their domicile there.

Every person will vote in the commune (*Gemeinde*) where he is domiciled or of which he is a native.

Military persons, officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the German army, who are natives of the zone of Schleswig in which the plebiscite is taken, shall be given opportunity to return to their native place in order to take part in the voting there.

(3.) In the section of the evacuated zone lying to the north of a line, from East to West:

passing south of the island of Alsens and following the median line of Flensburg Fjord.

leaving the fjord about 6 kilometres north of Flensburg and following the course of the stream flowing past Kupfermühle upstream to a point north of Niehuus,

passing north of Pattburg and Ellund and south of Fröslee to meet the eastern boundary of the *Kreis* of Tondern at its junction with the boundary between the old jurisdiction of Slogs and Kjær (*Slogs Herred* and *Kjær Herred*),

following the latter boundary to where it meets the Scheidebek,

following the course of the Scheidebek (Alte Au), Süder Au and Wied Au downstream successively to the point where the latter bends northwards about 1,500 metres west of Ruttebüll,

thence, in a west-north-westerly direction to meet the North Sea north of Sieltøft,

thence, passing north of the island of Sylt, the vote above provided for shall be taken within a period not exceeding three weeks after the evacuation of the country by the German troops and authorities.

The result will be determined by the majority of votes cast in the whole of this section. This result will be immediately communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and proclaimed.

If the vote results in favour of the reincorporation of this territory in the Kingdom of Denmark, the Danish Government in agreement with the Commission will be entitled to effect its occupation with their military and administrative authorities immediately after the proclamation.

(4.) In the section of the evacuated zone situated to the south of the preceding section and to the north of the line which starts from the Baltic Sea 13 kilometres from Flensburg and ends north of the islands of Oland and Lageness, the vote will be taken within a period not exceeding five weeks after the plebiscite shall have been held in the first section.

The result will be determined by communes (*Gemeinden*), in accordance with the majority of the votes cast in each commune (*Gemeinde*).

#### ARTICLE 110

Pending a delimitation on the spot, a frontier line will be fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers according to a line based on the result of the voting and proposed by the International Commission, and taking into account the particular geographical and economic conditions of the localities in question.

From that time the Danish Government may effect the occupation of these territories with the Danish civil and military authorities, and the German Government may reinstate up to the said frontier line the German civil and military authorities whom it has evacuated.

Germany hereby renounces definitively in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights of sovereignty over the territories situated to the north of the frontier line fixed in accordance with the above provisions. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will hand over the said territories to Denmark.

#### ARTICLE 111

A Commission composed of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Denmark, and one by Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the date when the final result of the vote is known, to trace the frontier line on the spot.

The decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority of votes and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

#### ARTICLE 112

All the inhabitants of the territory which is returned to Denmark will acquire Danish nationality *ipso facto*, and will lose their German nationality.

Persons, however, who had become habitually resident in this territory after October 1 1918, will not be able to acquire Danish nationality without permission from the Danish Government.

#### ARTICLE 113

Within two years from the date on which the sovereignty over the whole or part of the territory of Schleswig subjected to the plebiscite is restored to Denmark:

Any person over 18 years of age, born in the territory restored to Denmark, not habitually resident in this region, and possessing German nationality, will be entitled to opt for Denmark;

Any person over 18 years of age habitually resident in the territory restored to Denmark will be entitled to opt for Germany.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State in favour of which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain the immovable property which they own in the territory of the other State in which they were habitually resident before opting. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

## ARTICLE 114

The proportion and nature of the financial or other obligations of Germany and Prussia which are to be assumed by Denmark will be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Further stipulations will determine any other questions arising out of the transfer to Denmark of the whole or part of the territory of which she was deprived by the Treaty of October 30, 1864.

## SECTION XIII.—HELIGOLAND

### ARTICLE 115

The fortifications, military establishments, and harbours of the Islands of Heligoland and Dune shall be destroyed under the supervision of the Principal Allied Governments by German labour and at the expense of Germany within a period to be determined by the said Governments.

The term "harbours" shall include the north-east mole, the west wall, the outer and inner breakwaters and reclaimed land within them, and all naval and military works, fortifications and buildings, constructed or under construction, between lines connecting the following positions taken from the British Admiralty chart No. 126 of April 19, 1918:

(a).	lat.	54	10'	40" N.;	long.	7	53'	39" E.;
(b).	—	54	10'	35" N.;		7	54'	18" E.;
(c).	—	54	10'	14" N.;		7	54'	00" E.;
(d).	—	54	10'	17" N.;		7	53'	37" E.;
(e).	—	54	10'	44" N.;		7	53'	26" E.

These fortifications, military establishments and harbours shall not be reconstructed; nor shall any similar works be constructed in future.

## SECTION XIV.—RUSSIA AND RUSSIAN STATES

### ARTICLE 116

Germany acknowledges and agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all the territories which were part of the former Russian Empire on August 1, 1914.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 259 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) and Article 292 of Part X (Economic Clauses) Germany accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties and of all other treaties, conventions and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia.

The Allied and Associated Powers formally reserve the rights of Russia to obtain from Germany restitution and reparation based on the principles of the present Treaty.

### ARTICLE 117

Germany undertakes to recognize the full force of all treaties or agreements which may be entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Empire of Russia as it existed on August 1, 1914, and to recognize the frontiers of any such States as determined therein.

## PART IV

### GERMAN RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OUTSIDE GERMANY

#### ARTICLE 118

In territory outside her European frontiers as fixed by the present Treaty, Germany renounces all rights, titles and privileges whatever in or over territory which belonged to her or to her allies, and all rights, titles and privileges whatever their origin which she held as against the Allied and Associated Powers.

Germany hereby undertakes to recognise and to conform to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, in agreement where necessary with third Powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect.

In particular Germany declares her acceptance of the following Articles relating to certain special subjects.

### SECTION I.—GERMAN COLONIES

#### ARTICLE 119

Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions.

#### ARTICLE 120

All movable and immovable property in such territories belonging to the German Empire or to

any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority over such territories, on the terms laid down in Article 257 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty. The decision of the local courts in any dispute as to the nature of such property shall be final.

#### ARTICLE 121

The provisions of Sections I and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty shall apply in the case of these territories whatever be the form of Government adopted for them.

#### ARTICLE 122

The Government exercising authority over such territories may make such provisions as it thinks fit with reference to the repatriation from them of German nationals and to the conditions upon which German subjects of European origin shall, or shall not, be allowed to reside, hold property, trade or exercise a profession in them.

#### ARTICLE 123

The provisions of Article 260 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty shall apply in the case of all agreements concluded with German nationals for the construction or exploitation of public works



in the German oversea possessions, as well as any sub-concessions or contracts resulting therefrom which may have been made to or with such nationals.

#### ARTICLE 124

Germany hereby undertakes to pay, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by the French Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or the frontier zone by reason of the acts of the German civil and military authorities and of German private individuals during the period from January 1, 1900, to August 1, 1914.

#### ARTICLE 125

Germany renounces all rights under the Conventions and Agreements with France of November 4, 1911, and September 28, 1912, relating to Equatorial Africa. She undertakes to pay to the French Government, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by that Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, all the deposits, credits, advances, etc., effected by virtue of these instruments in favour of Germany.

#### ARTICLE 126

Germany undertakes to accept and observe the agreements made or to be made by the Allied and Associated Powers or some of them with any other Power with regard to the trade in arms and spirits, and to the matters dealt with in the General Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885, and the General Act of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the Conventions completing or modifying the same.

#### ARTICLE 127

The native inhabitants of the former German oversea possessions shall be entitled to the diplomatic protection of the Governments exercising authority over those territories.

### SECTION II.—CHINA

#### ARTICLE 128

Germany renounces in favour of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final Protocol signed at Peking on September 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favour of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to March 14, 1917.

#### ARTICLE 129

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them respectively:

- (1.) The Arrangement of August 29, 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff.
- (2.) The Arrangement of September 27, 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the Provisional supplementary Arrangement of April 4, 1912.

China, however, will no longer be bound to grant to Germany the advantages or privileges which she allowed Germany under these Arrangements.

#### ARTICLE 130

Subject to the provisions of Section VIII of this Part, Germany cedes to China all the buildings, wharves and pontoons, barracks, forts, arms and

munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property belonging to the German Government, which are situated or may be in the German Concessions at Tientsin and Hankow or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the German public and private property situated within the so-called Legation Quarter at Peking, without the consent of the Diplomatic Representatives of the Powers which, on the coming into force of the present Treaty, remain Parties to the Final Protocol of September 7, 1901.

#### ARTICLE 131

Germany undertakes to restore to China within twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty all the astronomical instruments which her troops in 1900-1901 carried away from China, and to defray all expenses which may be incurred in effecting such restoration, including the expenses of dismounting, packing, transporting, insurance and installation in Peking.

#### ARTICLE 132

Germany agrees to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the German Concessions at Hankow and Tientsin are now held.

China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above areas, declares her intention of opening them to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which these concessions are now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who are holders of lots in these concessions.

#### ARTICLE 133

Germany waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any Allied or Associated Government arising out of the internment of German nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of German ships in China, or the liquidation, sequestration or control of German properties, rights and interests in that country since August 14, 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

#### ARTICLE 134

Germany renounces in favour of the Government of His Britannic Majesty the German State property in the British Concession at Shameen, at Canton. She renounces in favour of the French and Chinese Governments conjointly the property of the German school situated in the French Concession at Shanghai.

### SECTION III.—SIAM

#### ARTICLE 135

Germany recognises that all treaties, conventions and agreements between her and Siam, and all rights, title and privileges derived therefrom, including all rights of extraterritorial jurisdiction, terminated as from July 22, 1917.

## ARTICLE 136

All goods and property in Siam belonging to the German Empire or to any German State, with the exception of premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, pass *ipso facto* and without compensation to the Siamese Government.

The goods, property and private rights of German nationals in Siam shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE 137

Germany waives all claims against the Siamese Government on behalf of herself or her nationals arising out of the seizure or condemnation of German ships, the liquidation of German property, or the internment of German nationals in Siam. This provision shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

## SECTION IV.—LIBERIA

### ARTICLE 138

Germany renounces all rights and privileges arising from the arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, and particularly the right to nominate a German Receiver of Customs in Liberia.

She further renounces all claim to participate in any measures whatsoever which may be adopted for the rehabilitation of Liberia.

### ARTICLE 139

Germany recognizes that all treaties and arrangements between her and Liberia terminated as from August 4, 1917.

### ARTICLE 140

The property, rights and interests of Germans in Liberia shall be dealt with in accordance with Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

## SECTION V.—MOROCCO

### ARTICLE 141

Germany renounces all rights, titles and privileges conferred on her by the General Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German Agreements of February 9, 1909, and November 4, 1911. All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by her with the Sherifian Empire are regarded as abrogated as from August 3, 1914.

In no case can Germany take advantage of these instruments and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco which may take place between France and the other Powers.

### ARTICLE 142

Germany having recognized the French Protectorate in Morocco, hereby accepts all the consequences of its establishment, and she renounces the régime of the capitulations therein.

This renunciation shall take effect as from August 3, 1914.

### ARTICLE 143

The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals in Morocco and the conditions in which they may establish themselves there.

German protected persons, *semsars* and "associés agricoles" shall be considered as having ceased, as from August 3, 1914, to enjoy the privileges attached to their status and shall be subject to the ordinary law.

## ARTICLE 144

All property and possessions in the Sherifian Empire of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Maghzen without payment.

For this purpose the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Mining rights which may be recognized as belonging to German nationals by the Court of Arbitration set up under the Moroccan Mining Regulations shall form the subject of a valuation, which the arbitrators shall be requested to make, and these rights shall then be treated in the same way as property in Morocco belonging to German nationals.

## ARTICLE 145

The German Government shall ensure the transfer to a person nominated by the French Government of the shares representing Germany's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. The value of these shares, as assessed by the Reparation Commission, shall be paid to the Reparation Commission for the credit of Germany on account of the sums due for reparation. The German Government shall be responsible for indemnifying its nationals so disappointed.

This transfer will take place without prejudice to the repayment of debts which German nationals may have contracted towards the State Bank of Morocco.

## ARTICLE 146

Moroccan goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods.

## SECTION VI.—EGYPT

### ARTICLE 147

Germany declares that she recognises the Protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on December 18, 1914, and that she renounces the régime of the Capitulations in Egypt.

This renunciation shall take effect as from August 4, 1914.

### ARTICLE 148

All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by Germany with Egypt are regarded as abrogated as from August 4, 1914.

In no case can Germany avail herself of these instruments and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt which may take place between Great Britain and the other Powers.

### ARTICLE 149

Until an Egyptian law of judicial organization establishing courts with universal jurisdiction comes into force, provision shall be made, by means of decrees issued by His Highness the Sultan, for the exercise of jurisdiction over German nationals and property by the British Consular Tribunals.

## ARTICLE 150

The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in Egypt.

## ARTICLE 151

Germany consents to the abrogation of the decree issued by His Highness the Khedive on November 28, 1904, relating to the Commission of the Egyptian Public Debt, or to such changes as the Egyptian Government may think it desirable to make therein.

## ARTICLE 152

Germany consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to His Britannic Majesty's Government of the powers conferred on His Imperial Majesty the Sultan by the Convention signed at Constantinople on October 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

She renounces all participation in the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt and consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to the Egyptian Authorities of the powers of that Board.

## ARTICLE 153

All property and possessions in Egypt of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Egyptian Government without payment.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE 154

Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

## SECTION VII.—TURKEY AND BULGARIA

## ARTICLE 155

Germany undertakes to recognise and accept all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers may make with Turkey and Bulgaria with

reference to any rights, interests and privileges whatever which might be claimed by Germany or her nationals in Turkey and Bulgaria and which are not dealt with in the provisions of the present Treaty.

## SECTION VIII.—SHANTUNG

## ARTICLE 156

Germany renounces, in favour of Japan, all her rights, title and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines and submarine cables—which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and material for the exploitation of the mines, are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German State submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

## ARTICLE 157

The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiaochow, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

## ARTICLE 158

Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiaochow.

Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding Articles.

## PART V

## MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR CLAUSES

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow.

## SECTION I.—MILITARY CLAUSES

## CHAPTER I.—EFFECTIVES AND CADRES OF THE GERMAN ARMY

## ARTICLE 159

The German military forces shall be demobilized and reduced as prescribed hereinafter.

## ARTICLE 160

(1.) By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920, the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry.

After that date the total number of effectives in the Army of the States constituting Germany must not exceed one hundred thousand men, including officers and establishments of depots. The Army shall be devoted exclusively to the maintenance of order within the territory and to the control of the frontiers.

The total effective strength of officers, including



the personnel of staffs, whatever their composition, must not exceed four thousand.

(2.) Divisions and Army Corps headquarters staffs shall be organised in accordance with Table No. I annexed to this Section.

The number and strengths of the units of infantry, artillery, engineers, technical services and troops laid down in the aforesaid Table constitute maxima which must not be exceeded.

The following units may each have their own depot:

- An Infantry regiment;
- A Cavalry regiment;
- A regiment of Field Artillery;
- A battalion of Pioneers.

(3.) The divisions must not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs.

The maintenance or formation of forces differently grouped or of other organisations for the command of troops or for preparation for war is forbidden.

The Great German General Staff and all similar organizations shall be dissolved and may not be re-constituted in any form.

The officers, or persons in the position of officers, in the Ministries of War in the different States in Germany and in the Administrations attached to them, must not exceed three hundred in number and are included in the maximum strength of four thousand laid down in the third sub-paragraph of paragraph (1) of this article.

## ARTICLE 161

Army administrative services consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives prescribed by the present Treaty will have such personnel reduced in each class to one-tenth of that laid down in the Budget of 1913.

## ARTICLE 162

The number of employees or officials of the German States, such as customs officers, forest guards and coastguards, shall not exceed that of the employees or officials functioning in these capacities in 1913.

The number of gendarmes and employees or officials of the local or municipal police may only be increased to an extent corresponding to the increase of population since 1913 in the districts or municipalities in which they are employed.

These employees and officials may not be assembled for military training.

## ARTICLE 163

The reduction of the strength of the German military forces as provided for in Article 160 may be effected gradually in the following manner:

Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the total number of effectives must be reduced to 200,000 and the number of units must not exceed twice the number of those laid down in Article 160.

At the expiration of this period, and at the end of each subsequent period of three months, a Conference of military experts of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers will fix the reductions to be made in the ensuing three months, so that by March 31, 1920, at the latest the total number of German effec-

tives does not exceed the maximum number of 100,000 men laid down in Article 160. In these successive reductions the same ratio between the number of officers and of men, and between the various kinds of units, shall be maintained as is laid down in that Article.

## CHAPTER II.—ARMAMENT, MUNITIONS AND MATERIAL

### ARTICLE 164

Up till the time at which Germany is admitted as a member of the League of Nations the German Army must not possess an armament greater than the amounts fixed in Table No. II annexed to this Section, with the exception of an optional increase not exceeding one-twentyfifth part for small arms and one-fiftieth part for guns, which shall be exclusively used to provide for such eventual replacements as may be necessary.

Germany agrees that after she has become a member of the League of Nations the armaments fixed in the said Table shall remain in force until they are modified by the Council of the League. Furthermore she hereby agrees strictly to observe the decisions of the Council of the League on this subject.

### ARTICLE 165

The maximum number of guns, machine guns, trench-mortars, rifles and the amount of ammunition and equipment which Germany is allowed to maintain during the period between the coming into force of the present Treaty and the date of March 31, 1920, referred to in Article 160, shall bear the same proportion to the amount authorized in Table No. III annexed to this Section as the strength of the German Army as reduced from time to time in accordance with Article 163 bears to the strength permitted under Article 160.

### ARTICLE 166

At the date of March 31, 1920, the stock of munitions which the German Army may have at its disposal shall not exceed the amounts fixed in Table No. III annexed to this Section.

Within the same period the German Government will store these stocks at points to be notified to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government is forbidden to establish any other stocks, depots or reserves of munitions.

### ARTICLE 167

The number and calibre of the guns constituting at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty the armament of the fortified works, fortresses, and any land or coast forts which Germany is allowed to retain must be notified immediately by the German Government to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, and will constitute maximum amounts which may not be exceeded.

Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the maximum stock of ammunition for these guns will be reduced to, and maintained at, the following uniform rates:—fifteen hundred rounds per piece for those the calibre of which is 10.5 cm. and under; five hundred rounds per piece for those of higher calibre.

## ARTICLE 168

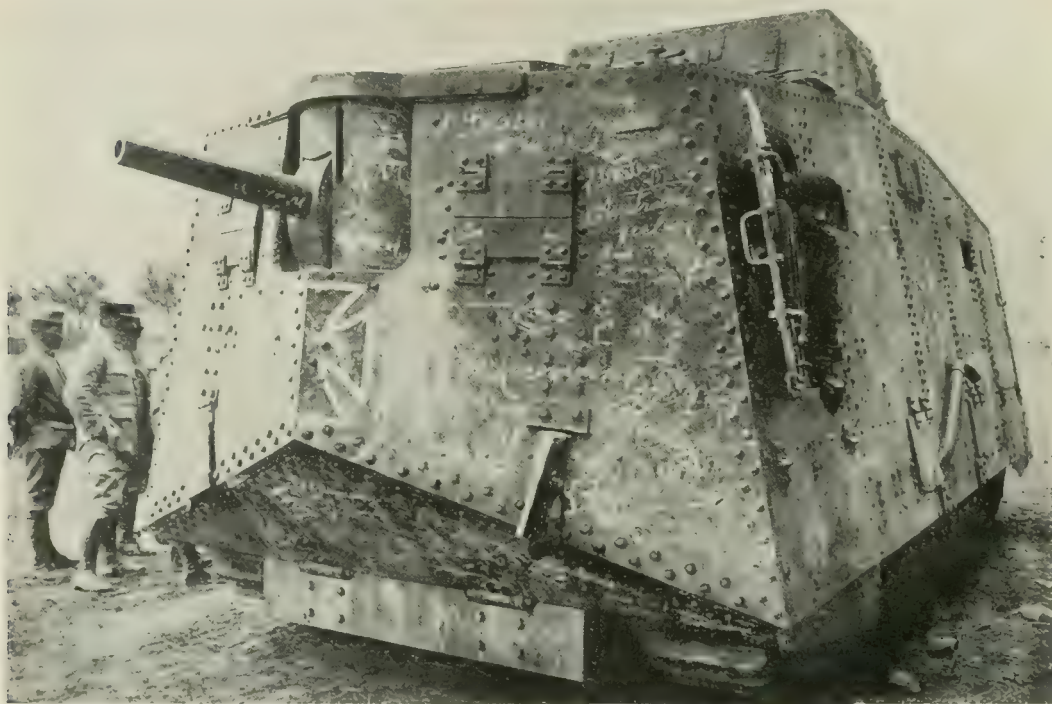
The manufacture of arms, munitions, or any war material, shall only be carried out in factories or works the location of which shall be communicated to and approved by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, and the number of which they retain the right to restrict.

Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, all other establishments for the manufacture, preparation, storage or design of arms, munitions, or any war material whatever shall be

points in German territory as may be selected by the said Governments.

Within the same period arms, munitions and war material, including anti-aircraft material, of origin other than German, in whatever state they may be, will be delivered to the said Governments, who will decide as to their disposal.

Arms and munitions which on account of the successive reductions in the strength of the German army become in excess of the amounts authorized by Tables II and III annexed to this Section must be handed over in the manner laid down above within



French Official Photograph

One of the German Tanks captured on the Western Front

closed down. The same applies to all arsenals except those used as depots for the authorized stocks of munitions. Within the same period the personnel of these arsenals will be dismissed.

## ARTICLE 169

Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty German arms, munitions and war material, including anti-aircraft material, existing in Germany in excess of the quantities allowed, must be surrendered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to be destroyed or rendered useless. This will also apply to any special plant intended for the manufacture of military material, except such as may be recognised as necessary for equipping the authorized strength of the German Army.

The surrender in question will be effected at such

such periods as may be decided by the Conference: referred to in Article 163.

## ARTICLE 170

Importation into Germany of arms, munitions and war material of every kind shall be strictly prohibited.

The same applies to the manufacture for, and export to, foreign countries of arms, munitions and war material of every kind.

## ARTICLE 171

The use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices being prohibited, their manufacture and importation are strictly forbidden in Germany.

The same applies to materials specially intended

for the manufacture, storage and use of the said products or devices.

The manufacture and the importation into Germany of armoured cars, tanks and all similar constructions suitable for use in war are also prohibited.

## ARTICLE 172

Within a period of three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the German Government will disclose to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers the nature and mode of manufacture of all explosives, toxic substances or other like chemical preparations used by them in the war or prepared by them for the purpose of being so used.

## CHAPTER III.—RECRUITING AND MILITARY TRAINING

### ARTICLE 173

Universal compulsory military service shall be abolished in Germany.

The German Army may only be constituted and recruited by means of voluntary enlistment.

### ARTICLE 174

The period of enlistment for non-commissioned officers and privates must be twelve consecutive years.

The number of men discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of enlistment must not exceed in any year five per cent. of the total effectives fixed by the second sub-paragraph of paragraph (1) of Article 160 of the present Treaty.

### ARTICLE 175

The officers who are retained in the Army must undertake the obligation to serve in it up to the age of forty-five years at least.

Officers newly appointed must undertake to serve on the active list for twenty-five consecutive years at least.

Officers who have previously belonged to any formations whatever of the Army, and who are not retained in the units allowed to be maintained, must not take part in any military exercise whether theoretical or practical, and will not be under any military obligations whatever.

The number of officers discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed in any year five per cent. of the total effectives of officers provided for in the third sub-paragraph of paragraphs (1) of Article 160 of the present Treaty.

### ARTICLE 176

On the expiration of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty there must only exist in Germany the number of military schools which is absolutely indispensable for the recruitment of the officers of the units allowed. These schools will be exclusively intended for the recruitment of officers of each arm, in the proportion of one school per arm.

The number of students admitted to attend the courses of the said schools will be strictly in proportion to the vacancies to be filled in the cadres of officers. The students and the cadres will be reckoned in the effectives fixed by the second and third

sub-paragraphs of paragraph (1) of Article 160 of the present Treaty.

Consequently, and during the period fixed above, all military academies or other similar institutions in Germany, as well as the different military schools for officers, student officers (*Aspiranten*), cadets, non-commissioned officers or student non-commissioned officers (*Aspiranten*), other than the schools above provided for, will be abolished.

### ARTICLE 177

Educational establishments, the universities, societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs and, generally speaking, associations of every description, whatever be the age of their members, must not occupy themselves with any military matters.

In particular they will be forbidden to instruct or exercise their members, or to allow them to be instructed or exercised, in the profession or use of arms.

These societies, associations, educational establishments and universities must have no connection with the Ministries of War or any other military authority.

### ARTICLE 178

All measures of mobilization or appertaining to mobilization are forbidden.

In no case must formations, administrative services or General Staffs include supplementary cadres.

### ARTICLE 179

Germany agrees, from the coming into force of the present Treaty, not to accredit nor to send to any foreign country any military, naval or air mission, nor to allow any such mission to leave her territory, and Germany further agrees to take appropriate measures to prevent German nationals from leaving her territory to become enrolled in the Army, Navy or Air Service of any foreign Power, or to be attached to such Army, Navy or Air service for the purpose of assisting in the military, naval or air training thereof, or otherwise for the purpose of giving military, naval or air instruction in any foreign country.

The Allied and Associated Powers agree, so far as they are concerned, from the coming into force of the present Treaty, not to enrol in nor to attach to their armies or naval or air forces any German national for the purpose of assisting in the military training of such armies, or naval or air forces, or otherwise to employ any such German national as military, naval or aeronautic instructor.

The present provision does not, however, affect the right of France to recruit for the Foreign Legion in accordance with French military laws and regulations.

## CHAPTER IV.—FORTIFICATIONS

### ARTICLE 180

All fortified works, fortresses and field works situated in Germany territory to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometres to the east of the Rhine shall be disarmed and dismantled.

Within a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty such of the above fortified works, fortresses and field works as are situated in territory not occupied by Allied and



Associated troops shall be disarmed, and within a further period of four months they shall be dismantled. Those which are situated in territory occupied by Allied and Associated troops shall be disarmed and dismantled within such periods as may be fixed by the Allied High Command.

The construction of any new fortification, whatever its nature and importance, is forbidden in the zone referred to in the first paragraph above.

The system of fortified works of the southern and eastern frontiers of Germany shall be maintained in its existing state.

TABLE No. 1

STATE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS STAFFS  
AND OF INFANTRY AND CAVALRY DIVISIONS

These tabular statements do not form a fixed establishment to be imposed on Germany, but the figures contained in them (number of units and strengths) represent maximum figures, which should not in any case be exceeded.

## I.—ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS STAFFS

UNIT.	MAXIMUM No. AUTHORIZED.	MAXIMUM STRENGTHS OF EACH UNIT.	
		Officers.	N.C.O.'s and Men.
Army Corps Headquarters Staff.....	2	30	150
TOTAL for Headquarters Staffs .....		60	300

## II.—ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFANTRY DIVISION

UNIT.	MAXIMUM No. OF SUCH Units in a Single Division.	MAXIMUM STRENGTHS OF EACH UNIT.	
		Officers.	N.C.O.'s and Men.
Headquarters of an infantry division .....	1	25	70
Headquarters of divisional infantry .....	1	4	30
Headquarters of divisional artillery .....	1	4	30
Regiment of infantry .....	3	70	2,300
(Each regiment comprises 3 battalions of infantry. Each battalion comprises 3 companies of infantry and 1 machine gun company.)			
Trench mortar company .....	3	6	150
Divisional squadron .....	1	6	150
Field artillery regiment .....	1	85	1,300
(Each regiment comprises 3 groups of artillery. Each group comprises 3 batteries.)			
Pioneer battalion .....	1	12	400
(This battalion comprises 2 companies of pioneers, 1 pontoon detachment, 1 searchlight section.)			
Signal detachment .....	1	12	300
(This detachment comprises 1 telephone detachment, 1 listening section, 1 carrier pigeon section.)			
Divisional medical service .....	1	20	400
Parks and convoys .....		14	800
TOTAL for infantry division .....		410	10,830

## III.—ESTABLISHMENT OF A CAVALRY DIVISION

UNIT.	MAXIMUM No. OF SUCH Units in a Single Division.	MAXIMUM STRENGTHS OF EACH UNIT.	
		Officers.	N.C.O.'s and men.
Headquarters of a cavalry division .....	1	15	50
Cavalry regiment .....	6	40	800
(Each regiment comprises 4 squadrons) .....			
Horse artillery group (3 batteries) .....	1	20	400
 Total for cavalry division .....		275	5 250

### TABLE No. II

TABULAR STATEMENT OF ARMAMENT ESTABLISHMENT FOR A MAXIMUM OF  
7 INFANTRY DIVISIONS, 3 CAVALRY DIVISIONS, AND 2 ARMY CORPS  
HEADQUARTERS STAFFS.

MATERIAL.	INFAN- TRY DIVISION	FOR 7 INFANTRY Divisions.	CAV- ALRY. DIVISION.	FOR 3 CAVALRY Divisions.	2 ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS STAFFS.	TOTAL OF COLUMNS 2, 4 and 5
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rifles .....	12,000	84,000			This establishment must be drawn from the increased arma- ments of the div- isional infantry.	84,000
Carbines .....			6,000	18,000		18,000
Heavy machine guns .....	108	756	12	36		792
Light machine guns .....	162	1,134				1,134
Medium trench mortars ..	9	63				63
Light trench mortars .....	27	189				189
7.7 cm. guns .....	24	168	12	36		204
10.5 cm. howitzers .....	12	84				84

### TABLE No. III

MAXIMUM STOCKS AUTHORIZED

MATERIAL.	MAXIMUM NUMBER of Arms authorized.	ESTABLISH- MENT	MAXIMUM
		PER UNIT.	TOTALS
		Rounds.	Rounds.
Rifles .....	84,000	/	
Carbines .....	18 000	/	40,800,000
Heavy machine guns .....	792	/	
Light machine guns .....	1,134	/	15,408,000
Medium trench mortars .....	63	400	25,200
Light trench mortars .....	189	800	151 200
Field artillery:			
7.7 cm. guns .....	204	1,000	204,000
10.5 cm. howitzers .....	84	800	67,200

## SECTION II.—NAVAL CLAUSES

## ARTICLE 181

After the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the German naval forces in commission must not exceed:

6 battleships of the *Deutschland* or *Lothringen* type,  
6 light cruisers,  
12 destroyers,  
12 torpedo boats,

or an equal number of ships constructed to replace them as provided in Article 190.

No submarines are to be included.

All other warships, except where there is provision to the contrary in the present Treaty, must be placed in reserve or devoted to commercial purposes.

## ARTICLE 182

Until the completion of the minesweeping prescribed by Article 193 Germany will keep in commission such number of minesweeping vessels as may be fixed by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

## ARTICLE 183

After the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the total personnel of the German Navy, including the manning of the fleet, coast defences, signal stations, administration and other land services, must not exceed fifteen thousand, including officers and men of all grades and corps.

The total strength of officers and warrant officers must not exceed fifteen hundred.

Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the personnel in excess of the above strength shall be demobilized.

No naval or military corps or reserve force in connection with the Navy may be organized in Germany without being included in the above strength.

## ARTICLE 184

From the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty all the German surface warships which are not in German ports cease to belong to Germany, who renounces all rights over them.

Vessels which, in compliance with the Armistice of November 11, 1918, are now interned in the ports of the Allied and Associated Powers are declared to be finally surrendered.

Vessels which are now interned in neutral ports will be there surrendered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government must address a notification to that effect to the neutral Powers on the coming into force of the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE 185

Within a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the German surface warships enumerated below will be surrendered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in such Allied ports as the said Powers may direct.

These warships will have been disarmed as provided in Article XXIII of the Armistice of November

11, 1918. Nevertheless they must have all their guns on board.

## BATTLESHIPS

<i>Oldenburg.</i>	<i>Posen.</i>
<i>Thuringen.</i>	<i>Westfalen.</i>
<i>Ostfriesland.</i>	<i>Rheinland.</i>
<i>Helgoland.</i>	<i>Nassau.</i>

## LIGHT CRUISERS

<i>Stettin.</i>	<i>Stralsund.</i>
<i>Danzig.</i>	<i>Augsburg.</i>
<i>München.</i>	<i>Kolberg.</i>
<i>Lübeck.</i>	<i>Stuttgart.</i>

and, in addition, forty-two modern destroyers and fifty modern torpedo boats, as chosen by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

## ARTICLE 186

On the coming into force of the present Treaty the German Government must undertake, under the supervision of the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the breaking-up of all the German surface warships now under construction.

## ARTICLE 187

The German auxiliary cruisers and fleet auxiliaries enumerated below will be disarmed and treated as merchant ships.

## INTERNED IN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES

<i>Berlin.</i>	<i>Seydlitz.</i>
<i>Santa Fé.</i>	<i>Yorck.</i>

## IN GERMANY

<i>Ammon.</i>	<i>Fürst Bülow.</i>
<i>Answald.</i>	<i>Gertrud.</i>
<i>Bosnia.</i>	<i>Kigoma.</i>
<i>Cordoba.</i>	<i>Rugia.</i>
<i>Cassel.</i>	<i>Santa Elena.</i>
<i>Dania.</i>	<i>Schleswig.</i>
<i>Rio Negro.</i>	<i>Möwe.</i>
<i>Rio Pardo.</i>	<i>Sierra Ventana.</i>
<i>Santa Cruz.</i>	<i>Chemnitz.</i>
<i>Schwaben.</i>	<i>Emil Georg von Strauss.</i>
<i>Solingen.</i>	<i>Habsburg.</i>
<i>Steigervald.</i>	<i>Meteor.</i>
<i>Franken.</i>	<i>Waltraute.</i>
<i>Gundomar.</i>	<i>Scharnhorst.</i>

## ARTICLE 188

On the expiration of one month from the coming into force of the present Treaty all German submarines, submarine salvage vessels and docks for submarines, including the tubular dock, must have been handed over to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Such of these submarines, vessels and docks as are considered by the said Governments to be fit to proceed under their own power or to be towed shall be taken by the German Government into such Allied ports as have been indicated.

The remainder, and also those in course of construction, shall be broken up entirely by the German Government under the supervision of the said Governments. The breaking-up must be completed



within three months at the most after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE 189

Articles, machinery and material arising from the breaking-up of German warships of all kinds, whether surface vessels or submarines, may not be used except for purely industrial or commercial purposes.

They may not be sold or disposed of to foreign countries.

## ARTICLE 190

Germany is forbidden to construct or acquire any warships other than those intended to replace the units in commission provided for in Article 181 of the present Treaty.

The warships intended for replacement purposes as above shall not exceed the following displacement:

Armoured ships .....	10,000 tons,
Light cruisers .....	6,000 tons,
Destroyers .....	800 tons,
Torpedo boats .....	200 tons.

Except where a ship has been lost, units of the different classes shall only be replaced at the end of a period of twenty years in the case of battleships and cruisers, and fifteen years in the case of destroyers and torpedo boats, counting from the launching of the ship.

## ARTICLE 191

The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, shall be forbidden in Germany.

## ARTICLE 192

The warships in commission of the German fleet must have on board or in reserve only the allowance of arms, munitions and war material fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Within a month from the fixing of the quantities as above, arms, munitions and war material of all kinds, including mines and torpedoes, now in the hands of the German Government and in excess of the said quantities, shall be surrendered to the Governments of the said Powers at places to be indicated by them. Such arms, munitions and war material will be destroyed or rendered useless.

All other stocks, depots or reserves of arms, munitions or naval war material of all kinds are forbidden.

The manufacture of these articles in German territory for, and their export to, foreign countries shall be forbidden.

## ARTICLE 193

On the coming into force of the present Treaty Germany will forthwith sweep up the mines in the following areas in the North Sea to the eastward of longitude 4° 00' E. of Greenwich:

(1) Between parallels of latitude 53° 00' N. and 59° 00' N.; (2) To the northward of latitude 63° 30' N.

Germany must keep these areas free from mines.

Germany must also sweep and keep free from mines such areas in the Baltic as may ultimately be notified by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

## ARTICLE 194

The personnel of the German Navy shall be recruited entirely by voluntary engagements entered into for a minimum period of twenty-five consecutive

years for officers and warrant officers; twelve consecutive years for petty officers and men.

The number engaged to replace those discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed five per cent. per annum of the totals laid down in this Section (Article 183).

The personnel discharged from the Navy must not receive any kind of naval or military training or undertake any further service in the Navy or Army.

Officers belonging to the German Navy and not demobilised must engage to serve till the age of forty-five, unless discharged for sufficient reasons.

No officer or man of the German mercantile marine shall receive any training in the Navy.

## ARTICLE 195

In order to ensure free passage into the Baltic to all nations, Germany shall not erect any fortifications in the area comprised between latitudes 55° 27' N. and 54° 00' N. and longitudes 9° 00' E. and 16° 00' E. of the meridian of Greenwich, nor instal any guns commanding the maritime routes between the North Sea and the Baltic. The fortifications now existing in this area shall be demolished and the guns removed under the supervision of the Allied Governments and in periods to be fixed by them.

The German Government shall place at the disposal of the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all hydrographical information now in its possession concerning the channels and adjoining waters between the Baltic and the North Sea.

## ARTICLE 196

All fortified works and fortifications, other than those mentioned in Section XIII (Heligoland) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe) and in Article 195, now established within fifty kilometres of the German coast or on German islands off that coast shall be considered as of a defensive nature and may remain in their existing condition.

No new fortifications shall be constructed within these limits. The armament of these defences shall not exceed, as regards the number and calibre of guns, those in position at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty. The German Government shall communicate forthwith particulars thereof to all the European Governments.

On the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the stocks of ammunition for these guns shall be reduced to and maintained at a maximum figure of fifteen hundred rounds per piece for calibres of 4.1 inch and under, and five hundred rounds per piece for higher calibres.

## ARTICLE 197

During the three months following the coming into force of the present Treaty the German high-power wireless telegraphy stations at Nauen, Hanover and Berlin shall not be used for the transmission of messages concerning naval, military or political questions of interest to Germany or any State which has been allied to Germany in the war, without the assent of the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. These stations may be used for commercial purposes, but only under the supervision of the said Governments, who will decide the wave-length to be used.

During the same period Germany shall not build any more high-power wireless telegraphy stations in

her own territory or that of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey.

### SECTION III.—AIR CLAUSES

#### ARTICLE 198

The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces.

Germany may, during a period not extending beyond October 1, 1919, maintain a maximum number of one hundred seaplanes or flying boats, which shall be exclusively employed in searching for submarine mines, shall be furnished with the necessary equipment for this purpose, and shall in no case carry arms, munitions or bombs of any nature whatever.

In addition to the engines installed in the seaplanes or flying boats above mentioned, one spare engine may be provided for each engine of each of these craft.

No dirigible shall be kept.

#### ARTICLE 199

Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the personnel of the air forces on the rolls of the German land and sea forces shall be demobilised. Up to October 1, 1919, however, Germany may keep and maintain a total number of one thousand men, including officers, for the whole of the cadres and personnel, flying and non-flying, of all formations and establishments.

#### ARTICLE 200

Until the complete evacuation of German territory by the Allied and Associated troops, the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Germany freedom of passage through the air, freedom of transit and of landing.

#### ARTICLE 201

During the six months following the coming into force of the present Treaty, the manufacture and importation of aircraft, parts of aircraft, engines for aircraft, and parts of engines for aircraft, shall be forbidden in all German territory.

#### ARTICLE 202

On the coming into force of the present Treaty, all military and naval aeronautical material, except the machines mentioned in the second and third paragraphs of Article 198, must be delivered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Delivery must be effected at such places as the said Governments may select, and must be completed within three months.

In particular, this material will include all items under the following heads which are or have been in use or were designed for warlike purposes:

Complete aeroplanes and seaplanes, as well as those being manufactured, repaired or assembled.

Dirigibles able to take the air, being manufactured, repaired or assembled.

Plant for the manufacture of hydrogen.

Dirigible sheds and shelters of every kind for aircraft.

Pending their delivery, dirigibles will, at the expense of Germany, be maintained inflated with hydro-

gen; the plant for the manufacture of hydrogen as well as the sheds for dirigibles, may, at the discretion of the said Powers, be left to Germany until the time when the dirigibles are handed over.

Engines for aircraft.

Nacelles and fuselages.

Armament (guns, machine guns, light machine guns, bomb-dropping apparatus, torpedo-dropping apparatus, synchronisation apparatus, aiming apparatus).

Munitions (cartridges, shells, bombs loaded or unloaded, stocks of explosives or material for their manufacture).

Instruments for use on aircraft.

Wireless apparatus and photographic or cinematograph apparatus for use on aircraft.

Component parts of any of the items under the preceding heads.

The material referred to above shall not be removed without special permission from the said Governments.

### SECTION IV. — INTER-ALLIED COMMISSIONS OF CONTROL

#### ARTICLE 203

All the military, naval and air clauses contained in the present Treaty, for the execution of which a time-limit is prescribed, shall be executed by Germany under the control of Inter-Allied Commissions specially appointed for this purpose by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

#### ARTICLE 204

The Inter-Allied Commissions of Control will be specially charged with the duty of seeing to the complete execution of the delivery, destruction, demolition and rendering things useless to be carried out at the expense of the German Government in accordance with the present Treaty.

They will communicate to the German authorities the decisions which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers have reserved the right to take, or which the execution of the military, naval and air clauses may necessitate.

#### ARTICLE 205

The Inter-Allied Commissions of Control may establish their organisations at the seat of the central German Government.

They shall be entitled as often as they think desirable to proceed to any point whatever in German territory, or to send sub-commissions, or to authorize one or more of their members to go, to any such point.

#### ARTICLE 206

The German Government must give all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of their missions to the Inter-Allied Commissions of Control and to their members.

It shall attach a qualified representative to each Inter-Allied Commission of Control for the purpose of receiving the communications which the Commission may have to address to the German Government and of supplying or procuring for the Commission all information or documents which may be required.

The German Government must in all cases furnish

at its own cost all labour and material required to effect the deliveries and the works of destruction, dismantling, demolition, and of rendering things useless, provided for in the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE 207

The upkeep and cost of the Commissions of Control and the expenses involved by their work shall be borne by Germany.

## ARTICLE 208

The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the military clauses.

In particular it will be its duty to receive from the German Government the notifications relating to the location of the stocks and depots of munitions, the armament of the fortified works, fortresses and forts which Germany is allowed to retain, and the location of the works or factories for the production of arms, munitions and war material and their operations.

It will take delivery of the arms, munitions and war material, will select the points where such delivery is to be effected, and will supervise the works of destruction, demolition, and of rendering things useless, which are to be carried out in accordance with the present Treaty.

The German Government must furnish to the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the latter may deem necessary to ensure the complete execution of the military clauses, and in particular all legislative and administrative documents and regulations.

## ARTICLE 209

The Naval Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the naval clauses.

In particular it will be its duty to proceed to the building yards and to supervise the breaking-up of the ships which are under construction there, to take delivery of all surface ships or submarines, salvage ships, docks and the tubular dock, and to supervise the destruction and breaking-up provided for.

The German Government must furnish to the Naval Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the Commission may deem necessary to ensure the complete execution of the naval clauses, in particular the designs of the warships, the composition of their armaments, the details and models of the guns, munitions, torpedoes, mines, explosives, wireless telegraphic apparatus and, in general, everything relating to naval war material, as

well as all legislative or administrative documents or regulations.

## ARTICLE 210

The Aeronautical Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the air clauses.

In particular it will be its duty to make an inventory of the aeronautical material existing in German territory, to inspect aeroplane, balloon and motor manufacturing, and factories producing arms, munitions and explosives capable of being used by aircraft, to visit all aerodromes, sheds, landing grounds, parks and depots, to authorize, where necessary, a removal of material and to take delivery of such material.

The German Government must furnish to the Aeronautical Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and legislative, administrative or other documents which the Commission may consider necessary to ensure the complete execution of the air clauses, and in particular a list of the personnel belonging to all the German Air Services, and of the existing material, as well as of that in process of manufacture or on order, and a list of all establishments working for aviation, of their positions, and of all sheds and landing grounds.

## SECTION V.—GENERAL ARTICLES

### ARTICLE 211

After the expiration of a period of three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the German laws must have been modified and shall be maintained by the German Government in conformity with this Part of the present Treaty.

Within the same period all the administrative or other measures relating to the execution of this Part of the Treaty must have been taken.

### ARTICLE 212

The following portions of the Armistice of November 11, 1918: Article VI, the first two and the sixth and seventh paragraphs of Article VII; Article IX: Clauses I, II and V of Annex No. 2, and the Protocol, dated April 4, 1919, supplementing the Armistice of November 11, 1918, remain in force so far as they are not inconsistent with the above stipulations.

### ARTICLE 213

So long as the present Treaty remains in force, Germany undertakes to give every facility for any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, acting if need be by a majority vote, may consider necessary.



## PART VI

## PRISONERS OF WAR AND GRAVES

## SECTION I.—PRISONERS OF WAR

## ARTICLE 214

The repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians shall take place as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty and shall be carried out with the greatest rapidity.

## ARTICLE 215

The repatriation of German prisoners of war and interned civilians shall, in accordance with Article 214, be carried out by a Commission composed of representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part and of the German Government on the other part.

For each of the Allied and Associated Powers a Sub-Commission, composed exclusively of Representatives of the interested Power and of Delegates of the German Government, shall regulate the details of carrying into effect the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

## ARTICLE 216

From the time of their delivery into the hands of the German authorities the prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be returned without delay to their homes by the said authorities.

Those amongst them who before the war were habitually resident in territory occupied by the troops of the Allied and Associated Powers are likewise to be sent to their homes, subject to the consent and control of the military authorities of the Allied and Associated armies of occupation.

## ARTICLE 217

The whole cost of repatriation from the moment of starting shall be borne by the German Government who shall also provide the land and sea transport and staff considered necessary by the Commission referred to in Article 215.

## ARTICLE 218

Prisoners of war and interned civilians awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offences against discipline shall be repatriated irrespective of the completion of their sentence or of the proceedings pending against them.

This stipulation shall not apply to prisoners of war and interned civilians punished for offences committed subsequent to May 1, 1919.

During the period pending their repatriation all prisoners of war and interned civilians shall remain subject to the existing regulations, more especially as regards work and discipline.

## ARTICLE 219

Prisoners of war and interned civilians who are awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offences other than those against discipline may be detained.

## ARTICLE 220

The German Government undertakes to admit to its territory without distinction all persons liable to repatriation.

Prisoners of war or other German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated may be excluded from repatriation; but the Allied and Associated Governments reserve to themselves the right either to repatriate them or to take them to a neutral country or to allow them to reside in their own territories.

The German Government undertakes not to institute any exceptional proceedings against these persons or their families nor to take any repressive or vexatious measures of any kind whatsoever against them on this account.

## ARTICLE 221

The Allied and Associated Governments reserve the right to make the repatriation of German prisoners of war or German nationals in their hands conditional upon the immediate notification and release by the German Government of any prisoners of war who are nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and may still be in Germany.

## ARTICLE 222

Germany undertakes:

(1.) To give every facility to Commissions to enquire into the cases of those who cannot be traced; to furnish such Commissions with all necessary means of transport; to allow them access to camps, prisons, hospitals and all other places; and to place at their disposal all documents, whether public or private, which would facilitate their enquiries;

(2.) To impose penalties upon any German officials or private persons who have concealed the presence of any nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers or have neglected to reveal the presence of any such after it had come to their knowledge.

## ARTICLE 223

Germany undertakes to restore without delay from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty all articles, money, securities and documents which have belonged to nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and which have been retained by the German authorities.

## ARTICLE 224

The High Contracting Parties waive reciprocally all repayment of sums due for the maintenance of prisoners of war in their respective territories.

## SECTION II.—GRAVES

## ARTICLE 225

The Allied and Associated Governments and the German Government will cause to be respected and maintained the graves of the soldiers and sailors buried in their respective territories.

They agree to recognise any Commission appointed by an Allied or Associated Government for the purpose of identifying, registering, caring for or erecting suitable memorials over the said graves and to facilitate the discharge of its duties.

Furthermore they agree to afford, so far as the provisions of their laws and the requirements of public health allow, every facility for giving effect to requests that the bodies of their soldiers and sailors may be transferred to their own country.

## ARTICLE 226

The graves of prisoners of war and interned civilians

who are nationals of the different belligerent States and have died in captivity shall be properly maintained in accordance with Article 225 of the present Treaty.

The Allied and Associated Governments on the one part and the German Government on the other part reciprocally undertake also to furnish to each other:

- (1.) A complete list of those who have died together with all information useful for identification;
- (2.) All information as to the number and position of the graves of all those who have been buried without identification.

## PART VII

### PENALTIES

#### ARTICLE 227

The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defence. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the following Powers: namely, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

In its decision the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy, with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed.

The Allied and Associated Powers will address a request to the Government of the Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-Emperor in order that he may be put on trial.

#### ARTICLE 228

The German Government recognises the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by the law. This

provision will apply notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecution before a tribunal in Germany or in the territory of her allies.

The German Government shall hand over to the Allied and Associated Powers, or to such one of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war, who are specified either by name or by the rank, office or employment which they held under the German authorities.

#### ARTICLE 229

Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before the military tribunals of that Power.

Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of more than one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before military tribunals composed of members of the military tribunals of the Powers concerned.

In every case the accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

#### ARTICLE 230

The German Government undertakes to furnish all documents and information of every kind, the production of which may be considered necessary to ensure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of offenders and the just appreciation of responsibility.

## PART VIII

### REPARATION

#### SECTION I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

##### ARTICLE 231

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of

the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

##### ARTICLE 232

The Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of

the present Treaty, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany by such aggression by land, by sea and from the air, and in general all damage as defined in Annex I hereto.

In accordance with Germany's pledges, already given, as to complete restoration for Belgium, Germany undertakes, in addition to the compensation for damage elsewhere in this Part provided for, as a consequence of the violation of the Treaty of 1839, to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, together with interest at the rate of five per cent. (5 %) per annum on such sums. This sum shall be determined by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government undertakes thereupon forthwith to make a special issue of bearer bonds to an equivalent amount payable in marks gold, on May 1, 1926, or, at the option of the German Government, on May 1 in any year up to 1926. Subject to the foregoing, the form of such bonds shall be determined by the Reparation Commission. Such bonds shall be handed over to the Reparation Commission, which has authority to take and acknowledge receipt thereof on behalf of Belgium.

#### ARTICLE 233

The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an Inter-Allied Commission, to be called the *Reparation Commission* and constituted in the form and with the powers set forth hereunder and in Annexes II to VII inclusive hereto.

This Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard.

The findings of the Commission as to the amount of damage defined as above shall be concluded and notified to the German Government on or before May 1, 1921, as representing the extent of that Government's obligations.

The Commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging the entire obligations, within a period of thirty years from May 1, 1921. If, however, within the period mentioned, Germany fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may, within the discretion of the Commission, be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the Allied and Associated Governments acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this Part of the present Treaty, shall determine.

#### ARTICLE 234

The Reparation Commission shall after May 1, 1921, from time to time, consider the resources and capacity of Germany, and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date, and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 233; but not to cancel any part, except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the Commission.

#### ARTICLE 235

In order to enable the Allied and Associated Powers to proceed at once to the restoration of their industrial and economic life, pending the full determination of their claims, Germany shall pay in such instalments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may fix, during 1919, 1920 and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks. Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the Armistice of November 11, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of the said Governments, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned towards liquidation of the amounts due for reparation. Germany shall further deposit bonds as prescribed in paragraph 12 (c) of Annex II hereto.

#### ARTICLE 236

Germany further agrees to the direct application of her economic resources to reparation as specified in Annexes III, IV, V and VI, relating respectively to merchant shipping, to physical restoration, to coal and derivatives of coal, and to dyestuffs and other chemical products; provided always that the value of the property transferred and any services rendered by her under these Annexes, assessed in the manner therein prescribed, shall be credited to her towards liquidation of her obligations under the above Articles.

#### ARTICLE 237

The successive instalments, including the above sum, paid over by Germany in satisfaction of the above claims will be divided by the Allied and Associated Governments in proportions which have been determined upon by them in advance on a basis of general equity and of the rights of each.

For the purpose of this division the value of property transferred and services rendered under Article 243, and under Annexes III, IV, V, VI and VII, shall be reckoned in the same manner as cash payments effected in that year.

#### ARTICLE 238

In addition to the payments mentioned above Germany shall effect, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Reparation Commission, restitution in cash of cash taken away, seized or sequestered, and also restitution of animals, objects of every nature and securities taken away, seized or sequestered, in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them in territory belonging to Germany or her allies.

Until this procedure is laid down, restitution will continue in accordance with the provisions of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and its renewals and the Protocols thereto.

#### ARTICLE 239

The German Government undertakes to make forthwith the restitution contemplated by Article 238 and to make the payments and deliveries contemplated by Articles 233, 234, 235 and 236.









FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY

DEMAY

*Marshal Foch*  
*Generalissimo of the Allied Armies on the Western Front*





## ARTICLE 240

The German Government recognizes the Commission provided for by Article 233 as the same may be constituted by the Allied and Associated Governments in accordance with Annex II, and agrees irrevocably to the possession and exercise by such Commission of the power and authority given to it under the present Treaty.

The German Government will supply to the Commission all the information which the Commission may require relative to the financial situation and operations and to the property, productive capacity, and stocks and current production of raw materials

## ARTICLE 242

The provisions of this part of the present Treaty do not apply to the property, rights and interests referred to in Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, nor to the product of their liquidation, except so far as concerns any final balance in favour of Germany under Article 243 (a).

## ARTICLE 243

The following shall be reckoned as credits to Germany in respect of her reparation obligations:—

(a) Any final balance in favour of Germany under



Roubaix Station, blown up by the Germans during their retreat in October, 1918

and manufactured articles of Germany and her nationals, and further any information relative to military operations which in the judgment of the Commission may be necessary for the assessment of Germany's liability for reparation as defined in Annex I.

The German Government will accord to the members of the Commission and its authorised agents the same rights and immunities as are enjoyed in Germany by duly accredited diplomatic agents of friendly Powers.

Germany further agrees to provide for the salaries and expenses of the Commission and of such staff as it may employ.

## ARTICLE 241

Germany undertakes to pass, issue and maintain in force any legislation, orders and decrees that may be necessary to give complete effect to these provisions.

VOL. IX.

Section V (Alsace-Lorraine) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe) and Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty;

(b) Amounts due to Germany in respect of transfers under Section IV (Saar Basin) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe), Part IX (Financial Clauses), and Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways);

(c) Amounts which in the judgment of the Reparation Commission should be credited to Germany on account of any other transfers under the present Treaty of property, rights, concessions or other interests.

In no case however shall credit be given for property restored in accordance with Article 238 of the present Part.

## ARTICLE 244

The transfer of the German submarine cables which do not form the subject of particular provisions of the present Treaty is regulated by Annex VIII hereto.

## ANNEX I

Compensation may be claimed from Germany under Article 232 above in respect of the total damage under the following categories:

(1) Damage to injured persons and to surviving dependents by personal injury to or death of civilians caused by acts of war, including bombardments or other attacks on land, on sea, or from the air, and all the direct consequences thereof, and of all operations of war by the two groups of belligerents wherever arising.

(2) Damage caused by Germany or her allies to civilian victims of acts of cruelty, violence or maltreatment (including injuries to life or health as a consequence of imprisonment, deportation, internment or evacuation, of exposure at sea or of being forced to labour, wherever arising), and to the surviving dependents of such victims.

(3) Damage caused by Germany or her allies in their own territory or in occupied or invaded territory to civilian victims of all acts injurious to health or capacity to work, or to honour, as well as to the surviving dependents of such victims.

(4) Damage caused by any kind of maltreatment of prisoners of war.

(5) As damage caused to the peoples of the Allied and Associated Powers, all pensions and compensation in the nature of pensions to naval and military victims of war (including members of the air force), whether mutilated, wounded, sick, or invalided, and to the dependents of such victims, the amount due to the Allied and Associated Governments being calculated for each of them as being the capitalised cost of such pensions and compensation at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, on the basis of the scales in force in France at such date.

(6) The cost of assistance by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to prisoners of war and to their families and dependents.

(7) Allowances by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to the families and dependents of mobilised persons or persons serving with the forces, the amount due to them for each calendar year in which hostilities occurred being calculated for each Government on the basis of the average scale for such payments in force in France during that year.

(8) Damage caused to civilians by being forced by Germany or her allies to labour without just remuneration.

(9) Damage in respect of all property wherever situated belonging to any of the Allied or Associated States or their nationals, with the exception of naval and military works or materials, which has been carried off, seized, injured or destroyed by the acts of Germany or her allies on land, on sea or from the air, or damage directly in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war.

(10) Damage in the form of levies, fines and other similar exactions imposed by Germany or her allies upon the civilian population.

## ANNEX II

1

The Commission referred to in Article 233 shall be called "The Reparation Commission" and is hereinafter referred to as "the Commission."

2

Delegates to this Commission shall be nominated

by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Each of these Powers will appoint one Delegate and also one Assistant Delegate, who will take his place in case of illness or necessary absence, but at other times will only have the right to be present at proceedings without taking any part therein.

On no occasion shall the Delegates of more than five of the above Powers have the right to take part in the proceedings of the Commission and to record their votes. The Delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy shall have this right on all occasions. The Delegate of Belgium shall have this right on all occasions other than those referred to below. The Delegate of Japan shall have this right on occasions when questions relating to damage at sea, and questions arising under Article 260 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) in which Japanese interests are concerned, are under consideration. The Delegate of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State shall have this right when questions relating to Austria, Hungary or Bulgaria are under consideration.

Each Government represented on the Commission shall have the right to withdraw therefrom upon twelve months' notice filed with the Commission and confirmed in the course of the sixth month after the date of the original notice.

3

Such of the other Allied and Associated Powers as may be interested shall have the right to appoint a Delegate to be present and act as Assessor only while their respective claims and interests are under examination or discussion, but without the right to vote.

4

In case of the death, resignation or recall of any Delegate, Assistant Delegate, or Assessor, a successor to him shall be nominated as soon as possible.

5

The Commission will have its principal permanent Bureau in Paris and will hold its first meeting in Paris as soon as practicable after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and thereafter will meet in such place or places and at such time as it may deem convenient and as may be necessary for the most expeditious discharge of its duties.

6

At its first meeting the Commission shall elect, from among the Delegates referred to above, a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, who shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. If a vacancy in the Chairmanship or Vice-Chairmanship should occur during the annual period, the Commission shall proceed to a new election for the remainder of the said period.

7

The Commission is authorised to appoint all necessary officers, agents and employees who may be required for the execution of its functions, and to fix their remuneration; to constitute committees, whose members need not necessarily be members of the Commission, and to take all executive steps necessary for the purpose of discharging its duties; and to delegate authority and discretion to officers, agents and committees.



8

All proceedings of the Commission shall be private, unless, on particular occasions, the Commission shall otherwise determine for special reasons.

9

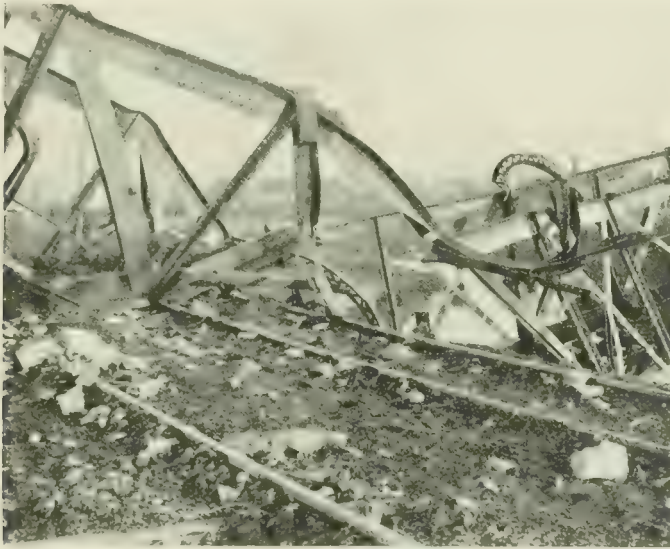
The Commission shall be required, if the German Government so desire, to hear, within a period which it will fix from time to time, evidence and arguments on the part of Germany on any question connected with her capacity to pay.

10

The Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity

visions. Subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, the Commission is constituted by the several Allied and Associated Governments referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 above as the exclusive agency of the said Governments respectively for receiving, selling, holding, and distributing the reparation payments to be made by Germany under this Part of the present Treaty. The Commission must comply with the following conditions and provisions:

(a) Whatever part of the full amount of the proved claims is not paid in gold, or in ships, securities and commodities or otherwise, Germany shall be required, under such conditions as the Commission may determine, to cover by way of guarantee by an equivalent issue of bonds, obligations or otherwise,



One of the Main-line Bridges at Courtrai destroyed by the Germans in their Retreat in October, 1918

to be heard, but not to take any part whatever in the decisions of the Commissions. The Commission shall afford a similar opportunity to the allies of Germany, when it shall consider that their interests are in question.

11

The Commission shall not be bound by any particular code or rules of law or by any particular rule of evidence or of procedure, but shall be guided by justice, equity and good faith. Its decisions must follow the same principles and rules in all cases where they are applicable. It will establish rules relating to methods of proof of claims. It may act on any trustworthy modes of computation.

12

The Commission shall have all the powers conferred upon it, and shall exercise all the functions assigned to it, by the present Treaty.

The Commission shall in general have wide latitude as to its control and handling of the whole reparation problem as dealt with in this Part of the present Treaty and shall have authority to interpret its pro-

visions in order to constitute an acknowledgment of the said part of the debt.

(b) In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first, to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and secondly, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the Powers represented on the Commission.

(c) In order to facilitate and continue the immediate restoration of the economic life of the Allied and Associated countries, the Commission will as provided in Article 235 take from Germany by way of security for and acknowledgment of her debt a first instalment of gold bearer bonds free of all taxes and charges of every description established or to be established by the Government of the German Empire or of the German States, or by any authority subject to them; these bonds will be delivered on account and in three portions, the marks gold being payable in conformity

with Article 262 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty as follows:

(1) To be issued forthwith, 20,000,000,000 Marks gold bearer bonds, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest. There shall be specially applied towards the amortisation of these bonds the payments which Germany is pledged to make in conformity with Article 235, after deduction of the sums used for the reimbursement of expenses of the armies of occupation and for payment of foodstuffs and raw materials. Such bonds as have not been redeemed by May 1, 1921, shall then be exchanged for new bonds of the same type as those provided for below (paragraph 12, c, 2).

(2) To be issued forthwith, further 40,000,000,000 Marks gold bearer bonds, bearing interest at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter at 5 per cent. per annum with an additional 1 per cent. for amortisation beginning in 1926 on the whole amount of the issue.

(3) To be delivered forthwith a covering undertaking in writing to issue when, but not until, the Commission is satisfied that Germany can meet such interest and sinking fund obligations, a further instalment of 40,000,000,000 Marks gold 5 per cent. bearer bonds, the time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the Commission.

The dates for payment of interest, the manner of applying the amortisation fund, and all other questions relating to the issue, management and regulation of the bond issue shall be determined by the Commission from time to time.

Further issues by way of acknowledgment and security may be required as the Commission subsequently determines from time to time.

(d) In the event of bonds, obligations or other evidence of indebtedness issued by Germany by way of security for or acknowledgment of her reparation debt being disposed of outright, not by way of pledge, to persons other than the several Governments in whose favour Germany's original reparation indebtedness was created, an amount of such reparation indebtedness shall be deemed to be extinguished corresponding to the nominal value of the bonds, etc., so disposed of outright, and the obligation of Germany in respect of such bonds shall be confined to her liabilities to the holders of the bonds, as expressed upon their face.

(e) The damage for repairing, reconstructing and rebuilding property in the invaded and devastated districts, including reinstallation of furniture, machinery and other equipment, will be calculated according to the cost at the dates when the work is done.

(f) Decisions of the Commission relating to the total or partial cancellation of the capital or interest of any verified debt of Germany must be accompanied by a statement of its reasons.

### 13

As to voting, the Commission will observe the following rules:

When a decision of the Commission is taken, the votes of all the Delegates entitled to vote, or in the absence of any of them, of their Assistant Delegates, shall be recorded. Abstention from voting is to be treated as a vote against the proposal under discussion. Assessors have no vote.

On the following questions unanimity is necessary:

(a) Questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, or the cancellation of the whole or any part of the debt or obligations of Germany;

(b) Questions of determining the amount and conditions of bonds or other obligations to be issued by the German Government and of fixing the time and manner for selling, negotiating or distributing such bonds;

(c) Any postponement, total or partial, beyond the end of 1930, of the payment of instalments falling due between May 1, 1921, and the end of 1926 inclusive;

(d) Any postponement, total or partial, of any instalment falling due after 1926 for a period exceeding three years;

(e) Questions of applying in any particular case a method of measuring damages different from that which has been previously applied in a similar case;

(f) Questions of the interpretation of the provisions of this Part of the present Treaty.

All other questions shall be decided by the vote of a majority.

In case of any difference of opinion among the Delegates, which cannot be solved by reference to their Governments, upon the question whether a given case is one which requires a unanimous vote for its decision or not, such difference shall be referred to the immediate arbitration of some impartial person to be agreed upon by their Governments, whose award the Allied and Associated Governments agree to accept.

### 14

Decisions of the Commission, in accordance with the powers conferred upon it, shall forthwith become binding and may be put into immediate execution without further proceedings.

### 15

The Commission will issue to each of the interested Powers, in such form as the Commission shall fix:

(1) A certificate stating that it holds for the account of the said Power bonds of the issues mentioned above, the said certificate, on the demand of the Power concerned, being divisible in a number of parts not exceeding five;

(2) From time to time certificates stating the goods delivered by Germany on account of her reparation debt which it holds for the account of the said Power.

The said certificates shall be registered, and upon notice to the Commission, may be transferred by endorsement.

When bonds are issued for sale or negotiation, and when goods are delivered by the Commission, certificates to an equivalent value must be withdrawn.

### 16

Interest shall be debited to Germany as from May 1, 1921, in respect of her debt as determined by the Commission, after allowing for sums already covered by cash payments or their equivalent, or by bonds issued to the Commission, or under Article 243. The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent., unless the Commission shall determine at some future time that circumstances justify a variation of this rate.

The Commission, in fixing on May 1, 1921, the total amount of the debt of Germany, may take account of interest due on sums arising out of the reparation of material damage as from November 11, 1918, up to May 1, 1921.

17

In case of default by Germany in the performance of any obligation under this Part of the present Treaty, the Commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested Powers and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary.

18

The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

19

Payments required to be made in gold or its equivalent on account of the proved claims of the Allied and Associated Powers may at any time be accepted by the Commission in the form of chattels, properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, within or without German territory, ships, bonds, shares or securities of any kind, or currencies of Germany or other States, the value of such substitutes for gold being fixed at a fair and just amount by the Commission itself.

20

The Commission, in fixing or accepting payment in specified properties or rights, shall have due regard for any legal or equitable interests of the Allied and Associated Powers or of neutral Powers or of their nationals therein.

21

No member of the Commission shall be responsible, except to the Government appointing him, for any action or omission as such member. No one of the Allied or Associated Governments assumes any responsibility in respect of any other Government.

22

Subject to the provisions of the present Treaty this Annex may be amended by the unanimous decision of the Governments represented from time to time upon the Commission.

23

When all the amounts due from Germany and her allies under the present Treaty or the decisions of the Commission have been discharged and all the sums received, or their equivalents, shall have been distributed to the Powers interested, the Commission shall be dissolved.

## ANNEX III

I

Germany recognises the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to the replacement, ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that the tonnage of German shipping at present in existence is much less than that lost by the Allied and Associated Powers in consequence of the German aggression, the right thus recognised will be enforced

on German ships and boats under the following conditions:

The German Government, on behalf of themselves and so as to bind all other persons interested, cede to the Allied and Associated Governments the property in all the German merchant ships which are of 1,600 tons gross and upwards; in one-half, reckoned in tonnage, of the ships which are between 1,000 tons and 1,600 tons gross; in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the steam trawlers; and in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the other fishing boats.

2

The German Government will, within two months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, deliver to the Reparation Commission all the ships and boats mentioned in paragraph 1.

3

The ships and boats mentioned in paragraph 1 include all ships and boats which (a) fly, or may be entitled to fly, the German merchant flag; or (b) are owned by any German national, company or corporation or by any company or corporation belonging to a country other than an Allied or Associated country and under the control or direction of German nationals; or (c) are now under construction (1) in Germany, (2) in other than Allied or Associated countries for the account of any German national, company or corporation.

4

For the purpose of providing documents of title for the ships and boats to be handed over as above mentioned, the German Government will:

(a) Deliver to the Reparation Commission in respect of each vessel a bill of sale or other document of title evidencing the transfer to the Commission of the entire property in the vessel, free from all encumbrances, charges and liens of all kinds, as the Commission may require;

(b) Take all measures that may be indicated by the Reparation Commission for ensuring that the ships themselves shall be placed at its disposal.

5

As an additional part of reparation, Germany agrees to cause merchant ships to be built in German yards for the account of the Allied and Associated Governments as follows:

(a) Within three months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in German shipyards in each of the two years next succeeding the three months mentioned above.

(b) Within two years of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in each of the three years following the two years mentioned above.

(c) The amount of tonnage to be laid down in each year shall not exceed 200,000 tons, gross tonnage.

(d) The specifications of the ships to be built, the conditions under which they are to be built and delivered, the price per ton at which they are to be accounted for by the Reparation Commission, and all other questions relating to the accounting, ordering, building and delivery of the ships, shall be determined by the Commission.



## 6

Germany undertakes to restore in kind and in normal condition of upkeep to the Allied and Associated Powers, within two months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in accordance with procedure to be laid down by the Reparation Commission, any boats and other movable appliances belonging to inland navigation which since August 1, 1914, have by any means whatever come into her possession or into the possession of her nationals, and which can be identified.

With a view to make good the loss in inland navigation tonnage, from whatever cause arising, which has been incurred during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers, and which cannot be made good by means of the restitution prescribed above, Germany agrees to cede to the Reparation Commission a portion of the German river fleet up to the amount of the loss mentioned above, provided that such cession shall not exceed 20 per cent. of the river fleet as it existed on November 11, 1918.

The conditions of this cession shall be settled by the arbitrators referred to in Article 339 of Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty, who are charged with the settlement of difficulties relating to the apportionment of river tonnage resulting from the new international régime applicable to certain river systems or from the territorial changes affecting those systems.

## 7

Germany agrees to take any measures that may be indicated to her by the Reparation Commission for obtaining the full title to the property in all ships which have during the war been transferred, or are in process of transfer, to neutral flags, without the consent of the Allied and Associated Governments.

## 8

Germany waives all claims of any description against the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals in respect of the detention, employment, loss or damage of any German ships or boats, exception being made of payments due in respect of the employment of ships in conformity with the Armistice Agreement of January 13, 1919, and subsequent Agreements.

The handing over of the ships of the German mercantile marine must be continued without interruption in accordance with the said Agreement.

## 9

Germany waives all claims to vessels or cargoes sunk by or in consequence of naval action and subsequently salvaged, in which any of the Allied or Associated Governments or their nationals may have any interest either as owners, charterers, insurers or otherwise, notwithstanding any decree of condemnation which may have been made by a Prize Court of Germany or of her allies.

## ANNEX IV

## 1

The Allied and Associated Powers require, and Germany undertakes, that in part satisfaction of her obligations expressed in the present Part she will, as hereinafter provided, devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded

areas of the Allied and Associated Powers, to the extent that these Powers may determine.

## 2

The Allied and Associated Governments may file with the Reparation Commission lists showing:

(a) Animals, machinery, equipment, tools and like articles of a commercial character, which have been seized, consumed or destroyed by Germany or destroyed in direct consequence of military operations, and which such Governments, for the purpose of meeting immediate and urgent needs, desire to have replaced by animals and articles of the same nature which are in being in German territory at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty;

(b) Reconstruction materials (stones, bricks, refractory bricks, tiles, wood, window-glass, steel, lime, cement, etc.), machinery, heating apparatus, furniture and like articles of a commercial character which the said Governments desire to have produced and manufactured in Germany and delivered to them to permit of the restoration of the invaded areas.

## 3

The lists relating to the articles mentioned in 2 (a) above shall be filed within sixty days after the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty. The lists relating to the articles in 2 (b) above shall be filed on or before December 31, 1919. The lists shall contain all such details as are customary in commercial contracts dealing with the subject matter, including specifications, dates of delivery (but not extending over more than four years), and places of delivery, but not price or value, which shall be fixed as hereinafter provided by the Commission.

## 4

Immediately upon the filing of such lists with the Commission, the Commission shall consider the amount and number of the materials and animals mentioned in the lists provided for above which are to be required of Germany. In reaching a decision on this matter the Commission shall take into account such domestic requirements of Germany as it deems essential for the maintenance of Germany's social and economic life, the prices and dates at which similar articles can be obtained in the Allied and Associated countries as compared with those to be fixed for German articles, and the general interest of the Allied and Associated Governments that the industrial life of Germany be not so disorganised as to affect adversely the ability of Germany to perform the other acts of reparation stipulated for.

Machinery, equipment, tools and like articles of a commercial character in actual industrial use are not, however, to be demanded of Germany unless there is no free stock of such articles respectively which is not in use and is available, and then not in excess of thirty per cent. of the quantity of such articles in use in any one establishment or undertaking.

The Commission shall give representatives of the German Government an opportunity and a time to be heard as to their capacity to furnish the said materials, articles and animals. The decision of the Commission shall thereupon and at the earliest possible moment be communicated to the German Government and to the several interested Allied and Associated Governments. The German Government undertakes to deliver the materials, articles and animals as specified in the said communication, and the

interested Allied and Associated Governments severally agree to accept the same, provided they conform to the specification given, or are not, in the judgment of the Commission, unfit to be utilised in the work of reparation.

5

The Commission shall determine the value to be attributed to the materials, articles and animals to be delivered in accordance with the foregoing, and the Allied or Associated Power receiving the same agrees to be charged with such value, and the amount thereof shall be treated as a payment by Germany to be divided in accordance with Article 237 of this Part of the present Treaty.

In cases where the right to require physical restoration as above provided is exercised, the Commission shall ensure that the amount to be credited against the reparation obligation of Germany shall be the fair value of work done or materials supplied by Germany, and that the claim made by the interested Power in respect of the damage so repaired by physical restoration shall be discharged to the extent of the proportion which the damage thus repaired bears to the whole of the damage thus claimed for.

6

As an immediate advance on account of the animals referred to in Paragraph 2 (a) above, Germany undertakes to deliver in equal monthly instalments in the three months following the coming into force of the present Treaty, the following quantities of live stock:

## (1) To the French Government

500 stallions (3 to 7 years);  
30,000 fillies and mares (18 months to 7 years);  
type: Ardennais, Boulonnais or Belgian;  
2,000 bulls (18 months to 3 years);  
90,000 milch cows (2 to 6 years);  
1,000 rams;  
100,000 sheep;  
10,000 goats.

## (2) To the Belgian Government

200 stallions (3 to 7 years), large Belgian type;  
5,000 mares (3 to 7 years), large Belgian type;  
5,000 fillies (18 months to 3 years), large Belgian type;  
2,000 bulls (18 months to 3 years);  
50,000 milch cows (2 to 6 years);  
40,000 heifers;  
200 rams;  
20,000 sheep;  
15,000 sows.

The animals delivered shall be of average health and condition.

To the extent that animals so delivered cannot be identified as animals taken away or seized, the value of such animals shall be credited against the reparation obligations of Germany in accordance with paragraph 5 of this Annex.

7

Without waiting for the decisions of the Commission referred to in Paragraph 4 of this Annex to be taken, Germany must continue the delivery to France of the agricultural material referred to in Article III of the renewal dated January 16, 1919, of the Armistice.

## ANNEX V

1

Germany accords the following options for the delivery of coal and derivatives of coal to the under-mentioned signatories of the present Treaty.

2

Germany undertakes to deliver to France seven million tons of coal per year for ten years. In addition, Germany undertakes to deliver to France annually for a period not exceeding ten years an amount of coal equal to the difference between the annual production before the war of the coal mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais, destroyed as a result of the war, and the production of the mines of the same area during the years in question: such delivery not to exceed twenty million tons in any one year of the first five years, and eight million tons in any one year of the succeeding five years.

It is understood that due diligence will be exercised in the restoration of the destroyed mines in the Nord and the Pas de Calais.

3

Germany undertakes to deliver to Belgium eight million tons of coal annually for ten years

4

Germany undertakes to deliver to Italy up to the following quantities of coal:

July 1919 to June 1920	.. ..	4½ million tons,
.. 1920 .. 1921	.. ..	6 ..
.. 1921 .. 1922	.. ..	7½ ..
.. 1922 .. 1923	.. ..	8 ..
.. 1923 .. 1924	.. ..	8½ ..

and each of the following five years

At least two-thirds of the actual deliveries to be land-borne.

5

Germany further undertakes to deliver annually to Luxemburg, if directed by the Reparation Commission, a quantity of coal to the pre-war annual consumption of German coal in Luxemburg.

6

The prices to be paid for coal delivered under these options shall be as follows:

(a) For overland delivery, including delivery by barge, the German pithead price to German nationals, plus the freight to French, Belgian, Italian or Luxemburg frontiers, provided that the pithead price does not exceed the pithead price of British coal for export. In the case of Belgian bunker coal, the price shall not exceed the Dutch bunker price. Railroad and barge tariffs shall not be higher than the lowest similar rates paid in Germany.

(b) For sea delivery, the German export price f.o.b. German ports, or the British export price f.o.b. British ports, whichever may be lower.

7

The Allied and Associated Governments interested may demand the delivery, in place of coal, of metallurgical coke in the proportion of 3 tons of coke to 4 tons of coal.

## 8

Germany undertakes to deliver to France, and to transport to the French frontier by rail or by water, the following products, during each of the three years following the coming into force of this Treaty:

Benzol . . . . .	35,000 tons.
Coal tar . . . . .	50,000 tons.
Sulphate of ammonia . . . . .	30,000 tons.

All or part of the coal tar may, at the option of the French Government, be replaced by corresponding quantities of products of distillation, such as light oils, heavy oils, anthracene, naphthalene or pitch.

## 9

The price paid for coke and for the articles referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be the same as the price paid by German nationals under the same conditions of shipment to the French frontier or to the German ports, and shall be subject to any advantages which may be accorded similar products furnished to German nationals.

## 10

The foregoing options shall be exercised through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, which, subject to the specific provisions hereof, shall have power to determine all questions relative to procedure and the qualities and quantities of products, the quantity of coke which may be substituted for coal, and the times and modes of delivery and payment. In giving notice to the German Government of the foregoing options the Commission shall give at least 120 days' notice of deliveries to be made after January 1, 1920, and at least 30 days' notice of deliveries to be made between the coming into force of this Treaty and January 1, 1920. Until Germany has received the demands referred to in this paragraph, the provisions of the Protocol of December 25, 1918, (Execution of Article VI of the Armistice of November 11, 1918) remain in force. The notice to be given to the German Government of the exercise of the right of substitution accorded by paragraphs 7 and 8 shall be such as the Reparation Commission may consider sufficient. If the Commission shall determine that the full exercise of the foregoing options would interfere unduly with the industrial requirements of Germany, the Commission is authorised to postpone or to cancel deliveries, and in so doing to settle all questions of priority; but the coal to replace coal from destroyed mines shall receive priority over other deliveries.

## ANNEX VI

## 1

Germany accords to the Reparation Commission an option to require as part of reparation the delivery by Germany of such quantities and kinds of dyestuffs and chemical drugs as the Commission may designate, not exceeding 50 per cent. of the total stock of each and every kind of dyestuff and chemical drug in Germany or under German control at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

This option shall be exercised within sixty days of the receipt by the Commission of such particulars as to stocks as may be considered necessary by the Commission.

## 2

Germany further accords to the Reparation Commission an option to require delivery during the period from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty until January 1, 1920, and during each period of six months thereafter until January 1, 1925, of any specified kind of dyestuff and chemical drug up to an amount not exceeding 25 per cent. of the German production of such dyestuffs and chemical drugs during the previous six months period. If in any case the production during such previous six months was, in the opinion of the Commission, less than normal, the amount required may be 25 per cent. of the normal production.

Such option shall be exercised within four weeks after the receipt of such particulars as to production and in such form as may be considered necessary by the Commission; these particulars shall be furnished by the German Government immediately after the expiration of each six months period.

## 3

For dyestuffs and chemical drugs delivered under paragraph 1, the price shall be fixed by the Commission having regard to pre-war net export prices and to subsequent increases of cost.

For dyestuffs and chemical drugs delivered under paragraph 2, the price shall be fixed by the Commission having regard to pre-war net export prices and subsequent variations of cost or the lowest net selling price of similar dyestuffs and chemical drugs to any other purchaser.

## 4

All details, including mode and times of exercising the options, and making delivery, and all other questions arising under this arrangement shall be determined by the Reparation Commission; the German Government will furnish to the Commission all necessary information and other assistance which it may require.

## 5

The above expression "dyestuffs and chemical drugs" includes all synthetic dyes and drugs and intermediate or other products used in connection with dyeing, so far as they are manufactured for sale. The present arrangement shall also apply to cinchona bark and salts of quinine.

## ANNEX VII

Germany renounces on her own behalf and on behalf of her nationals in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights, titles or privileges of whatever nature in the submarine cables set out below, or in any portions thereof:

Emden-Vigo: from the Straits of Dover to off Vigo.  
 Emden-Brest: from off Cherbourg to Brest;  
 Emden-Teneriffe: from off Dunkirk to off Teneriffe;  
 Emden-Azores (1): from the Straits of Dover to Fayal;  
 Emden-Azores (2): from the Straits of Dover to Fayal;  
 Azores-New York (1): from Fayal to New York;  
 Azores-New York (2): from Fayal to the longitude of Halifax;  
 Teneriffe-Monrovia: from off Teneriffe to off Monrovia;



## Monrovia-Lome:

from about { lat. : 2° 30' N.;  
long. : 7° 40' W. of Greenwich;  
to about { lat. : 2° 20' N.;  
long. : 5° 30' W. of Greenwich;  
and from about { lat. : 3° 48' N.;  
long. : 0° 00',  
to Lome;

Lome-Duala: from Lome to Duala;

Monrovia-Pernambuco: from off Monrovia to off Pernambuco;

Constantinople-Constanza: from Constantinople to Constanza;

Yap-Shanghai, Yap-Guam, and Yap-Menado (Celebes): from Yap Island to Shanghai, from Yap Island to Guam Island, and from Yap Island to Menado.

The value of the above-mentioned cables or portions thereof in so far as they are privately owned, calculated on the basis of the original cost less a suitable allowance for depreciation, shall be credited to Germany in the reparation account.

## SECTION II.—SPECIAL PROVISIONS

### ARTICLE 245

Within six months after the coming into force of the present Treaty the German Government must restore to the French Government the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away from France by the German authorities in the course of the war of 1870-1871 and during this last war, in accordance with a list which will be communicated to it by the French Government; particularly the French flags taken in the course of the war of 1870-1871 and all the political papers taken by the German authorities on October 10, 1870, at the château of Cerçay, near Brunoy (Seine-et-Oise) belonging at the time to Mr. Rouher, formerly Minister of State.

### ARTICLE 246

Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, Germany will restore to His Majesty the King of the Hejaz the original Koran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the Turkish authorities and is stated to have been presented to the ex-Emperor William II.

Within the same period Germany will hand over to His Britannic Majesty's Government the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany.

The delivery of the articles above referred to will be effected in such place and in such conditions as may be laid down by the Governments to which they are to be restored.

### ARTICLE 247

Germany undertakes to furnish to the University of Louvain, within three months after a request made by it and transmitted through the intervention of the Reparation Committee, manuscripts, incunabula, printed books, maps and objects of collection corresponding in number and value to those destroyed in the burning by Germany of the Library of Louvain. All details regarding such replacement will be determined by the Reparation Commission.

Germany undertakes to deliver to Belgium, through the Reparation Commission, within six months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in order to enable Belgium to reconstitute two great artistic works:

(1) The leaves of the triptych of the Mystic Lamb painted by the Van Eyck brothers, formerly in the Church of St. Bavo at Ghent, now in the Berlin Museum;

(2) The leaves of the triptych of the Last Supper, painted by Dierick Bouts, formerly in the Church of St. Peter at Louvain, two of which are now in the Berlin Museum and two in the Old Pinakothek at Munich.

## PART IX

### FINANCIAL CLAUSES

#### ARTICLE 248

Subject to such exceptions as the Reparation Commission may approve, a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States shall be the cost of reparation and all other costs arising under the present Treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto or under arrangements concluded between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers during the Armistice or its extensions.

Up to May 1, 1921, the German Government shall not export or dispose of, and shall forbid the export or disposal of, gold without the previous approval of the Allied and Associated Powers acting through the Reparation Commission.

#### ARTICLE 249

There shall be paid by the German Government the total cost of all armies of the Allied and Asso-

ciated Governments in occupied German territory from the date of the signature of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, including the keep of men and beasts, lodging and billeting, pay and allowances, salaries and wages, bedding, heating, lighting, clothing, equipment, harness and saddlery, armament and rolling-stock, air services, treatment of sick and wounded, veterinary and remount services, transport service of all sorts (such as by rail, sea or river, motor lorries), communications and correspondence, and in general the cost of all administrative or technical services the working of which is necessary for the training of troops and for keeping their numbers up to strength and preserving their military efficiency.

The cost of such liabilities under the above heads so far as they relate to purchases or requisitions by the Allied and Associated Governments in the occupied territories shall be paid by the German Government to the Allied and Associated Governments in

marks at the current or agreed rate of exchange. All other of the above costs shall be paid in gold marks.

#### ARTICLE 250

Germany confirms the surrender of all material handed over to the Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and subsequent Armistice Agreements, and recognises the title of the Allied and Associated Powers to such material.

There shall be credited to the German Government, against the sums due from it to the Allied and Associated Powers for reparation, the value, as assessed by the Reparation Commission, referred to in Article 233 of Part VIII (Reparation) of the present Treaty, of the material handed over in accordance with Article VII of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, Article III of the Armistice Agreement of January 16, 1919, as well as of any other material handed over in accordance with the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and of subsequent Armistice Agreements, for which, as having non-military value, credit should in the judgment of the Reparation Commission be allowed to the German Government.

Property belonging to the Allied and Associated Governments or their nationals restored or surrendered under the Armistice Agreements in specie shall not be credited to the German Government.

#### ARTICLE 251

The priority of the charges established by Article 248 shall, subject to the qualifications made below, be as follows:

- (a) The cost of the armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 during the Armistice and its extensions;
- (b) The cost of any armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 after the coming into force of the present Treaty;
- (c) The cost of reparation arising out of the present Treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto;
- (d) The cost of all other obligations incumbent on Germany under the Armistice Conventions or under this Treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto.

The payment for such supplies of food and raw material for Germany and such other payments as may be judged by the Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations in respect of reparation will have priority to the extent and upon the conditions which have been or may be determined by the Governments of the said Powers.

#### ARTICLE 252

The right of each of the Allied and Associated Powers to dispose of enemy assets and property within its jurisdiction at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty is not affected by the foregoing provisions.

#### ARTICLE 253

Nothing in the foregoing provisions shall prejudice in any manner charges or mortgages lawfully effected in favour of the Allied or Associated Powers or their nationals respectively, before the date at which a state of war existed between Germany and the Allied

or Associated Power concerned, by the German Empire or its constituent States, or by German nationals, on assets in their ownership at that date.

#### ARTICLE 254

The Powers to which German territory is ceded shall, subject to the qualifications made in Article 255, undertake to pay:

- (i) A portion of the debt of the German Empire as it stood on August 1, 1914, calculated on the basis of the ratio between the average for the three financial years 1911, 1912, 1913, of such revenues of the ceded territory, and the average for the same years of such revenues of the whole German Empire as in the judgment of the Reparation Commission are best calculated to represent the relative ability of the respective territories to make payment;
- (ii) A portion of the debt as it stood on August 1, 1914, of the German State to which the ceded territory belonged, to be determined in accordance with the principle stated above.

Such portions shall be determined by the Reparation Commission.

The method of discharging the obligation, both in respect of capital and of interest, so assumed shall be fixed by the Reparation Commission. Such method may take the form, *inter alia*, of the assumption by the Power to which the territory is ceded of Germany's liability for the German debt held by her nationals. But in the event of the method adopted involving any payments to the German Government, such payments shall be transferred to the Reparation Commission on account of the sums due for reparation so long as any balance in respect of such sums remains unpaid.

#### ARTICLE 255

(1) As an exception to the above provision and inasmuch as in 1871 Germany refused to undertake any portion of the burden of the French debt, France shall be, in respect of Alsace-Lorraine, exempt from any payment under Article 254.

(2) In the case of Poland that portion of the debt which, in the opinion of the Reparation Commission is attributable to the measures taken by the German and Prussian Governments for the German colonisation of Poland shall be excluded from the apportionment to be made under Article 254.

(3) In the case of all ceded territories other than Alsace-Lorraine, that portion of the debt of the German Empire or German States which, in the opinion of the Reparation Commission, represents expenditure by the Governments of the German Empire or States upon the Government properties referred to in Article 256 shall be excluded from the apportionment to be made under Article 254.

#### ARTICLE 256

Powers to which German territory is ceded shall acquire all property and possessions situated therein belonging to the German Empire or to the German States, and the value of such acquisitions shall be fixed by the Reparation Commission, and paid by the State acquiring the territory to the Reparation Commission for the credit of the German Government on account of the sums due for reparation.

For the purposes of this Article the property and

possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

In view of the terms on which Alsace-Lorraine was ceded to Germany in 1871, France shall be exempt in respect thereof from making any payment or credit under this Article for any property or possessions of the German Empire or States situated therein.

Belgium also shall be exempt from making any payment or any credit under this Article for any

## ARTICLE 258

Germany renounces all rights accorded to her or her nationals by treaties, conventions or agreements, of whatsoever kind, to representation upon participation in the control or administration of commissions, state banks, agencies or other financial or economic organisations of an international character, exercising powers of control or administration, and operating in any of the Allied or Associated States, or in Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, or in the dependencies of these States, or in the former Russian Empire.



British Official Photographs

The Track of War on the Western Front: among the ruins of Inchy, on the Hindenburg Line, after its capture by the British troops

property or possessions of the German Empire or States situated in German territory ceded to Belgium under the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE 257

In the case of the former German territories, including colonies, protectorates or dependencies, administered by a Mandatory under Article 22 of Part I (League of Nations) of the present Treaty, neither the territory nor the Mandatory Power shall be charged with any portion of the debt of the German Empire or States.

All property and possessions belonging to the German Empire or to the German States situated in such territories shall be transferred with the territories to the Mandatory Power in its capacity as such and no payment shall be made nor any credit given to those Governments in consideration of this transfer.

For the purposes of this Article the property and possessions of the German Empire and of the German States shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

## ARTICLE 259

(1) Germany agrees to deliver within one month from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, to such authority as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate, the sum in gold which was to be deposited in the Reichsbank in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the first issue of Turkish Government currency notes.

(2) Germany recognises her obligation to make annually for the period of twelve years the payments in gold for which provision is made in the German Treasury Bonds deposited by her from time to time in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the second and subsequent issues of Turkish Government currency notes.

(3) Germany undertakes to deliver, within one month from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to such authority as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate, the gold deposit constituted in the Reichsbank or elsewhere, representing the residue of the advance in gold agreed to on May 5, 1915, by the Council of the Administration



of the Ottoman Public Debt to the Imperial Ottoman Government.

(4) Germany agrees to transfer to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers any title that she may have to the sum in gold and silver transmitted by her to the Turkish Ministry of Finance in November, 1918, in anticipation of the payment to be made in May, 1919, for the service of the Turkish Internal Loan.

(5) Germany undertakes to transfer to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, within a period of one month from the coming into force of the present Treaty, any sums in gold transferred as pledge or as collateral security to the German Government or its nationals in connection with loans made by them to the Austro-Hungarian Government.

(6) Without prejudice to Article 292 of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, Germany confirms the renunciation provided for in Article XV of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, of any benefit disclosed by the Treaties of Bucharest and of Brest-Litovsk and by the treaties supplementary thereto.

Germany undertakes to transfer, either to Roumania or to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as the case may be, all monetary instruments, specie, securities and negotiable instruments, or goods, which she has received under the aforesaid Treaties.

(7) The sums of money and all securities, instruments and goods of whatsoever nature, to be delivered, paid and transferred under the provisions of this Article, shall be disposed of by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in a manner hereafter to be determined by those Powers.

#### ARTICLE 260

Without prejudice to the renunciation of any rights by Germany on behalf of herself or of her nationals in the other provisions of the present Treaty, the Reparation Commission may within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty demand that the German Government become possessed of any rights and interests of German nationals in any public utility undertaking or in any concession operating in Russia, China, Turkey, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, or in the possessions or dependencies of these States or in any territory formerly belonging to Germany or her allies, to be ceded by Germany or her allies to any Power or to be administered by a Mandatory under the present Treaty, and may require that the German Government transfer, within six months of the date of demand, all such rights and interests and any similar rights and interests the

German Government may itself possess to the Reparation Commission.

Germany shall be responsible for indemnifying her nationals so dispossessed, and the Reparation Commission shall credit Germany, on account of sums due for reparation, with such sums in respect of the value of the transferred rights and interests as may be assessed by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government shall, within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, communicate to the Reparation Commission all such rights and interests, whether already granted, contingent or not yet exercised, and shall renounce on behalf of itself and its nationals in favour of the Allied and Associated Powers all such rights and interests which have not been so communicated.

#### ARTICLE 261

Germany undertakes to transfer to the Allied and Associated Powers any claims she may have to payment or repayment by the Governments of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, and, in particular, any claims which may arise, now or hereafter, from the fulfilment of undertakings made by Germany during the war to those Governments.

#### ARTICLE 262

Any monetary obligation due by Germany arising out of the present Treaty and expressed in terms of gold marks shall be payable at the option of the creditors in pounds sterling payable in London; gold dollars of the United States of America payable in New York; gold francs payable in Paris; or gold lire payable in Rome.

For the purpose of this Article the gold coins mentioned above shall be defined as being of the weight and fineness of gold as enacted by law on January 1, 1914.

#### ARTICLE 263

Germany gives a guarantee to the Brazilian Government that all sums representing the sale of coffee belonging to the State of Sao Paulo in the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp and Trieste, which were deposited with the Bank of Bleichröder at Berlin, shall be reimbursed together with interest at the rate or rates agreed upon. Germany, having prevented the transfer of the sums in question to the State of Sao Paulo at the proper time, guarantees also that the reimbursement shall be effected at the rate of exchange of the day of the deposit.

## PART X

### ECONOMIC CLAUSES

#### SECTION I.—COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

##### CHAPTER I.—CUSTOMS, REGULATIONS, DUTIES AND RESTRICTIONS

#### ARTICLE 264

Germany undertakes that goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied or Associated

States imported into German territory, from whatsoever place arriving, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those to which the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country are subject.

Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the importation into German

territory of any goods the produce or manufacture of the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, from whatsoever place arriving, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country.

## ARTICLE 265

Germany further undertakes that, in the matter of the régime applicable on importation, no discrimination against the commerce of any of the Allied and Associated States as compared with any other of the said States or any other foreign country shall be made, even by indirect means, such as customs regulations or procedure, methods of verification or analysis, conditions of payment of duties, tariff classification or interpretation, or the operation of monopolies.

## ARTICLE 266

In all that concerns exportation Germany undertakes that goods, natural products or manufactured articles, exported from German territory to the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those paid on the like goods exported to any other such State or to any other foreign country.

Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the exportation of any goods sent from her territory to any one of the Allied or Associated States which shall not equally extend to the exportation of the like goods, natural products or manufactured articles, sent to any other such State or to any other foreign country.

## ARTICLE 267

Every favour, immunity or privilege in regard to the importation, exportation or transit of goods granted by Germany to any Allied or Associated State or to any other foreign country whatever shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to all the Allied and Associated States.

## ARTICLE 268

The provisions of Articles 264 to 267 inclusive of this Chapter and of Article 323 of Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty are subject to the following exceptions:

(a) For a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from the territories of Alsace and Lorraine reunited to France shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The French Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

Further, during the period above mentioned the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany, and the free re-importation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges (including internal charges), of yarns, tissues, and

other textile materials or textile products of any kind and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories of Alsace or Lorraine, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerisation, gassing, twisting or dressing.

(b) During a period of three years from the coming into force of the present Treaty natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from Polish territories which before the war were part of Germany shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The Polish Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

(c) The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to require Germany to accord freedom from customs duty, on importation into German customs territory, to natural products and manufactured articles which both originate in and come from the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

The nature and the amount of the products which shall enjoy the benefits of this régime shall be communicated each year to the German Government.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

## ARTICLE 269

During the first six months after the coming into force of the present Treaty, the duties imposed by Germany on imports from Allied and Associated States shall not be higher than the most favourable duties which were applied to imports into Germany on July 31, 1914.

During a further period of thirty months after the expiration of the first six months, this provision shall continue to be applied exclusively with regard to products which, being comprised in Section A of the First Category of the German Customs Tariff of December 25, 1902, enjoyed at the above-mentioned date (July 31, 1914) rates conventionalised by treaties with the Allied and Associated Powers, with the addition of all kinds of wine and vegetable oils, of artificial silk and of washed or scoured wool, whether or not they were the subject of special conventions before July 31, 1914.

## ARTICLE 270

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to apply to German territory occupied by their troops a special customs régime as regards imports and exports, in the event of such a measure being necessary in their opinion in order to safeguard the economic interests of the population of these territories.

## CHAPTER II.—SHIPPING

### ARTICLE 271

As regards sea fishing, maritime coasting trade, and maritime towage, vessels of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy, in German territorial waters,

the treatment accorded to vessels of the most favoured nation.

#### ARTICLE 272

Germany agrees that, notwithstanding any stipulation to the contrary contained in the Conventions relating to the North Sea fisheries and liquor traffic, all rights of inspection and police shall, in the case of fishing-boats of the Allied Powers, be exercised solely by ships belonging to those Powers.

#### ARTICLE 273

In the case of vessels of the Allied or Associated Powers, all classes of certificates or documents relating to the vessel, which were recognised as valid by Germany before the war, or which may hereafter be recognised as valid by the principal maritime States shall be recognised by Germany as valid and as equivalent to the corresponding certificates issued to German vessels.

A similar recognition shall be accorded to the certificates and documents issued to their vessels by the Governments of new States, whether they have a sea-coast or not, provided that such certificates and documents shall be issued in conformity with the general practice observed in the principal maritime States.

The High Contracting Parties agree to recognise the flag flown by the vessels of an Allied or Associated Power having no sea-coast which are registered at some one specified place situated in its territory; such place shall serve as the port of registry of such vessels.

### CHAPTER III.—UNFAIR COMPETITION

#### ARTICLE 274

Germany undertakes to adopt all the necessary legislative and administrative measures to protect goods the produce or manufacture of any of the Allied and Associated Powers from all forms of unfair competition in commercial transactions.

Germany undertakes to prohibit and repress by seizure and by other appropriate remedies the importation, exportation, manufacture, distribution, sale or offering for sale in its territory of all goods bearing upon themselves or their usual get-up or wrappings any marks, names, devices, or descriptions whatsoever which are calculated to convey directly or indirectly a false indication of the origin, type, nature, or special characteristics of such goods.

#### ARTICLE 275

Germany undertakes on condition that reciprocity is accorded in these matters to respect any law, or any administrative or judicial decision given in conformity with such law, in force in any Allied or Associated State and duly communicated to her by the proper authorities, defining or regulating the right to any regional appellation in respect of wine or spirits produced in the State to which the region belongs, or the conditions under which the use of any such appellation may be permitted; and the importation, exportation, manufacture distribution, sale or offering for sale of products or articles bearing regional appellations inconsistent with such law or order shall be prohibited by the German Government and repressed by the measures prescribed in the preceding Article.

### CHAPTER IV.—TREATMENT OF NATIONALS OF ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS

#### ARTICLE 276

Germany undertakes:

(a) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers to any prohibition in regard to the exercise of occupations, professions, trade and industry, which shall not be equally applicable to all aliens without exception;

(b) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers in regard to the rights referred to in paragraph (a) to any regulation or restriction which might contravene directly or indirectly the stipulations of the said paragraph, or which shall be other or more disadvantageous than those which are applicable to nationals of the most favoured nation;

(c) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers, their property, rights or interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested, to any charge, tax or impost, direct or indirect, other or higher than those which are or may be imposed on her own nationals or their property, rights or interests;

(d) not to subject the nationals of any one of the Allied and Associated Powers to any restriction which was not applicable on July 1, 1914, to the nationals of such Powers, unless such restriction is likewise imposed on her own nationals.

#### ARTICLE 277

The nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in German territory a constant protection for their persons and for their property, rights and interests, and shall have free access to the courts of law.

#### ARTICLE 278

Germany undertakes to recognise any new nationality which has been or may be acquired by her nationals under the laws of the Allied and Associated Powers and in accordance with the decisions of the competent authorities of these Powers pursuant to naturalisation laws or under treaty stipulations, and to regard such persons as having, in consequence of the acquisition of such new nationality, in all respects severed their allegiance to their country of origin.

#### ARTICLE 279

The Allied and Associated Powers may appoint consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents in German towns and ports. Germany undertakes to approve the designation of the consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents, whose names shall be notified to her, and to admit them to the exercise of their functions in conformity with the usual rules and customs.

### CHAPTER V.—GENERAL ARTICLES

#### ARTICLES 280

The obligations imposed on Germany by Chapter I and by Articles 271 and 272 of Chapter II above shall cease to have effect five years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, unless otherwise provided in the text, or unless the Council of the League of Nations shall, at least twelve months before the expiration of that period, decide that these



obligations shall be maintained for a further period with or without amendment.

Article 276 of Chapter IV shall remain in operation with or without amendment, after the period of five years for such further period, if any, not exceeding five years, as may be determined by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

## ARTICLE 281

If the German Government engages in international trade, it shall not in respect thereof have or be deemed to have any rights, privileges or immunities of sovereignty.

## SECTION II.—TREATIES

### ARTICLE 282

From the coming into force of the present Treaty and subject to the provisions thereof the multilateral treaties, conventions and agreements of an economic or technical character enumerated below and in the subsequent Articles shall alone be applied as between Germany and those of the Allied and Associated Powers party thereto:

1. Conventions of March 14, 1884, December 1, 1886, and March 23, 1887, and Final Protocol of July 7, 1887, regarding the protection of submarine cables.

2. Convention of October 11, 1909, regarding the international circulation of motor-cars.

3. Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to customs inspection, and Protocol of May 18, 1907.

4. Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardisation of railways.

5. Convention of July 5, 1890, regarding the publication of customs tariffs and the organisation of an International Union for the publication of customs tariffs.

6. Convention of December 31, 1913, regarding the unification of commercial statistics.

7. Convention of April 25, 1907, regarding the raising of the Turkish customs tariff.

8. Convention of March 14, 1857, for the redemption of toll dues on the Sound and Belts.

9. Convention of June 22, 1861, for the redemption of the Stade Toll on the Elbe.

10. Convention of July 16, 1863, for the redemption of the toll dues on the Scheldt.

11. Convention of October 29, 1888, regarding the establishment of a definite arrangement guaranteeing the free use of the Suez Canal.

12. Conventions of September 23, 1910, respecting the unification of certain regulations regarding collisions and salvage at sea.

13. Convention of December 21, 1904, regarding the exemption of hospital ships from dues and charges in ports.

14. Convention of February 4, 1898, regarding the tonnage measurement of vessels for inland navigation.

15. Convention of September 26, 1906, for the suppression of nightwork for women.

16. Convention of September 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

17. Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

18. Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.

19. Sanitary Conventions of January 30, 1892, April 15, 1893, April 3, 1894, March 19, 1897, and December 3, 1903.

20. Convention of May 20, 1875, regarding the unification and improvement of the metric system.

21. Convention of November 29, 1906, regarding the unification of pharmacopœial formulæ for potent drugs.

22. Convention of November 16 and 19, 1885, regarding the establishment of a concert pitch.

23. Convention of June 7, 1905, regarding the creation of an International Agricultural Institute at Rome.

24. Conventions of November 3, 1881, and April 15, 1889, regarding precautionary measures against phylloxera.

25. Convention of March 19, 1902, regarding the protection of birds useful to agriculture.

26. Convention of June 12, 1902, as to the protection of minors.

### ARTICLE 283

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply the conventions and agreements hereinafter mentioned, in so far as concerns them, on condition that the special stipulations contained in this Article are fulfilled by Germany.

#### *Postal Conventions:*

Conventions and agreements of the Universal Postal Union concluded at Vienna, July 4, 1891.

Conventions and agreements of the Postal Union signed at Washington, June 15, 1897.

Conventions and agreements of the Postal Union signed at Rome, May 26, 1906.

#### *Telegraphic Conventions:*

International Telegraphic Conventions signed at St. Petersburg July 10-22, 1875.

Regulations and Tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraphic Conference, Lisbon, June 11, 1908.

Germany undertakes not to refuse her assent to the conclusion by the new States of the special arrangements referred to in the conventions and agreements relating to the Universal Postal Union and to the International Telegraphic Union, to which the said new States have adhered or may adhere.

### ARTICLE 284

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them, the International Radio-Telegraphic Convention of July 5, 1912, on condition that Germany fulfils the provisional regulations which will be indicated to her by the Allied and Associated Powers.

If within five years after the coming into force of the present Treaty a new convention regulating international radio-telegraphic communications should have been concluded to take the place of the Convention of July 5, 1912, this new convention shall bind Germany, even if Germany should refuse either to take part in drawing up the convention, or to subscribe thereto.

This new convention will likewise replace the provisional regulations in force.

### ARTICLE 285

From the coming into force of the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties shall apply in so far as

concerns them and under the conditions stipulated in Article 272, the conventions hereinafter mentioned:

(1) The Conventions of May 6, 1882, and February 1, 1889, regulating the fisheries in the North Sea outside territorial waters.

(2) The Conventions and Protocols of November 16, 1887, February 14, 1893, and April 11, 1894, regarding the North Sea liquor traffic.

#### ARTICLE 286

The International Convention of Paris of March 20, 1883, for the protection of industrial property, revised at Washington on June 2, 1911; and the International Convention of Berne of September 9, 1886, for the protection of literary and artistic works, revised at Berlin on November 13, 1908, and completed by the additional Protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, will again come into effect as from the coming into force of the present Treaty, in so far as they are not affected or modified by the exceptions and restrictions resulting therefrom.

#### ARTICLE 287

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them, the Convention of the Hague of July 17, 1905, relating to civil procedure. This renewal, however, will not apply to France, Portugal and Roumania.

#### ARTICLE 288

The special rights and privileges granted to Germany by Article 3 of the Convention of December 2, 1899, relating to Samoa shall be considered to have terminated on August 4, 1914.

#### ARTICLE 289

Each of the Allied or Associated Powers, being guided by the general principles or special provisions of the present Treaty, shall notify to Germany the bilateral treaties or conventions which such Allied or Associated Power wishes to revive with Germany.

The notification referred to in the present Article shall be made either directly or through the intermediary of another Power. Receipt thereof shall be acknowledged in writing by Germany. The date of the revival shall be that of the notification.

The Allied and Associated Powers undertake among themselves not to revive with Germany any conventions or treaties which are not in accordance with the terms of the present Treaty.

The notification shall mention any provisions of the said conventions and treaties which, not being in accordance with the terms of the present Treaty, shall not be considered as revived. In case of any difference of opinion, the League of Nations will be called on to decide.

A period of six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty is allowed to the Allied and Associated Powers within which to make the notification.

Only those bilateral treaties and conventions which have been the subject of such a notification shall be revived between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany; all the others are and shall remain abrogated.

The above regulations apply to all bilateral treaties or conventions existing between all the Allied and Associated Powers signatories to the present Treaty

and Germany, even if the said Allied and Associated Powers have not been in a state of war with Germany.

#### ARTICLE 290

Germany recognises that all the treaties, conventions or agreements which she has concluded with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey since August 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present Treaty are and remain abrogated by the present Treaty.

#### ARTICLE 291

Germany undertakes to secure to the Allied and Associated Powers, and to the officials and nationals of the said Powers, the enjoyment of all the rights and advantages of any kind which she may have granted to Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, or to the officials and nationals of these States by treaties, conventions or arrangements concluded before August 1, 1914, so long as those treaties, conventions or arrangements remain in force.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to accept or not the enjoyment of these rights and advantages.

#### ARTICLE 292

Germany recognises that all treaties, conventions or arrangements which she concluded with Russia, or with any State or Government of which the territory previously formed a part of Russia, or with Roumania, before August 1, 1914, or after that date until the coming into force of the present Treaty, are and remain abrogated.

#### ARTICLE 293

Should an Allied or Associated Power, Russia, or a State or Government of which the territory formerly constituted a part of Russia, have been forced since August 1, 1914, by reason of military occupation or by any other means or for any other cause, to grant or to allow to be granted by the act of any public authority, concessions, privileges and favours of any kind to Germany or to a German national, such concessions, privileges and favours are *ipso facto* annulled by the present Treaty.

No claims or indemnities which may result from this annulment shall be charged against the Allied or Associated Powers or the Powers, States, Governments or public authorities which are released from their engagements by the present Article.

#### ARTICLE 294

From the coming into force of the present Treaty Germany undertakes to give the Allied and Associated Powers and their nationals the benefit *ipso facto* of the rights and advantages of any kind which she has granted by treaties, conventions, or arrangements to non-belligerent States or their nationals since August 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present Treaty, so long as those treaties, conventions or arrangements remain in force.

#### ARTICLE 295

Those of the High Contracting Parties who have not yet signed, or who have signed but not yet ratified, the Opium Convention signed at The Hague on January 23, 1912 agree to bring the said Convention into force, and for this purpose to enact the necessary legislation without delay and in any case within a



period of twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Furthermore, they agree that ratification of the present Treaty should in the case of Powers which have not yet ratified the Opium Convention be deemed in all respects equivalent to the ratification of that Convention and to the signature of the Special Protocol which was opened at The Hague in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Third Opium Conference in 1914 for bringing the said Convention into force.

For this purpose the Government of the French Republic will communicate to the Government of the Netherlands a certified copy of the protocol of the deposit of ratifications of the present Treaty, and will invite the Government of the Netherlands to accept and deposit the said certified copy as if it were a deposit of ratifications of the Opium Convention and a signature of the Additional Protocol of 1914.

## SECTION III.—DEBTS

### ARTICLE 296

There shall be settled through the intervention of clearing offices to be established by each of the High Contracting Parties within three months of the notification referred to in paragraph (e) hereafter the following classes of pecuniary obligations:

(1) Debts payable before the war and due by a national of one of the Contracting Powers, residing within its territory, to a national of an Opposing Power, residing within its territory;

(2) Debts which became payable during the war to nationals of one Contracting Power residing within its territory and arose out of transactions or contracts with the nationals of an Opposing Power, resident within its territory, of which the total or partial execution was suspended on account of the declaration of war;

(3) Interest which has accrued due before and during the war to a national of one of the Contracting Powers in respect of securities issued by an Opposing Power, provided that the payment of interest on such securities to the nationals of that Power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war;

(4) Capital sums which have become payable before and during the war to nationals of one of the Contracting Powers in respect of securities issued by one of the Opposing Powers, provided that the payment of such capital sums to nationals of that Power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war.

The proceeds of liquidation of enemy property, rights and interests mentioned in Section IV and in the Annex thereto will be accounted for through the clearing offices, in the currency and at the rate of exchange hereinafter provided in paragraph (d), and disposed of by them under the conditions provided by the said Section and Annex.

The settlements provided for in this Article shall be effected according to the following principles and in accordance with the Annex to this Section:

(a) Each of the High Contracting Parties shall prohibit, as from the coming into force of the present Treaty, both the payment and the acceptance of payment of such debts, and also all communications between the interested parties with regard to the settlement of the said debts otherwise than through the clearing offices;

(b) Each of the High Contracting Parties shall be respectively responsible for the payment of such

debts due by its nationals, except in the cases where before the war the debtor was in a state of bankruptcy or failure, or had given formal indication of insolvency or where the debt was due by a company whose business has been liquidated under emergency legislation during the war. Nevertheless, debts due by the inhabitants of territory invaded or occupied by the enemy before the Armistice will not be guaranteed by the States of which those territories form part;

(c) The sums due to the nationals of one of the High Contracting Parties by the nationals of an Opposing State will be debited to the clearing office of the country of the debtor, and paid to the creditor by the clearing office of the country of the creditor;

(d) Debts shall be paid or credited in the currency of such one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, or the British Dominions or India, as may be concerned. If the debts are payable in some other currency they shall be paid or credited in the currency of the country concerned, whether an Allied or Associated Power, Colony, Protectorate, British Dominion or India, at the pre-war rate of exchange.

For the purpose of this provision the pre-war rate of exchange shall be defined as the average cable transfer rate prevailing in the Allied or Associated country concerned during the month immediately preceding the outbreak of war between the said country concerned and Germany.

If a contract provides for a fixed rate of exchange governing the conversion of the currency in which the debt is stated into the currency of the Allied or Associated country concerned, then the above provisions concerning the rate of exchange shall not apply.

In the case of new States the currency in which and the rate of exchange at which debts shall be paid or credited shall be determined by the Reparation Commission provided for in Part VIII (Reparation);

(e) The provisions of this Article and of the Annex hereto shall not apply as between Germany on the one hand and any one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, or any one of the British Dominions or India on the other hand, unless within a period of one month from the deposit of the ratifications of the present Treaty by the Power in question, or of the ratification on behalf of such Dominion or of India, notice to that effect is given to Germany by the Government of such Allied or Associated Power or of such Dominion or of India as the case may be.

(f) The Allied and Associated Powers who have adopted this Article and the Annex hereto may agree between themselves to apply them to their respective nationals established in their territory so far as regards matters between their nationals and German nationals. In this case the payments made by application of this provision will be subject to arrangements between the Allied and Associated clearing offices concerned.

## ANNEX

### I

Each of the High Contracting Parties will, within three months from the notification provided for in Article 296, paragraph (e), establish a Clearing Office for the collection and payment of enemy debts.

Local Clearing Offices may be established for any particular portion of the territories of the High Con-



tracting Parties. Such local Clearing Offices may perform all the functions of a central Clearing Office in their respective districts, except that all transactions with the Clearing Office in the Opposing State must be effected through the central Clearing Office.

2

In this Annex the pecuniary obligations referred to in the first paragraph of Article 296 are described as "enemy debts," the persons from whom the same are due as "enemy debtors," the persons to whom they are due as "enemy creditors," the Clearing Office in the country of the creditor is called the "Creditor Clearing Office," and the Clearing Office in the country of the debtor is called the "Debtor Clearing Office."

3

The High Contracting Parties will subject contraventions of paragraph (a) of Article 296 to the same penalties as are at present provided by their legislation for trading with the enemy. They will similarly prohibit within their territory all legal process relating to payment of enemy debts, except in accordance with the provisions of this Annex.

4

The Government guarantee specified in paragraph (b) of Article 296 shall take effect whenever, for any reason, a debt shall not be recoverable, except in a case where at the date of the outbreak of war the debt was barred by the laws of prescription in force in the country of the debtor, or where the debtor was at that time in a state of bankruptcy or failure or had given formal indication of insolvency, or where the debt was due by a company whose business has been liquidated under emergency legislation during the war. In such case the procedure specified by this Annex shall apply to payment of the dividends.

The terms "bankruptcy" and "failure" refer to the application of legislation providing for such juridical conditions. The expression "formal indication of insolvency" bears the same meaning as it has in English law.

5

Creditors shall give notice to the Creditor Clearing Office within six months of its establishment of debts due to them, and shall furnish the Clearing Office with any documents and information required of them.

The High Contracting Parties will take all suitable measures to trace and punish collusion between enemy creditors and debtors. The Clearing Offices will communicate to one another any evidence and information which might help the discovery and punishment of such collusion.

The High Contracting Parties will facilitate as much as possible postal and telegraphic communication at the expense of the parties concerned and through the intervention of the Clearing Offices between debtors and creditors desirous of coming to an agreement as to the amount of their debt.

The Creditor Clearing Office will notify the Debtor Clearing Office of all debts declared to it. The Debtor Clearing Office will, in due course, inform the Creditor Clearing Office which debts are admitted and which debts are contested. In the latter case, the Debtor Clearing Office will give the grounds for the non-admission of debt.

6

When a debt has been admitted, in whole or in part, the Debtor Clearing Office will at once credit the Creditor Clearing Office with the amount admitted, and at the same time notify it of such credit.

7

The debt shall be deemed to be admitted in full and shall be credited forthwith to the Creditor Clearing Office unless within three months from the receipt of the notification or such longer time as may be agreed to by the Creditor Clearing Office notice has been given by the Debtor Clearing Office that it is not admitted.

8

When the whole or part of a debt is not admitted the two Clearing Offices will examine into the matter jointly and will endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement.

9

The Creditor Clearing Office will pay to the individual creditor the sums credited to it out of the funds placed at its disposal by the Government of its country and in accordance with the conditions fixed by the said Government, retaining any sums considered necessary to cover risks, expenses or commissions.

10

Any person having claimed payment of an enemy debt which is not admitted in whole or in part shall pay to the Clearing Office, by way of fine, interest at 5 per cent. on the part not admitted. Any person having unduly refused to admit the whole or part of a debt claimed from him shall pay, by way of fine, interest at 5 per cent. on the amount with regard to which his refusal shall be disallowed.

Such interest shall run from the date of expiration of the period provided for in paragraph 7 until the date on which the claim shall have been disallowed or the debt paid.

Each Clearing Office shall in so far as it is concerned take steps to collect the fines above provided for, and will be responsible if such fines cannot be collected.

The fines will be credited to the other Clearing Office, which shall retain them as a contribution towards the cost of carrying out the present provisions.

11

The balance between the Clearing Offices shall be struck monthly and the credit balance paid in cash by the debtor State within a week.

Nevertheless, any credit balances which may be due by one or more of the Allied and Associated Powers shall be retained until complete payment shall have been effected of the sums due to the Allied or Associated Powers or their nationals on account of the war.

12

To facilitate discussion between the Clearing Offices each of them shall have a representative at the place where the other is established.

13

Except for special reasons all discussions in regard to claims will, so far as possible, take place at the Debtor Clearing Office.

14

In conformity with Article 296, paragraph (b), the

High Contracting Parties are responsible for the payment of the enemy debts owing by their nationals.

The Debtor Clearing Office will therefore credit the Creditor Clearing Office with all debts admitted, even in case of inability to collect them from the individual debtor. The Governments concerned will, nevertheless, invest their respective Clearing Offices with all necessary powers for the recovery of debts which have been admitted.

As an exception, the admitted debts owing by persons having suffered injury from acts of war shall only be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office when the compensation due to the person concerned in respect of such injury shall have been paid.

## 15

Each Government will defray the expenses of the Clearing Office set up in its territory, including the salaries of the staff.

## 16

Where the two Clearing Offices are unable to agree whether a debt claimed is due, or in case of a difference between an enemy debtor and an enemy creditor or between the Clearing Offices, the dispute shall either be referred to arbitration if the parties so agree under conditions fixed by agreement between them, or referred to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI hereafter.

At the request of the Creditor Clearing Office the dispute may, however, be submitted to the jurisdiction of the courts of the place of domicile of the debtor.

## 17

Recovery of sums found by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, the Court, or the Arbitration Tribunal to be due shall be effected through the Clearing Offices as if these sums were debts admitted by the Debtor Clearing Office.

## 18

Each of the Governments concerned shall appoint an agent who will be responsible for the presentation to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal of the cases conducted on behalf of its Clearing Office. This agent will exercise a general control over the representatives or counsel employed by its nationals.

Decisions will be arrived at on documentary evidence, but it will be open to the Tribunal to hear the parties in person, or according to their preference by their representatives approved by the two Governments, or by the agent referred to above, who shall be competent to intervene along with the party or to re-open and maintain a claim abandoned by the same.

## 19

The Clearing Offices concerned will lay before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal all the information and documents in their possession, so as to enable the Tribunal to decide rapidly on the cases which are brought before it.

## 20

Where one of the parties concerned appeals against the joint decision of the two Clearing Offices he shall make a deposit against the costs, which deposit shall only be refunded when the first judgment is modified in favour of the appellant and in proportion to the success he may attain, his opponent in case of such a refund being required to pay an equivalent pro-

portion of the costs and expenses. Security accepted by the Tribunal may be substituted for a deposit.

A fee of 5 per cent. of the amount in dispute shall be charged in respect of all cases brought before the Tribunal. This fee shall, unless the Tribunal directs otherwise, be borne by the unsuccessful party. Such fee shall be added to the deposit referred to. It is also independent of the security.

The Tribunal may award to one of the parties a sum in respect of the expenses of the proceedings.

Any sum payable under this paragraph shall be credited to the Clearing Office of the successful party as a separate item.

## 21

With a view to the rapid settlement of claims, due regard shall be paid in the appointment of all persons connected with the Clearing Offices or with the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to their knowledge of the language of the other country concerned.

Each of the Clearing Offices will be at liberty to correspond with the other and to forward documents in its own language.

## 22

Subject to any special agreement to the contrary between the Governments concerned, debts shall carry interest in accordance with the following provisions:

Interest shall not be payable on sums of money due by way of dividend, interest or other periodical payments which themselves represent interest on capital.

The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent. per annum except in cases where, by contract, law or custom, the creditor is entitled to payment of interest at a different rate. In such cases the rate to which he is entitled shall prevail.

Interest shall run from the date of commencement of hostilities (or, if the sum of money to be recovered fell due during the war, from the date at which it fell due) until the sum is credited to the Clearing Office of the creditor.

Sums due by way of interest shall be treated as debts admitted by the Clearing Offices and shall be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office in the same way as such debts.

## 23

Where by decision of the Clearing Offices or the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal a claim is held not to fall within Article 296, the creditor shall be at liberty to prosecute the claim before the Courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

The presentation of a claim to the Clearing Office suspends the operation of any period of prescription.

## 24

The High Contracting Parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals.

## 25

In any case where a Creditor Clearing Office declines to notify a claim to the Debtor Clearing Office, or to take any step provided for in this Annex, intended to make effective in whole or in part a request of which it has received due notice, the enemy creditor shall be entitled to receive from the Clearing Office a certificate setting out the amount of the claim, and



shall then be entitled to prosecute the claim before the courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

#### SECTION IV.—PROPERTY, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS

##### ARTICLE 297

The question of private property, rights and interests in an enemy country shall be settled according to the principles laid down in this Section and to the provisions of the Annex hereto.

(a) The exceptional war measures and measures of transfer (defined in paragraph 3 of the Annex hereto) taken by Germany with respect to property, rights and interests of nationals of Allied or Associated Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, when liquidation has not been completed, shall be immediately discontinued or stayed and the property, rights and interests concerned restored to their owners, who shall enjoy full rights therein in accordance with the provisions of Article 298.

(b) Subject to any contrary stipulations which may be provided for in the present Treaty, the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to retain and liquidate all property, rights and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions and protectorates, including territories ceded to them by the present Treaty.

The liquidation shall be carried out in accordance with the laws of the Allied or Associated State concerned, and the German owner shall not be able to dispose of such property, rights or interests nor to subject them to any charge without the consent of that State.

German nationals who acquire *ipso facto* the nationality of an Allied or Associated Power in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty will not be considered as German nationals within the meaning of this paragraph.

(c) The price or the amount of compensation in respect of the exercise of the right referred to in the preceding paragraph (b) will be fixed in accordance with the methods of sale or valuation adopted by the laws of the country in which the property has been retained or liquidated.

(d) As between the Allied and Associated Powers or their nationals on the one hand and Germany or her nationals on the other hand, all the exceptional war measures, or measures of transfer, or acts done or to be done in execution of such measures as defined in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Annex hereto shall be considered as final and binding upon all persons except as regards the reservations laid down in the present Treaty.

(e) The nationals of Allied and Associated Powers shall be entitled to compensation in respect of damage or injury inflicted upon their property, rights or interests, including any company or association in which they are interested, in German territory as it existed on August 1, 1914, by the application either of the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Annex hereto. The claims made in this respect by such nationals shall be investigated, and the total of the compensation shall be determined by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI or by

an Arbitrator appointed by that Tribunal. This compensation shall be borne by Germany, and may be charged upon the property of German nationals within the territory or under the control of the claimant's State. This property may be constituted as a pledge for enemy liabilities under the conditions fixed by paragraph 4 of the Annex hereto. The payment of this compensation may be made by the Allied or Associated State, and the amount will be debited to Germany.

(f) Whenever a national of an Allied or Associated Power is entitled to property which has been subjected to a measure of transfer in German territory and expresses a desire for its restitution, his claim for compensation in accordance with paragraph (e) shall be satisfied by the restitution of the said property if it still exists in specie.

In such case Germany shall take all necessary steps to restore the evicted owner to the possession of his property free from all encumbrances or burdens with which it may have been charged after liquidation, and to indemnify all third parties injured by the restitution.

If the restitution provided for in this paragraph cannot be effected, private agreements arranged by the intermediation of the Powers concerned or the Clearing Offices provided for in the Annex to Section III may be made, in order to secure that the national of the Allied or Associated Power may secure compensation for the injury referred to in paragraph (e) by the grant of advantages or equivalents which he agrees to accept in place of the property, rights or interests of which he was deprived.

Through restitution in accordance with this Article the price or the amount of compensation fixed by the application of paragraph (e) will be reduced by the actual value of the property restored, account being taken of compensation in respect of loss of use or deterioration.

(g) The rights conferred by paragraph (f) are reserved to owners who are nationals of Allied or Associated Powers within whose territory legislative measures prescribing the general liquidation of enemy property, rights or interests were not applied before the signature of the Armistice.

(h) Except in cases where, by application of paragraph (f), restitutions in specie have been made, the net proceeds of sales of enemy property, rights or interests wherever situated carried out either by virtue of war legislation, or by application of this Article, and in general all cash assets of enemies, shall be dealt with as follows:

(1) As regards Powers adopting Section III and the Annex thereto, the said proceeds and cash assets shall be credited to the Power of which the owner is a national, through the Clearing Office established thereunder; any credit balance in favour of Germany resulting therefrom shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243.

(2) As regards Powers not adopting Section III and the Annex thereto, the proceeds of the property, rights and interests, and the cash assets, of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers held by Germany shall be paid immediately to the person entitled thereto or to his Government; the proceeds of the property, rights and interests, and the cash assets, of German nationals received by an Allied or Associated Power shall be subject to disposal by such Power in accordance with its laws and regulations and may be applied in payment of the claims and debts defined by this Article or paragraph 4 of the Annex



hereto. Any property, rights and interests or proceeds thereof or cash assets not used as above provided may be retained by the said Allied or Associated Powers, and if retained the cash value thereof shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243.

In the case of liquidations effected in new States, which are signatories of the present Treaty as Allied and Associated Powers, or in States which are not entitled to share in the reparation payments to be made by Germany, the proceeds of liquidations effected by such States shall, subject to the rights of the Reparation Commission under the present Treaty, particularly under Articles 235 and 260, be paid direct to the owner. If on the application of that owner, the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, provided for by Section VI of this Part or an arbitrator appointed by that Tribunal, is satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Government of the State in question outside its general legislation were unfairly prejudicial to the price obtained, they shall have discretion to award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by that State.

(i) Germany undertakes to compensate her nationals in respect of the sale or retention of their property, rights or interests in Allied or Associated States.

(j) The amount of all taxes and imposts upon capital levied or to be levied by Germany on the property, rights and interests of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers from November 11, 1918, until three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, or, in the case of property, rights or interests which have been subjected to exceptional measures of war, until restitution in accordance with the present Treaty, shall be restored to the owners.

## ARTICLE 298

Germany undertakes, with regard to the property rights and interests, including companies and associations in which they were interested, restored to nationals of Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with the provisions of Article 297, paragraph (a) or (f):

(a) to restore and maintain, except as expressly provided in the present Treaty, the property rights and interests of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers in the legal position obtaining in respect of the property, rights and interests of German nationals under the laws in force before the war;

(b) not to subject the property, rights or interests of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers to any measures in derogation of property rights which are not applied equally to the property, rights and interests of German nationals, and to pay adequate compensation in the event of the application of these measures.

## ANNEX

### I

In accordance with the provisions of Article 297, paragraph (d), the validity of vesting orders and of orders for the winding up of businesses or companies, and of any other orders, directions, decisions or instructions of any court or any department of the Government of any of the High Contracting Parties made or given, or purporting to be made or given, in pursuance of war legislation with regard to enemy property, rights and interests is confirmed. The

interests of all persons shall be regarded as having been effectively dealt with by any order, direction, decision or instruction dealing with property in which they may be interested, whether or not such interests are specifically mentioned in the order, direction, decision, or instruction. No question shall be raised as to the regularity of a transfer of any property, rights or interests dealt with in pursuance of any such order, direction, decision or instruction. Every action taken with regard to any property, business, or company, whether as regards its investigation, sequestration, compulsory administration, use, requisition, supervision, or winding up, the sale or management of property, rights or interests, the collection or discharge of debts, the payment of costs, charges or expenses, or any other matter whatsoever, in pursuance of orders, directions, decisions, or instructions of any court or of any department of the Government of any of the High Contracting Parties, made or given, or purporting to be made or given, in pursuance of war legislation with regard to enemy property, rights or interests, is confirmed. Provided that the provisions of this paragraph shall not be held to prejudice the titles to property heretofore acquired in good faith and for value and in accordance with the laws of the country in which the property is situated by nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers.

The provisions of this paragraph do not apply to such of the above-mentioned measures as have been taken by the German authorities in invaded or occupied territory, nor to such of the above-mentioned measures as have been taken by Germany or the German authorities since November 11, 1918, all of which shall be void.

### 2

No claim or action shall be made or brought against any Allied or Associated Power or against any person acting on behalf of or under the direction of any legal authority or Department of the Government of such a Power by Germany or by any German national wherever resident in respect of any act or omission with regard to his property, rights or interests during the war or in preparation for the war. Similarly no claim or action shall be made or brought against any person in respect of any act or omission under or in accordance with the exceptional war measures, laws or regulations of any Allied or Associated Power.

### 3

In Article 297 and this Annex the expression "exceptional war measures" includes measures of all kinds, legislative, administrative, judicial or others, that have been taken or will be taken hereafter with regard to enemy property, and which have had or will have the effect of removing from the proprietors the power of disposition over their property, though without affecting the ownership, such as measures of supervision, of compulsory administration, and of sequestration; or measures which have had or will have as an object the seizure of, the use of, or the interference with enemy assets, for whatsoever motive, under whatsoever form or in whatsoever place. Acts in the execution of these measures include all detentions, instructions, orders or decrees of Government departments or courts applying these measures to enemy property, as well as acts performed by any person connected with the administration or the supervision of enemy property, such as the payment of debts, the collecting of credits, the payment of any costs, charges or expenses, or the collecting of fees.

Measures of transfer are those which have affected or will affect the ownership of enemy property by transferring it in whole or in part to a person other than the enemy owner, and without his consent, such as measures directing the sale, liquidation, or devolution of ownership in enemy property, or the cancelling of titles or securities.

4

All property, rights and interests of German nationals within the territory of any Allied or Associated Power and the net proceeds of their sale, liquidation or other dealing therewith may be charged by that Allied or Associated Power in the first place with payment of amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of that Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights and interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested, in German territory, or debts owing to them by German nationals, and with payment of claims growing out of acts committed by the German Government or by any German authorities since July 31, 1914, and before that Allied or Associated Power entered into the war. The amount of such claims may be assessed by an arbitrator appointed by Mr. Gustave Ador, if he is willing, or if no such appointment is made by him, by an arbitrator appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI. They may be charged in the second place with payment of the amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of such Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights and interests in the territory of other enemy Powers, in so far as those claims are otherwise unsatisfied.

5

Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 297, where immediately before the outbreak of war a company incorporated in an Allied or Associated State had rights in common with a company controlled by it and incorporated in Germany to the use of trade-marks in third countries, or enjoyed the use in common with such company of unique means of reproduction of goods or articles for sale in third countries, the former company shall alone have the right to use these trade-marks in third countries to the exclusion of the German company, and these unique means of reproduction shall be handed over to the former company, notwithstanding any action taken under German war legislation with regard to the latter company or its business, industrial property or shares. Nevertheless, the former company, if requested, shall deliver to the latter company derivative copies permitting the continuation of reproduction of articles for use within German territory.

6

Up to the time when restitution is carried out in accordance with Article 297, Germany is responsible for the conservation of property, rights and interests of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, that have been subjected by her to exceptional war measures.

7

Within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Allied or Associated Powers will specify the property, rights and interests over which they intend to exercise the right provided in Article 297 paragraph (f).

8

The restitution provided in Article 297 will be carried out by order of the German Government or of the authorities which have been substituted for it. Detailed accounts of the action of administrators shall be furnished to the interested persons by the German authorities upon request, which may be made at any time after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

9

Until completion of the liquidation provided for by Article 297, paragraph (b), the property, rights and interests of German nationals will continue to be subject to exceptional war measures that have been or will be taken with regard to them.

10

Germany will, within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, deliver to each Allied or Associated Power all securities, certificates, deeds, or other documents of title held by its nationals and relating to property, rights or interests situated in the territory of that Allied or Associated Power, including any shares, stock, debentures, debenture stock, or other obligations of any company incorporated in accordance with the laws of that Power.

Germany will at any time on demand of any Allied or Associated Power furnish such information as may be required with regard to the property, rights and interests of German nationals within the territory of such Allied or Associated Power, or with regard to any transactions concerning such property, rights or interests effected since July 1, 1914.

11

The expression "cash assets" includes all deposits or funds established before or after the declaration of war, as well as all assets coming from deposits, revenues, or profits collected by administrators, sequestrators, or others from funds placed on deposit or otherwise, but does not include sums belonging to the Allied or Associated Powers or to their component States, Provinces, or Municipalities.

12

All investments wheresoever effected with the cash assets of nationals of the High Contracting Parties, including companies and associations in which such nationals were interested, by persons responsible for the administration of enemy properties or having control over such administration, or by order of such persons or of any authority whatsoever shall be annulled. These cash assets shall be accounted for irrespective of any such investment.

13

Within one month from the coming into force of the present Treaty, or on demand at any time, Germany will deliver to the Allied and Associated Powers all accounts, vouchers, records, documents and information of any kind which may be within German territory, and which concern the property, rights and interests of the nationals of those Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, that have been subjected to an exceptional war measure, or to a measure of transfer either in German territory or in territory occupied by Germany or her allies.

The controllers, supervisors, managers, adminis-



trators, sequestrators, liquidators and receivers shall be personally responsible under guarantee of the German Government for the immediate delivery in full of these accounts and documents, and for their accuracy.

14

The provisions of Article 297 and this Annex relating to property, rights and interests in an enemy country, and the proceeds of the liquidation thereof, apply to debts, credits and accounts, Section III regulating only the method of payment.

In the settlement of matters provided for in Article 297 between Germany and the Allied or Associated States, their colonies or protectorates, or any one of the British Dominions or India, in respect of any of which a declaration shall not have been made that they adopt Section III, and between their respective nationals, the provisions of Section III respecting the currency in which payment is to be made and the rate of exchange and of interest shall apply unless the Government of the Allied or Associated Power concerned shall within six months of the coming into force of the present Treaty notify Germany that the said provisions are not to be applied.

15

The provisions of Article 297 and this Annex apply to industrial, literary and artistic property which has been or will be dealt with in the liquidation of property, rights, interests, companies or businesses under war legislation by the Allied or Associated Powers, or in accordance with the stipulations of Article 297, paragraph (b).

## SECTION V.—CONTRACTS, PRESCRIPTIONS, JUDGMENTS

### ARTICLE 299

(a) Any contract concluded between enemies shall be regarded as having been dissolved as from the time when any two of the parties became enemies, except in respect of any debt or other pecuniary obligation arising out of any act done or money paid thereunder, and subject to the exceptions and special rules with regard to particular contracts or classes of contracts contained herein or in the Annex hereto.

(b) Any contract of which the execution shall be required in the general interest, within six months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, by the Allied or Associated Governments of which one of the parties is a national, shall be excepted from dissolution under this Article.

When the execution of the contract thus kept alive would, owing to the alteration of trade conditions, cause one of the parties substantial prejudice the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for by Section VI shall be empowered to grant to the prejudiced party equitable compensation.

(c) Having regard to the provisions of the constitution and law of the United States of America, of Brazil and of Japan, neither the present Article, nor Article 300, nor the Annex hereto shall apply to contracts made between nationals of these States and German nationals; nor shall Article 305 apply to the United States of America or its nationals.

(d) The present Article and the Annex hereto shall not apply to contracts the parties to which became enemies by reason of one of them being an inhabitant of territory of which the sovereignty has been trans-

ferred, if such party shall acquire under the present Treaty the nationality of an Allied or Associated Power, nor shall they apply to contracts between nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers between whom trading has been prohibited by reason of one of the parties being in Allied or Associated territory in the occupation of the enemy.

(e) Nothing in the present Article or the Annex hereto shall be deemed to invalidate a transaction lawfully carried out in accordance with a contract between enemies if it has been carried out with the authority of one of the belligerent Powers.

### ARTICLE 300

(a) All periods of prescription, or limitation of right of action, whether they began to run before or after the outbreak of war, shall be treated in the territory of the High Contracting Parties, so far as regards relations between enemies, as having been suspended for the duration of the war. They shall begin to run again at earliest three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty. This provision shall apply to the period prescribed for the presentation of interest or dividend coupons or for the presentation for repayment of securities drawn for repayment or repayable on any other ground.

(b) Where, on account of failure to perform any act or comply with any formality during the war, measures of execution have been taken in German territory to the prejudice of a national of an Allied or Associated Power, the claim of such national shall, if the matter does not fall within the competence of the Courts of an Allied or Associated Power, be heard by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for by Section VI.

(c) Upon the application of any interested person who is a national of an Allied or Associated Power the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall order the restoration of the rights which have been prejudiced by the measures of execution referred to in paragraph (b), wherever, having regard to the particular circumstances of the case, such restoration is equitable and possible.

If such restoration is inequitable or impossible the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal may grant compensation to the prejudiced party to be paid by the German Government.

(d) Where a contract between enemies has been dissolved by reason either of failure on the part of either party to carry out its provisions or of the exercise of a right stipulated in the contract itself the party prejudiced may apply to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal for relief. The Tribunal will have the powers provided for in paragraph (c).

(e) The provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this Article shall apply to the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who have been prejudiced by reason of measures referred to above taken by Germany in invaded or occupied territory, if they have not been otherwise compensated.

(f) Germany shall compensate any third party who may be prejudiced by any restitution or restoration ordered by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal under the provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this Article.

(g) As regards negotiable instruments, the period of three months provided under paragraph (a) shall commence as from the date on which any exceptional regulations applied in the territories of the interested Power with regard to negotiable instruments shall have definitely ceased to have force.



## ARTICLE 301

As between enemies no negotiable instrument made before the war shall be deemed to have become invalid by reason only of failure within the required time to present the instrument for acceptance or payment or to give notice of non-acceptance or non-payment to drawers or endorsers or to protest the instrument, nor by reason of failure to complete any formality during the war.

Where the period within which a negotiable instrument should have been presented for acceptance or for payment, or within which notice of non-acceptance or non-payment should have been given to the drawer or endorser, or within which the instrument should have been presented, has elapsed during the war, and the party who should have presented or protested the instrument or have given notice of non-acceptance or non-payment has failed to do so during the war, a period of not less than three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty shall be allowed within which presentation, notice of non-acceptance or non-payment or protest may be made.

## ARTICLE 302

Judgments given by the Courts of an Allied or Associated Power in all cases which, under the present Treaty, they are competent to decide, shall be recognised in Germany as final, and shall be enforced without it being necessary to have them declared executory.

If a judgment in respect of any dispute which may have arisen has been given during the war by a German Court against a national of an Allied or Associated State in a case in which he was not able to make his defence, the Allied and Associated national who has suffered prejudice thereby shall be entitled to recover compensation, to be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI.

At the instance of the national of the Allied or Associated Power the compensation above-mentioned may, upon order to that effect of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, be effected where it is possible by replacing the parties in the situation which they occupied before the judgment was given by the German Court.

The above compensation may likewise be obtained before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal by the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers who have suffered prejudice by judicial measures taken in invaded or occupied territories, if they have not been otherwise compensated.

## ARTICLE 303

For the purpose of Sections III, IV, V and VII, the expression "during the war" means for each Allied or Associated Power the period between the commencement of the state of war between that Power and Germany and the coming into force of the present Treaty.

## ANNEX

## I. General Provisions

## 1

Within the meaning of Articles 299, 300 and 301, the parties to a contract shall be regarded as enemies when trading between them shall have been prohibited by or otherwise became unlawful under laws, orders or regulations to which one of those parties was subject. They shall be deemed to have become

enemies from the date when such trading was prohibited or otherwise became unlawful.

## 2

The following classes of contracts are excepted from dissolution by Article 299 and, without prejudice to the rights contained in Article 297 (b) of Section IV, remain in force subject to the application of domestic laws, orders or regulations made during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers and subject to the terms of the contracts:

(a) Contracts having for their object the transfer of estates or of real or personal property where the property therein had passed or the object had been delivered before the parties became enemies;

(b) Leases and agreements for leases of land and houses;

(c) Contracts of mortgage, pledge or lien;

(d) Concessions concerning mines, quarries or deposits;

(e) Contracts between individuals or companies and States, provinces, municipalities, or other similar juridical persons charged with administrative functions, and concessions granted by States, provinces, municipalities, or other juridical persons charged with administrative functions.

## 3

If the provisions of a contract are in part dissolved under Article 299, the remaining provisions of that contract shall, subject to the same application of domestic laws as is provided for in paragraph 2, continue in force if they are severable, but where they are not severable the contract shall be deemed to have been dissolved in its entirety.

II. Provisions relating to certain classes of Contracts  
*Stock Exchange and Commercial Exchange Contracts*

## 4

(a) Rules made during the war by any recognised Exchange or Commercial Association providing for the closure of contracts entered into before the war by an enemy are confirmed by the High Contracting Parties, as also any action taken thereunder, provided:

(i) That the contract was expressed to be made subject to the rules of the Exchange or Association in question;

(ii) That the rules applied to all persons concerned;

(iii) That the conditions attaching to the closure were fair and reasonable.

(b) The preceding paragraph shall not apply to rules made during the occupation by Exchanges or Commercial Associations in the districts occupied by the enemy.

(c) The closure of contracts relating to cotton "futures", which were closed as on July 31, 1914, under the decision of the Liverpool Cotton Association, is also confirmed.

*Security*

## 5

The sale of a security held for an unpaid debt owing by an enemy shall be deemed to have been valid irrespective of notice to the owner if the creditor acted in good faith and with reasonable care and

prudence, and no claim by the debtor on the ground of such sale shall be admitted.

This stipulation shall not apply to any sale of securities effected by an enemy during the occupation in regions invaded or occupied by the enemy.

## Negotiable Instruments

6

As regards Powers which adopt Section III and the Annex thereto the pecuniary obligations existing between enemies and resulting from the issue of negotiable instruments shall be adjusted in conformity with the said annex by the instrumentality of the Clearing Offices, which shall assume the rights of the holder as regards the various remedies open to him.

7

If a person has either before or during the war become liable upon a negotiable instrument in accordance with an undertaking given to him by a person who has subsequently become an enemy, the latter shall remain liable to indemnify the former in respect of his liability notwithstanding the outbreak of war.

## III. Contracts of Insurance

8

Contracts of insurance entered into by any person with another person who subsequently became an enemy will be dealt with in accordance with the following paragraphs.

### Fire Insurance

9

Contracts for the insurance of property against fire entered into by a person interested in such property with another person who subsequently became an enemy shall not be deemed to have been dissolved by the outbreak of war, or by the fact of the person becoming an enemy, or on account of the failure during the war and for a period of three months thereafter to perform his obligations under the contract, but they shall be dissolved at the date when the annual premium becomes payable for the first time after the expiration of a period of three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

A settlement shall be effected of unpaid premiums which became due during the war, or of claims for losses which occurred during the war.

10

Where by administrative or legislative action an insurance against fire effected before the war has been transferred during the war from the original to another insurer, the transfer will be recognised and the liability of the original insurer will be deemed to have ceased as from the date of the transfer. The original insurer will, however, be entitled to receive on demand full information as to the terms of the transfer, and if it should appear that these terms were not equitable they shall be amended so far as may be necessary to render them equitable.

Furthermore, the insured shall, subject to the concurrence of the original insurer, be entitled to re-transfer the contract to the original insurer as from the date of the demand.

## Life Insurance

11

Contracts of life insurance entered into between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy shall not be deemed to have been dissolved by the outbreak of war, or by the fact of the person becoming an enemy.

Any sum which during the war became due upon a contract deemed not to have been dissolved under the preceding provision shall be recoverable after the war with the addition of interest at 5 per cent. per annum from the date of its becoming due up to the day of payment.

Where the contract has lapsed during the war owing to non-payment of premiums, or has become void from breach of the conditions of the contract, the assured or his representatives or the persons entitled shall have the right at any time within twelve months of the coming into force of the present Treaty to claim from the insurer the surrender value of the policy at the date of its lapse or avoidance.

Where the contract has lapsed during the war owing to non-payment of premiums the payment of which has been prevented by the enforcement of measures of war, the assured or his representative or the persons entitled shall have the right to restore the contract on payment of the premiums with interest at 5 per cent. per annum within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

12

Any Allied or Associated Power may within three months of the coming into force of the present Treaty cancel all the contracts of insurance running between a German insurance company and its nationals under conditions which shall protect its nationals from any prejudice.

To this end the German insurance company will hand over to the Allied or Associated Government concerned the proportion of its assets attributable to the policies so cancelled and will be relieved from all liability in respect of such policies. The assets to be handed over shall be determined by an actuary appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

13

Where contracts of life insurance have been entered into by a local branch of an insurance company established in a country which subsequently became an enemy country, the contract shall, in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary in the contract itself, be governed by the local law, but the insurer shall be entitled to demand from the insured or his representatives the refund of sums paid on claims made or enforced under measures taken during the war, if the making or enforcement of such claims was not in accordance with the terms of the contract itself or was not consistent with the laws or treaties existing at the time when it was entered into.

14

In any case where by the law applicable to the contract the insurer remains bound by the contract notwithstanding the non-payment of premiums until notice is given to the insured of the termination of the contract, he shall be entitled where the giving of such notice was prevented by the war to recover the unpaid premiums with interest at 5 per cent. per annum from the insured.

## 15

Insurance contracts shall be considered as contracts of life insurance for the purpose of paragraphs 11 to 14 when they depend on the probabilities of human life combined with the rate of interest for the calculation of the reciprocal engagements between the two parties.

*Marine Insurance*

## 16

Contracts of marine insurance including time policies and voyage policies entered into between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy, shall be deemed to have been dissolved on his becoming an enemy, except in cases where the risk undertaken in the contract had attached before he became an enemy.

Where the risk had not attached, money paid by way of premium or otherwise shall be recoverable from the insurer.

Where the risk had attached effect shall be given to the contract notwithstanding the party becoming an enemy, and sums due under the contract either by way of premiums or in respect of losses shall be recoverable after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

In the event of any agreement being come to for the payment of interest on sums due before the war to or by the nationals of States which have been at war and recovered after the war, such interest shall in the case of losses recoverable under contracts of marine insurance run from the expiration of a period of one year from the date of the loss.

## 17

No contract of marine insurance with an insured person who subsequently became an enemy shall be deemed to cover losses due to belligerent action by the Power of which the insurer was a national or by the allies or associates of such Power.

## 18

Where it is shown that a person who had before the war entered into a contract of marine insurance with an insurer who subsequently became an enemy entered after the outbreak of war into a new contract covering the same risk with an insurer who was not an enemy, the new contract shall be deemed to be substituted for the original contract as from the date when it was entered into, and the premiums payable shall be adjusted on the basis of the original insurer having remained liable on the contract only up till the time when the new contract was entered into.

*Other Insurances*

## 19

Contracts of insurance entered into before the war between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy, other than contracts dealt with in paragraphs 9 to 18, shall be treated in all respects on the same footing as contracts of fire insurance between the same persons would be dealt with under the said paragraphs.

*Re-insurance*

## 20

All treaties of re-insurance with a person who became an enemy shall be regarded as having been

abrogated by the person becoming an enemy, but without prejudice in the case of life or marine risks which had attached before the war to the right to recover payment after the war for sums due in respect of such risks.

Nevertheless if, owing to invasion, it has been impossible for the re-insured to find another re-insurer the treaty shall remain in force until three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Where a re-insurance treaty becomes void under this paragraph, there shall be an adjustment of accounts between the parties in respect both of premiums paid and payable and of liabilities for losses in respect of life or marine risk which had attached before the war. In the case of risks other than those mentioned in paragraphs 11 to 18 the adjustment of accounts shall be made as at the date of the parties becoming enemies without regard to claims for losses which may have occurred since that date.

## 21

The provisions of the preceding paragraph will extend equally to re-insurances existing at the date of the parties becoming enemies of particular risks undertaken by the insurer in a contract of insurance against any risks other than life or marine risks.

## 22

Re-insurance of life risks effected by particular contracts and not under any general treaty remain in force.

The provisions of paragraph 12 apply to treaties of re-insurance of life insurance contracts in which enemy companies are the re-insurers.

## 23

In case of a re-insurance effected before the war of a contract of marine insurance, the cession of a risk which had been ceded to the re-insurer shall, if it had attached before the outbreak of war, remain valid and effect be given to the contract notwithstanding the outbreak of war; sums due under the contract of re-insurance in respect either of premiums or of losses shall be recoverable after the war.

## 24

The provisions of paragraph 17 and 18 and the last part of paragraph 16 shall apply to contracts for the re-insurance of marine risks.

## SECTION VI.—MIXED ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

## ARTICLE 304

(a) Within three months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall be established between each of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand and Germany on the other hand. Each such Tribunal shall consist of three members. Each of the Governments concerned shall appoint one of these members. The President shall be chosen by agreement between the two Governments concerned.

In case of failure to reach agreement, the President of the Tribunal and two other persons, either of whom may in case of need take his place, shall be chosen by the Council of the League of Nations, or, until this is set up, by M. Gustave Ador if he is willing.



These persons shall be nationals of Powers that have remained neutral during the war.

If any Government does not proceed within a period of one month in case there is a vacancy to appoint a member of the Tribunal, such member shall be chosen by the other Government from the two persons mentioned above other than the President.

The decision of the majority of the members of the Tribunal shall be the decision of the Tribunal.

(b) The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals established pursuant to paragraph (a) shall decide all questions, within their competence under Sections III, IV, V and VII.

In addition, all questions, whatsoever their nature, relating to contracts concluded before the coming into force of the present Treaty between nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and German nationals shall be decided by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, always excepting questions which, under the laws of the Allied, Associated or Neutral Powers, are within the jurisdiction of the National Courts of those Powers. Such questions shall be decided by the National Courts in question, to the exclusion of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. The Party who is a national of an Allied or Associated Power may nevertheless bring the case before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal if this is not prohibited by the laws of his country.

(c) If the number of cases justifies it, additional members shall be appointed and each Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall sit in divisions. Each of these divisions will be constituted as above.

(d) Each Mixed Arbitral Tribunal will settle its own procedure except in so far as it is provided in the following Annex, and is empowered to award the sums to be paid by the loser in respect of the costs and expenses of the proceedings.

(e) Each Government will pay the remuneration of the member of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal appointed by it and of any agent whom it may appoint to represent it before the Tribunal. The remuneration of the President will be determined by special agreement between the Governments concerned; and this remuneration and the joint expenses of each Tribunal will be paid by the two Governments in equal moieties.

(f) The High Contracting Parties agree that their courts and authorities shall render to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals direct all the assistance in their power, particularly as regards transmitting notices and collecting evidence.

(g) The High Contracting Parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals.

## ANNEX

### 1

Should one of the members of the Tribunal either die, retire, or be unable for any reason whatever to discharge his functions, the same procedure will be followed for filling the vacancy as was followed for appointing him.

### 2

The Tribunal may adopt such rules of procedure as shall be in accordance with justice and equity and decide the order and time at which each party must conclude its arguments, and may arrange all formalities required for dealing with the evidence.

### 3

The agent and counsel of the parties on each side are authorised to present orally and in writing to the Tribunal arguments in support or in defence of each case.

### 4

The Tribunal shall keep record of the questions and cases submitted and the proceedings thereon, with the dates of such proceedings.

### 5

Each of the Powers concerned may appoint a secretary. These secretaries shall act together as joint secretaries of the Tribunal and shall be subject to its direction. The Tribunal may appoint and employ any other necessary officer or officers to assist in the performance of its duties.

### 6

The Tribunal shall decide all questions and matters submitted upon such evidence and information as may be furnished by the parties concerned.

### 7

Germany agrees to give the Tribunal all facilities and information required by it for carrying out its investigations.

### 8

The language in which the proceedings shall be conducted shall, unless otherwise agreed, be English, French, Italian or Japanese, as may be determined by the Allied or Associated Power concerned.

### 9

The place and time for the meetings of each Tribunal shall be determined by the President of the Tribunal.

## ARTICLE 305

Whenever a competent court has given or gives a decision in a case covered by Sections III, IV, V or VII, and such decision is inconsistent with the provisions of such Sections, the party who is prejudiced by the decision shall be entitled to obtain redress which shall be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. At the request of the national of an Allied or Associated Power, the redress may, whenever possible, be effected by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal directing the replacement of the parties in the position occupied by them before the judgment was given by the German court.

## SECTION VII.—INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

### ARTICLE 306

Subject to the stipulations of the present Treaty rights of industrial, literary and artistic property, as such property is defined by the International Conventions of Paris and of Berne, mentioned in Article 286, shall be re-established or restored, as from the coming into force of the present Treaty, in the territories of the High Contracting Parties, in favour of the persons entitled to the benefit of them at the moment when the state of war commenced or their legal representatives. Equally, rights which, except for the war, would have been acquired during the war in consequence of an application made for the protection of industrial property, or the publication

of a literary or artistic work, shall be recognised and established in favour of those persons who would have been entitled thereto from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Nevertheless, all acts done by virtue of the special measures taken during the war under legislative, executive or administrative authority of an Allied or Associated Power in regard to the rights of German nationals in industrial, literary or artistic property shall remain in force and shall continue to maintain their full effect.

No claim shall be made or action brought by Germany or German nationals in respect of the use during the war by the Government of any Allied or Associated Power, or by any persons acting on behalf or with the assent of such Government of any rights in industrial, literary or artistic property, nor in respect of the sale, offering for sale, or use of any products, articles or apparatus whatsoever to which such rights applied.

Unless the legislation of any one of the Allied or Associated Powers in force at the moment of the signature of the present Treaty otherwise directs, sums due or paid in virtue of any act or operation resulting from the execution of the special measures mentioned in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be dealt with in the same way as other sums due to German nationals are directed to be dealt with by the present Treaty; and sums produced by any special measures taken by the German Government in respect of rights in industrial, literary or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers shall be considered and treated in the same way as other debts due from German nationals.

Each of the Allied and Associated Powers reserves to itself the right to impose such limitations, conditions or restrictions on rights of industrial, literary or artistic property (with the exception of trade-marks) acquired before or during the war, or which may be subsequently acquired in accordance with its legislation, by German nationals, whether by granting licences, or by the working, or by preserving control over their exploitation, or in any other way, as may be considered necessary for national defence, or in the public interest, or for assuring the fair treatment by Germany of the rights of industrial, literary and artistic property held in German territory by its nationals, or for securing the due fulfilment of all the obligations undertaken by Germany in the present Treaty. As regards rights of industrial, literary and artistic property acquired after the coming into force of the present Treaty, the right so reserved by the Allied and Associated Powers shall only be exercised in cases where these limitations, conditions or restrictions may be considered necessary for national defence or in the public interest.

In the event of the application of the provisions of the preceding paragraph by any Allied or Associated Power, there shall be paid reasonable indemnities or royalties, which shall be dealt with in the same way as other sums due to German nationals are directed to be dealt with by the present Treaty.

Each of the Allied or Associated Powers reserves the right to treat as void and of no effect any transfer in whole or in part or of other dealing with rights of or in respect of industrial, literary, or artistic property effected after August 1, 1914, or in the future, which would have the result of defeating the objects of the provisions of this Article.

The provisions of this Article shall not apply to

rights in industrial, literary or artistic property which have been dealt with in the liquidation of businesses or companies under war legislation by the Allied or Associated Powers, or which may be so dealt with by virtue of Article 297, paragraph (b).

#### ARTICLE 307

A minimum of one year after the coming into force of the present Treaty shall be accorded to the nationals of the High Contracting Parties, without extension fees or other penalty, in order to enable such persons to accomplish any act, fulfil any formality, pay any fees, and generally satisfy any obligation prescribed by the laws or regulations of the respective States relating to the obtaining, preserving, or opposing rights to, or in respect of, industrial property either acquired before August 1, 1914, or which, except for the war, might have been acquired since that date, as a result of an application made before the war or during its continuance, but nothing in this Article shall give any right to reopen interference proceedings in the United States of America where a final hearing has taken place.

All rights in, or in respect of, such property which may have lapsed by reason of any failure to accomplish any act, fulfil any formality, or make any payment, shall revive, but subject in the case of patents and designs to the imposition of such conditions as each Allied or Associated Power may deem reasonably necessary for the protection of persons who have manufactured or made use of the subject matter of such property while the rights had lapsed. Further, where rights to patents or designs belonging to German nationals are revived under this Article, they shall be subject in respect of the grant of licences to the same provisions as would have been applicable to them during the war, as well as to all the provisions of the present Treaty.

The period from August 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present Treaty shall be excluded in considering the time within which a patent should be worked or a trade mark or design used, and it is further agreed that no patent, registered trade mark or design in force on August 1, 1914, shall be subject to revocation or cancellation by reason only of the failure to work such patent or use such trade mark or design for two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

#### ARTICLE 308

The rights of priority, provided by Article 4 of the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property of Paris, of March 20, 1883, revised at Washington in 1911 or by any other Convention or Statute, for the filing or registration of applications for patents or models of utility, and for the registration of trade marks, designs and models which had not expired on August 1, 1914, and those which have arisen during the war, or would have arisen but for the war, shall be extended by each of the High Contracting Parties in favour of all nationals of the other High Contracting Parties for a period of six months after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Nevertheless, such extension shall in no way affect the right of any of the High Contracting Parties or of any person who before the coming into force of the present Treaty was *bonâ fide* in possession of any rights of industrial property conflicting with rights applied for by another who claims rights of priority



in respect of them, to exercise such rights by itself or himself personally, or by such agents or licensees as derived their rights from it or him before the coming into force of the present Treaty; and such persons shall not be amenable to any action or other process of law in respect of infringement.

## ARTICLE 309

No action shall be brought and no claim made by persons residing or carrying on business within the territories of Germany on the one part and of the Allied or Associated Powers on the other, or persons who are nationals of such Powers respectively, or by any one deriving title during the war from such persons, by reason of any action which has taken place within the territory of the other party between the date of the declaration of war and that of the coming into force of the present Treaty, which might constitute an infringement of the rights of industrial property or rights of literary and artistic property, either existing at any time during the war or revived under the provisions of Articles 307 and 308.

Equally, no action for infringement of industrial, literary or artistic property rights by such persons shall at any time be permissible in respect of the sale or offering for sale for a period of one year after the signature of the present Treaty in the territories of the Allied or Associated Powers on the one hand or Germany on the other, of products or articles manufactured, or of literary or artistic works published, during the period between the declaration of war and the signature of the present Treaty, or against those who have acquired and continue to use them. It is understood, nevertheless, that this provision shall not apply when the possessor of the rights was domiciled or had an industrial or commercial establishment in the districts occupied by Germany during the war.

This Article shall not apply as between the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

## ARTICLE 310

Licences in respect of industrial, literary or artistic property concluded before the war between nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers or persons residing in their territory or carrying on business therein, on the one part, and German nationals, on the other part, shall be considered as cancelled as from the date of the declaration of war between Germany and the Allied or Associated Power. But, in any case, the former beneficiary of a contract of this kind shall have the right, within a period of six months after the coming into force of the present Treaty, to demand from the proprietor of the rights the grant of a new licence, the conditions of which, in default of agreement between the parties, shall be fixed by the duly qualified tribunal in the country under whose legislation the rights had been acquired, except in the case of licences held in respect of rights acquired under German law. In such cases the conditions shall be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal referred to in Section VI of this Part. The tribunal may, if necessary, fix also the amount which it may deem just should be paid by reason of the use of the rights during the war.

No licence in respect of industrial, literary or artistic property, granted under the special war legislation of any Allied or Associated Power, shall be affected by the continued existence of any licence entered into before the war, but shall remain valid and of full effect,

and a licence so granted to the former beneficiary of a licence entered into before the war shall be considered as substituted for such a licence.

Where sums have been paid during the war by virtue of a licence or agreement concluded before the war in respect of rights of industrial property or for the reproduction or the representation of literary, dramatic or artistic works, these sums shall be dealt with in the same manner as other debts or credits of German nationals, as provided by the present Treaty.

This Article shall not apply as between the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

## ARTICLE 311

The inhabitants of territories separated from Germany by virtue of the present Treaty shall, notwithstanding this separation and the change of nationality consequent thereon, continue to enjoy in Germany all the rights in industrial, literary and artistic property to which they were entitled under German legislation at the time of the separation.

Rights of industrial, literary and artistic property which are in force in the territories separated from Germany under the present Treaty at the moment of the separation of these territories from Germany, or which will be re-established or restored in accordance with the provisions of Article 306 of the present Treaty, shall be recognised by the State to which the said territory is transferred and shall remain in force in that territory for the same period of time given them under the German law.

## SECTION VIII.—SOCIAL AND STATE INSURANCE IN CEDED TERRITORY

### ARTICLE 312

Without prejudice to the provisions contained in other Articles of the present Treaty the German Government undertakes to transfer to any Power to which German territory in Europe is ceded, and to any Power administering former German territory as a mandatory under Article 22 of Part I (League of Nations), such portion of the reserves accumulated by the Government of the German Empire or of German States, or by public or private organisations under their control, as is attributable to the carrying on of Social or State Insurance in such territory.

The Powers to which these funds are transferred must apply them to the performance of the obligations arising from such insurances.

The conditions of the transfer will be determined by special conventions to be concluded between the German Government and the Governments concerned.

In case these special conventions are not concluded in accordance with the above paragraph within three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty, the conditions of transfer shall in each case be referred to a Commission of five members, one of whom shall be appointed by the German Government, one by the other interested Government and three by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office from the nationals of other States. This Commission shall by a majority vote within three months after appointment adopt recommendations for submission to the Council of the League of Nations, and the decisions of the Council shall forthwith be accepted as final by Germany and the other Government concerned.



## PART XI

## AERIAL NAVIGATION

## ARTICLE 313

The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in the territory and territorial waters of Germany, and shall enjoy the same privileges as German aircraft, particularly in case of distress by land or sea.

## ARTICLE 314

The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall, while in transit to any foreign country whatever, enjoy the right of flying over the territory and territorial waters of Germany without landing, subject always to any regulations which may be made by Germany, and which shall be applicable equally to the aircraft of Germany and to those of the Allied and Associated countries.

## ARTICLE 315

All aerodromes in Germany open to national public traffic shall be open for the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers, and in any such aerodrome such aircraft shall be treated on a footing of equality with German aircraft as regards charges of every description, including charges for landing and accommodation.

## ARTICLE 316

Subject to the present provisions, the rights of passage, transit and landing, provided for in Articles 313, 314, and 315 are subject to the observance of such regulations as Germany may consider it necessary to enact, but such regulations shall be applied

without distinction to German aircraft and to those of the Allied and Associated countries.

## ARTICLE 317

Certificates of nationality, airworthiness, or competency, and licences, issued or recognised as valid by any of the Allied or Associated Powers, shall be recognised in Germany as valid and as equivalent to the certificates and licences issued by Germany.

## ARTICLE 318

As regards internal commercial air traffic, the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Germany most favoured nation treatment.

## ARTICLE 319

Germany undertakes to enforce the necessary measures to ensure that all German aircraft flying over her territory shall comply with the Rules as to lights and signals, Rules of the Air and Rules for Air Traffic on and in the neighbourhood of aerodromes, which have been laid down in the Convention relative to Aerial Navigation concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers.

## ARTICLE 320

The obligations imposed by the preceding provisions shall remain in force until January 1, 1923, unless before that date Germany shall have been admitted into the League of Nations or shall have been authorised, by consent of the Allied and Associated Powers, to adhere to the Convention relative to Aerial Navigation concluded between those Powers.

## PART XII

## PORTS, WATERWAYS AND RAILWAYS

## SECTION I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

## ARTICLE 321

Germany undertakes to grant freedom of transit through her territories on the routes most convenient for international transit, either by rail, navigable waterway, or canal, to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails coming from or going to the territories of any of the Allied and Associated Powers (whether contiguous or not); for this purpose the crossing of territorial waters shall be allowed. Such persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails shall not be subjected to any transit duty or to any undue delays or restrictions, and shall be entitled in Germany to national treatment as regards charges, facilities, and all other matters.

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all Customs or other similar duties.

All charges imposed on transport in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the

traffic. No charge, facility or restriction shall depend directly or indirectly on the ownership or on the nationality of the ship or other means of transport on which any part of the through journey has been, or is to be, accomplished.

## ARTICLE 322

Germany undertakes neither to impose nor to maintain any control over transmigration traffic through her territories beyond measures necessary to ensure that passengers are *bonâ fide* in transit; nor to allow any shipping company or any other private body, corporation or person interested in the traffic to take any part whatever in, or to exercise any direct or indirect influence over, any administrative service that may be necessary for this purpose.

## ARTICLE 323

Germany undertakes to make no discrimination or preference, direct or indirect, in the duties, charges

and prohibitions relating to importations into or exportations from her territories, or, subject to the special engagements contained in the present Treaty, in the charges and conditions of transport of goods or persons entering or leaving her territories, based on the frontier crossed; or on the kind, ownership or flag of the means of transport (including aircraft) employed; or on the original or immediate place of departure of the vessel, wagon or aircraft or other means of transport employed, or its ultimate or intermediate destination; or on the route of or places of trans-shipment on the journey; or on whether any port through which the goods are imported or exported is a German port or a port belonging to any foreign country or on whether the goods are imported or exported by sea, by land or by air.

Germany particularly undertakes not to establish against the ports and vessels of any of the Allied and Associated Powers any surtax or any direct or indirect bounty for export or import by German ports or vessels, or by those of another Power, for example by means of combined tariffs. She further undertakes that persons or goods passing through a port or using a vessel of any of the Allied and Associated Powers shall not be subjected to any formality or delay whatever to which such persons or goods would not be subjected if they passed through a German port or a port of any other Power, or used a German vessel or a vessel of any other Power.

## ARTICLE 324

All necessary administrative and technical measures shall be taken to shorten, as much as possible, the transmission of goods across the German frontiers and to ensure their forwarding and transport from such frontiers, irrespective of whether such goods are coming from or going to the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers or are in transit from or to those territories, under the same material conditions in such matters as rapidity of carriage and care *en route* as are enjoyed by other goods of the same kind carried on German territory under similar conditions of transport.

In particular, the transport of perishable goods shall be promptly and regularly carried out, and the customs formalities shall be effected in such a way as to allow the goods to be carried straight through by trains which make connection.

## ARTICLE 325

The seaports of the Allied and Associated Powers are entitled to all favours and to all reduced tariffs granted on German railways or navigable waterways for the benefit of German ports or of any port of another Power.

## ARTICLE 326

Germany may not refuse to participate in the tariffs or combinations of tariffs intended to secure for ports of any of the Allied and Associated Powers advantages similar to those granted by Germany to her own ports or the ports of any other Power.

## SECTION II.—NAVIGATION

### CHAPTER I.—FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION

## ARTICLE 327

The nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers as well as their vessels and property shall

enjoy in all German ports and on the inland navigation routes of Germany the same treatment in all respects as German nationals, vessels and property.

In particular the vessels of any one of the Allied or Associated Powers shall be entitled to transport goods of any description, and passengers, to or from any ports or places in German territory to which German vessels may have access, under conditions which shall not be more onerous than those applied in the case of national vessels; they shall be treated on a footing of equality with national vessels as regards port and harbour facilities and charges of every description, including facilities for stationing, loading and unloading, and duties and charges of tonnage, harbour, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine, and all analogous duties and charges of whatsoever nature, levied in the name of or for the profit of the Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind.

In the event of Germany granting a preferential régime to any of the Allied or Associated Powers or to any other foreign Powers, this régime shall be extended immediately and unconditionally to all the Allied and Associated Powers.

There shall be no impediment to the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising from prescriptions concerning customs, police, sanitation, emigration and immigration, and those relating to the import and export of prohibited goods. Such regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not impede traffic unnecessarily.

### CHAPTER II.—FREE ZONES IN PORTS

## ARTICLE 328

The free zones existing in German ports on August 1, 1914, shall be maintained. These free zones, and any other free zones which may be established in German territory by the present Treaty, shall be subject to the régime provided for in the following Articles.

Goods entering or leaving a free zone shall not be subjected to any import or export duty, other than those provided for in Article 330.

Vessels and goods entering a free zone may be subjected to the charges established to cover expenses of administration, upkeep and improvement of the port, as well as to the charges for the use of various installations, provided that these charges shall be reasonable having regard to the expenditure incurred, and shall be levied in the conditions of equality provided for in Article 327.

Goods shall not be subjected to any other charge except a statistical duty which shall not exceed 1 per mille *ad valorem*, and which shall be devoted exclusively to defraying the expenses of compiling statements of the traffic in the port.

## ARTICLE 329

The facilities granted for the erection of warehouses, for packing and for unpacking goods, shall be in accordance with trade requirements for the time being. All goods allowed to be consumed in the free zone shall be exempt from duty, whether of excise or of any other description, apart from the statistical duty provided for in Article 328 above.

There shall be no discrimination in regard to any of the provisions of the present Article between persons belonging to different nationalities or between goods of different origin or destination.

## ARTICLE 330

Import duties may be levied on goods leaving the free zone for consumption in the country on the territory of which the port is situated. Conversely, export duties may be levied on goods coming from such country and brought into the free zone. These import and export duties shall be levied on the same basis and at the same rates as similar duties levied at the other Customs frontiers of the country concerned. On the other hand, Germany shall not levy, under any denomination, any import, export or transit duty on goods carried by land or water across her territory to or from the free zone from or to any other State.

Germany shall draw up the necessary regulations to secure and guarantee such freedom of transit over such railways and waterways in her territory as normally give access to the free zone.

## CHAPTER III—CLAUSES RELATING TO THE ELBE, THE ODER, THE NIEMEN (RUSSSTROM-MEMEL-NIEMEN) AND THE DANUBE

## (1)—General Clauses

## ARTICLE 331

The following rivers are declared international:

- the Elbe (*Labe*) from its confluence with the Vltava (*Moldau*), and the Vltava (*Moldau*) from Prague;
- the Oder (*Odra*) from its confluence with the Oppa;
- the Niemen (*Russstrom-Memel-Niemen*) from Grodno;
- the Danube from Ulm;

and all navigable parts of these river systems which naturally provide more than one State with access to the sea, with or without transshipment from one vessel to another; together with lateral canals and channels constructed either to duplicate or to improve naturally navigable sections of the specified river systems, or to connect two naturally navigable sections of the same river.

The same shall apply to the Rhine-Danube navigable waterway, should such a waterway be constructed under the conditions laid down in Article 353.

## ARTICLE 332

On the waterways declared to be international in the preceding Article, the nationals, property and flags of all Powers shall be treated on a footing of perfect equality, no distinction being made to the detriment of the nationals, property or flag of any Power between them and the nationals, property or flag of the riparian State itself or of the most favoured nation.

Nevertheless, German vessels shall not be entitled to carry passengers or goods by regular services between the ports of any Allied or Associated Power, without special authority from such Power.

## ARTICLE 333

Where such charges are not precluded by any existing conventions, charges varying on different sections of a river may be levied on vessels using the navigable channels or their approaches, provided that they are intended solely to cover equitably the cost of maintaining in a navigable condition, or of

improving, the river and its approaches, or to meet expenditure incurred in the interests of navigation. The schedule of such charges shall be calculated on the basis of such expenditure and shall be posted up in the ports. These charges shall be levied in such a manner as to render any detailed examination of cargoes unnecessary, except in cases of suspected fraud or contravention.

## ARTICLE 334

The transit of vessels, passengers and goods on these waterways shall be effected in accordance with the general conditions prescribed for transit in Section I above.

When the two banks of an international river are within the same State goods in transit may be placed under seal or in the custody of customs agents. When the river forms a frontier goods and passengers in transit shall be exempt from all Customs formalities; the loading and unloading of goods, and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, shall only take place in the ports specified by the riparian State.

## ARTICLE 335

No dues of any kind other than those provided for in the present Part shall be levied along the course or at the mouth of these rivers.

This provision shall not prevent the fixing by the riparian States of Customs, local octroi or consumption duties, or the creation of reasonable and uniform charges levied in the ports, in accordance with public tariffs, for the use of cranes, elevators, quays, warehouses, etc.

## ARTICLE 336

In default of any special organisation for carrying out the works connected with the upkeep and improvement of the international portion of a navigable system, each riparian State shall be bound to take suitable measures to remove any obstacle or danger to navigation and to ensure the maintenance of good conditions of navigation.

If a State neglects to comply with this obligation any riparian State, or any State represented on the International Commission, if there is one, may appeal to the tribunal instituted for this purpose by the League of Nations.

## ARTICLE 337

The same procedure shall be followed in the case of a riparian State undertaking any works of a nature to impede navigation in the international section. The tribunal mentioned in the preceding Article shall be entitled to enforce the suspension or suppression of such works, making due allowance in its decisions for all rights in connection with irrigation, water-power, fisheries, and other national interests, which, with the consent of all the riparian States or of all the States represented on the International Commission, if there is one, shall be given priority over the requirements of navigation.

Appeal to the tribunal of the League of Nations does not require the suspension of the works.

## ARTICLE 338

The régime set out in Articles 332 to 337 above shall be superseded by one to be laid down in a General Convention drawn up by the Allied and Associated Powers, and approved by the League of Nations,



relating to the waterways recognised in such Convention as having an international character. This Convention shall apply in particular to the whole or part of the above-mentioned river systems of the Elbe (*Labe*), the Oder (*Odra*), the Niemen (*Russstrom-Memel-Niemen*), and the Danube, and such other parts of these river systems as may be covered by a general definition.

Germany undertakes, in accordance with the provisions of Article 379, to adhere to the said General Convention as well as to all projects prepared in accordance with Article 343 below for the revision of existing international agreements and regulations.

## ARTICLE 339

Germany shall cede to the Allied and Associated Powers concerned, within a maximum period of three months from the date on which notification shall be given her, a proportion of the tugs and vessels remaining registered in the ports of the river systems referred to in Article 331 after the deduction of those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation. Germany shall in the same way cede material of all kinds necessary to the Allied and Associated Powers concerned for the utilisation of those river systems.

The number of the tugs and boats, and the amount of the material so ceded, and their distribution, shall be determined by an arbitrator or arbitrators nominated by the United States of America, due regard being had to the legitimate needs of the parties concerned, and particularly to the shipping traffic during the five years preceding the war.

All craft so ceded shall be provided with their fittings and gear, shall be in a good state of repair and in condition to carry goods, and shall be selected from among those most recently built.

The cessions provided for in the present Article shall entail a credit of which the total amount, settled in a lump sum by the arbitrator or arbitrators, shall not in any case exceed the value of the capital expended in the initial establishment of the material ceded, and shall be set off against the total sums due from Germany; in consequence, the indemnification of the proprietors shall be a matter for Germany to deal with.

## (2) *Special Clauses relating to the Elbe, the Oder and the Niemen (Russstrom-Memel-Niemen)*

### ARTICLE 340

The Elbe (*Labe*) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission which shall comprise:

- 4 representatives of the German States bordering on the river;
- 2 representatives of the Czecho-Slovak State;
- 1 representative of Great Britain;
- 1 representative of France;
- 1 representative of Italy;
- 1 representative of Belgium.

Whatever be the number of members present, each delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

### ARTICLE 341

The Oder (*Odra*) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise:

- 1 representative of Poland;
- 3 representatives of Prussia;
- 1 representative of the Czecho-Slovak State;
- 1 representative of Great Britain;
- 1 representative of France;
- 1 representative of Denmark;
- 1 representative of Sweden.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

### ARTICLE 342

On a request being made to the League of Nations by any riparian State, the Niemen (*Russstrom-Memel-Niemen*) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise one representative of each riparian State, and three representatives of other States specified by the League of Nations.

### ARTICLE 343

The International Commissions referred to in Articles 340 and 341 shall meet within three months of the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty. The International Commission referred to in Article 342 shall meet within three months from the date of the request made by a riparian State. Each of these Commissions shall proceed immediately to prepare a project for the revision of the existing international agreements and regulations, drawn up in conformity with the General Convention referred to in Article 338, should such Convention have been already concluded. In the absence of such Convention, the project for revision shall be in conformity with the principles of Articles 332 to 337 above.

### ARTICLE 344

The projects referred to in the preceding Article shall, *inter alia*:

- (a) Designate the headquarters of the International Commission, and prescribe the manner in which its President is to be nominated;
- (b) specify the extent of the Commission's powers, particularly in regard to the execution of works of maintenance, control, and improvement on the river system, the financial régime, the fixing and collection of charges, and regulations for navigation;
- (c) define the sections of the river or its tributaries to which the international régime shall be applied.

### ARTICLE 345

The international agreements and regulations at present governing the navigation of the Elbe (*Labe*), the Oder (*Odra*), and the Niemen (*Russstrom-Memel-Niemen*) shall be provisionally maintained in force until the ratification of the above-mentioned projects. Nevertheless, in all cases where such agreements and regulations in force are in conflict with the provisions of Articles 332 to 337 above, or of the General Convention to be concluded, the latter provisions shall prevail.

(3) *Special Clauses relating to the Danube*

## ARTICLE 346

The European Commission of the Danube re-assumes the powers possessed before the war. Nevertheless, as a provisional measure, only representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Roumania shall constitute this Commission.

## ARTICLE 347

From the point where the competence of the European Commission ceases, the Danube system referred to in Article 331 shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission composed as follows:

- Two representatives of German riparian States;
- One representative of each other riparian State;
- One representative of each non-riparian State represented in the future on the European Commission of the Danube.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

## ARTICLE 348

The International Commission provided for in the preceding Article shall meet as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and shall undertake provisionally the administration of the river in conformity with the provisions of Articles 332 to 337, until such time as a definitive statute regarding the Danube is concluded by the Powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers.

## ARTICLE 349

Germany agrees to accept the régime which shall be laid down for the Danube by a Conference of the Powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers, which shall meet within one year after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and at which German representatives may be present.

## ARTICLE 350

The mandate given by Article 57 of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, to Austria-Hungary, and transferred by her to Hungary, to carry out works at the Iron Gates, is abrogated. The Commission entrusted with the administration of this part of the river shall lay down provisions for the settlement of accounts subject to the financial provisions of the present Treaty. Charges which may be necessary shall in no case be levied by Hungary.

## ARTICLE 351

Should the Czecho-Slovak State, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State or Roumania, with the authorisation of or under mandate from the International Commission, undertake maintenance, improvement, weir, or other works on a part of the river system which forms a frontier, these States shall enjoy on the opposite bank, and also on the part of the bed which is outside their territory, all necessary facilities for the survey, execution and maintenance of such works.

## ARTICLE 352

Germany shall be obliged to make to the European Commission of the Danube all restitutions, reparations and indemnities for damages inflicted on the Commission during the war.

## ARTICLE 353

Should a deep-draught Rhine-Danube navigable waterway be constructed, Germany undertakes to apply thereto the régime prescribed in Articles 332 to 338.

## CHAPTER IV.—CLAUSES RELATING TO THE RHINE AND THE MOSELLE

## ARTICLE 354

As from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Convention of Mannheim of October 17, 1868, together with the Final Protocol thereof, shall continue to govern navigation on the Rhine, subject to the conditions hereinafter laid down.

In the event of any provisions of the said Convention being in conflict with those laid down by the General Convention referred to in Article 338 (which shall apply to the Rhine) the provisions of the General Convention shall prevail.

Within a maximum period of six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Central Commission referred to in Article 355 shall meet to draw up a project of revision of the Convention of Mannheim. This project shall be drawn up in harmony with the provisions of the General Convention referred to above, should this have been concluded by that time, and shall be submitted to the Powers represented on the Central Commission. Germany hereby agrees to adhere to the project so drawn up.

Further, the modifications set out in the following Articles shall immediately be made in the Convention of Mannheim.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve to themselves the right to arrive at an understanding in this connection with Holland, and Germany hereby agrees to accede if required to any such understanding.

## ARTICLE 355

The Central Commission provided for in the Convention of Mannheim shall consist of nineteen members, viz.:

- 2 representatives of the Netherlands;
- 2 representatives of Switzerland;
- 4 representatives of German riparian States;
- 4 representatives of France, which in addition shall appoint the President of the Commission;
- 2 representatives of Great Britain;
- 2 representatives of Italy;
- 2 representatives of Belgium.

The headquarters of the Central Commission shall be at Strasburg.

Whatever be the number of members present, each Delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

## ARTICLE 356

Vessels of all nations, and their cargoes, shall have the same rights and privileges as those which are granted to vessels belonging to the Rhine navigation, and to their cargoes.

None of the provisions contained in Articles 15 to 20 and 26 of the above-mentioned Convention of Mannheim, in Article 4 of the Final Protocol thereof, or in later Conventions, shall impede the free navigation of vessels and crews of all nations on the Rhine and on waterways to which such Conventions apply, subject to compliance with the regulations concerning pilotage and other police measures drawn up by the Central Commission.

The provisions of Article 22 of the Convention of Mannheim and of Article 5 of the Final Protocol thereof shall be applied only to vessels registered on the Rhine. The Central Commission shall decide on the steps to be taken to ensure that other vessels satisfy the conditions of the general regulations applying to navigation on the Rhine.

## ARTICLE 357

Within a maximum period of three months from the date on which notification shall be given Germany shall cede to France tugs and vessels, from among those remaining registered in German Rhine ports after the deduction of those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation, or shares in German Rhine navigation companies.

When vessels and tugs are ceded, such vessels and tugs, together with their fittings and gear, shall be in good state of repair, shall be in condition to carry on commercial traffic on the Rhine, and shall be selected from among those most recently built.

The same procedure shall be followed in the matter of the cession by Germany to France of:

(1) the installations, berthing and anchorage accommodation, platforms, docks, warehouses, plant, etc., which German subjects or German companies owned on August 1, 1914, in the port of Rotterdam, and

(2) the shares or interests which Germany or German nationals possessed in such installations at the same date.

The amount and specifications of such cessions shall be determined within one year of the coming into force of the present Treaty by an arbitrator or arbitrators appointed by the United States of America, due regard being had to the legitimate needs of the parties concerned.

The cessions provided for in the present Article shall entail a credit of which the total amount, settled in a lump sum by the arbitrator or arbitrators mentioned above, shall not in any case exceed the value of the capital expended in the initial establishment of the ceded material and installations, and shall be set off against the total sums due from Germany; in consequence, the indemnification of the proprietors shall be a matter for Germany to deal with.

## ARTICLE 358

Subject to the obligation to comply with the provisions of the Convention of Mannheim or of the Convention which may be substituted therefor, and to the stipulations of the present Treaty, France shall have on the whole course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of the French frontiers:

- (a) the right to take water from the Rhine to feed navigation and irrigation canals (constructed or to be constructed) or for any other purpose, and to execute on the German bank all works necessary for the exercise of this right;
- (b) the exclusive right to the power derived from works of regulation on the river, subject to the payment to Germany of the value of half the power actually produced, this payment, which will take into account the cost of the works necessary for producing the power, being made either in money or in power and in default of agreement being determined by arbitration. For this purpose France alone shall have the right to carry out in this part of the river all works of regulation (weirs or other works) which she may consider necessary for the production of power. Similarly, the right of taking water from the Rhine is accorded to Belgium to feed the Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway provided for below.

The exercise of the rights mentioned under (a) and (b) of the present Article shall not interfere with navigability nor reduce the facilities for navigation, either in the bed of the Rhine or in the derivations which may be substituted therefor, nor shall it involve any increase in the tolls formerly levied under the Convention in force. All proposed schemes shall be laid before the Central Commission in order that that Commission may assure itself that these conditions are complied with.

To ensure the proper and faithful execution of the provisions contained in (a) and (b) above, Germany:

(i) binds herself not to undertake or to allow the construction of any lateral canal or any derivation on the right bank of the river opposite the French frontiers;

(ii) recognises the possession by France of the right of support on and the right of way over all lands situated on the right bank which may be required in order to survey, to build, and to operate weirs which France, with the consent of the Central Commission may subsequently decide to establish. In accordance with such consent, France shall be entitled to decide upon and fix the limits of the necessary sites, and she shall be permitted to occupy such lands after a period of two months after simple notification, subject to the payment by her to Germany of indemnities of which the total amount shall be fixed by the Central Commission. Germany shall make it her business to indemnify the proprietors whose property will be burdened with such servitudes or permanently occupied by the works.

Should Switzerland so demand, and if the Central Commission approves, the same rights shall be accorded to Switzerland for the part of the river forming her frontier with other riparian States;

(iii) shall hand over to the French Government, during the month following the coming into force of the present Treaty, all projects, designs, drafts of concessions and of specifications concerning the regulation of the Rhine for any purpose whatever which have been drawn up or received by the Governments of Alsace-Lorraine or of the Grand Duchy of Baden.

## ARTICLE 359

Subject to the preceding provisions, no works shall be carried out in the bed or on either bank of the Rhine where it forms the boundary of France and



Germany without the previous approval of the Central Commission or of its agents.

#### ARTICLE 360

France reserves the option of substituting herself as regards the rights and obligations resulting from agreements arrived at between the Government of Alsace-Lorraine and the Grand Duchy of Baden concerning the works to be carried out on the Rhine: she may also denounce such agreements within a term of five years dating from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

France shall also have the option of causing works to be carried out which may be recognised as necessary by the Central Commission for the upkeep or improvement of the navigability of the Rhine above Mannheim.

#### ARTICLE 361

Should Belgium within a period of 25 years from the coming into force of the present Treaty decide to create a deep-draught Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway, in the region of Ruhrort, Germany shall be bound to construct, in accordance with plans to be communicated to her by the Belgian Government, after agreement with the Central Commission, the portion of this navigable waterway situated within her territory,

The Belgian Government shall, for this purpose, have the right to carry out on the ground all necessary surveys.

Should Germany fail to carry out all or part of these works, the Central Commission shall be entitled to carry them out instead; and, for this purpose, the Commission may decide upon and fix the limits of the necessary sites and occupy the ground after a period of two months after simple notification, subject to the payment of indemnities to be fixed by it and paid by Germany.

This navigable waterway shall be placed under the same administrative régime as the Rhine itself, and the division of the cost of initial construction, including the above indemnities, among the States crossed thereby shall be made by the Central Commission.

#### ARTICLE 362

Germany hereby agrees to offer no objection to any proposals of the Central Rhine Commission for extending its jurisdiction:

(1) to the Moselle below the Franco-Luxemburg frontier down to the Rhine, subject to the consent of Luxemburg;

(2) to the Rhine above Basle up to the Lake of Constance, subject to the consent of Switzerland;

(3) to the lateral canals and channels which may be established either to duplicate or to improve naturally navigable sections of the Rhine or the Moselle, or to connect two naturally navigable sections of these rivers, and also any other parts of the Rhine river system which may be covered by the General Convention provided for in Article 338 above.

#### CHAPTER V.—CLAUSES GIVING TO THE CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE THE USE OF NORTHERN PORTS

#### ARTICLE 363

In the ports of Hamburg and Stettin Germany shall lease to the Czecho-Slovak State, for a period of 99 years, areas which shall be placed under the general régime of free zones and shall be used for the

direct transit of goods coming from or going to that State.

#### ARTICLE 364

The delimitation of these areas, and their equipment, their exploitation, and in general all conditions for their utilisation, including the amount of the rental, shall be decided by a Commission consisting of one delegate of Germany, one delegate of the Czecho-Slovak State and one delegate of Great Britain. These conditions shall be susceptible of revision every ten years in the same manner.

Germany declares in advance that she will adhere to the decisions so taken.

### SECTION III.—RAILWAYS

#### CHAPTER I.—CLAUSES RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT

#### ARTICLE 365

Goods coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers, and going to Germany, or in transit through Germany from or to the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers, shall enjoy on the German railways as regards charges to be collected (rebates and drawbacks being taken into account), facilities, and all other matters, the most favourable treatment applied to goods of the same kind carried on any German lines, either in internal traffic, or for export, import or in transit, under similar conditions of transport, for example as regards length of route. The same rule shall be applied, on the request of one or more of the Allied and Associated Powers, to goods specially designated by such Power or Powers coming from Germany and going to their territories.

International tariffs established in accordance with the rates referred to in the preceding paragraph and involving through way-bills shall be established when one of the Allied and Associated Powers shall require it from Germany.

#### ARTICLE 366

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall renew, in so far as concerns them and under the reserves indicated in the second paragraph of the present Article, the conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on October 14, 1890, September 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, June 16, 1898, and September 19, 1906, regarding the transportation of goods by rail.

If within five years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty a new convention for the transportation of passengers, luggage and goods by rail shall have been concluded to replace the Berne Convention of October 14, 1890, and the subsequent additions referred to above, this new convention and the supplementary provisions for international transport by rail which may be based on it shall bind Germany, even if she shall have refused to take part in the preparation of the convention or to subscribe to it. Until a new convention shall have been concluded, Germany shall conform to the provisions of the Berne Convention and the subsequent additions referred to above, and to the current supplementary provisions.

#### ARTICLE 367

Germany shall be bound to co-operate in the establishment of through ticket services (for passen-

gers and their luggage) which shall be required by any of the Allied and Associated Powers to ensure their communication by rail with each other and with all other countries by transit across the territories of Germany; in particular Germany shall for this purpose, accept trains and carriages coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers and shall forward them with a speed at least equal to that of her best long-distance trains on the same lines. The rates applicable to such through services shall not in any case be higher than the rates collected on German internal services for the same distance, under the same conditions of speed and comfort.

The tariffs applicable under the same conditions of speed and comfort to the transportation of emigrants going to or coming from ports of the Allied and Associated Powers and using the German railways shall not be at a higher kilometric rate than the most favourable tariffs (drawbacks and rebates being taken into account) enjoyed on the said railways by emigrants going to or coming from any other ports.

## ARTICLE 368

Germany shall not apply specially to such through services, or to the transportation of emigrants going to or coming from the ports of the Allied and Associated Powers, any technical, fiscal or administrative measures, such as measures of customs examination, general police sanitary police, and control, the result of which would be to impede or delay such services.

## ARTICLE 369

In case of transport partly by rail and partly by internal navigation, with or without through way-bill, the preceding Articles shall apply to the part of the journey performed by rail.

## CHAPTER II.—ROLLING-STOCK

### ARTICLE 370

Germany undertakes that German wagons shall be fitted with apparatus allowing:

(1) of their inclusion in goods trains on the lines of such of the Allied and Associated Powers as are parties to the Berne Convention of May 15, 1886, as modified on May 18, 1907, without hampering the action of the continuous brake which may be adopted in such countries within ten years of the coming into force of the present Treaty, and

(2) of the acceptance of wagons of such countries in all goods trains on the German lines.

The rolling-stock of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy on the German lines the same treatment as German rolling-stock as regards movement, upkeep and repairs.

## CHAPTER III.—CESSIONS OF RAILWAY LINES

### ARTICLE 371

Subject to any special provisions concerning the cession of ports, waterways and railways situated in the territories over which Germany abandons her sovereignty, and to the financial conditions relating to the concessionnaires and the pensioning of the personnel, the cession of railways will take place under the following conditions:

(1) The works and installations of all the railroads

shall be handed over complete and in good condition.

(2) When a railway system possessing its own rolling-stock is handed over in its entirety by Germany to one of the Allied and Associated Powers, such stock shall be handed over complete in accordance with the last inventory before November 11, 1918, and in a normal state of upkeep.

(3) As regards lines without any special rolling-stock, Commissions of experts designated by the Allied and Associated Powers, on which Germany shall be represented, shall fix the proportion of the stock existing on the system to which those lines belong to be handed over. These Commissions shall have regard to the amount of the material registered on these lines in the last inventory before November 11, 1918, the length of track (sidings included), and the nature and amount of the traffic. These Commissions shall also specify the locomotives, carriages and wagons to be handed over in each case; they shall decide upon the conditions of their acceptance, and shall make the provisional arrangements necessary to ensure their repair in German workshops.

(4) Stocks of stores, fittings and plant shall be handed over under the same conditions as the rolling-stock.

The provisions of paragraphs (3) and (4) above shall be applied to the lines of former Russian Poland converted by Germany to the German gauge, such lines being regarded as detached from the Prussian State System.

## CHAPTER IV.—PROVISIONS RELATING TO CERTAIN RAILWAY LINES

### ARTICLE 372

When as a result of the fixing of new frontiers a railway connection between two parts of the same country crosses another country, or a branch line from one country has its terminus in another, the conditions of working, if not specifically provided for in the present Treaty, shall be laid down in a convention between the railway administrations concerned. If the administrations cannot come to an agreement as to the terms of such convention the points of difference shall be decided by commissions of experts composed as provided in the preceding article.

### ARTICLE 373

Within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Czecho-Slovak State may require the construction of a railway line in German territory between the stations of Schlauney and Nachod. The cost of construction shall be borne by the Czecho-Slovak State.

### ARTICLE 374

Germany undertakes to accept, within ten years of the coming into force of the present Treaty, on request being made by the Swiss Government after agreement with the Italian Government, the denunciation of the International Convention of October 13, 1909, relative to the St. Gothard railway. In the absence of agreement as to the conditions of such denunciation, Germany hereby agrees to accept the decision of an arbitrator designated by the United States of America.

## CHAPTER V.—TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

## ARTICLE 375

Germany shall carry out the instructions given her, in regard to transport, by an authorised body acting on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers:

(1) for the carriage of troops under the provisions of the present Treaty, and of material, ammunition and supplies for army use.

(2) as a temporary measure, for the transportation of supplies for certain regions, as well as for the restoration, as rapidly as possible, of the normal conditions of transport, and for the organisation of postal and telegraphic services.

## SECTION IV.—DISPUTES AND REVISION OF PERMANENT CLAUSES

## ARTICLE 376

Disputes which may arise between interested Powers with regard to the interpretation and application of the preceding Articles shall be settled as provided by the League of Nations.

## ARTICLE 377

At any time the League of Nations may recommend the revision of such of these Articles as relate to a permanent administrative régime.

## ARTICLE 378

The stipulations in Articles 321 to 330, 332, 365, and 367 to 369 shall be subject to revision by the Council of the League of Nations at any time after five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Failing such revision, no Allied or Associated Power can claim after the expiration of the above period of five years the benefit of any of the stipulations in the Articles enumerated above on behalf of any portion of its territories in which reciprocity is not accorded in respect of such stipulations. The period of five years during which reciprocity cannot be demanded may be prolonged by the Council of the League of Nations.

## SECTION V.—SPECIAL PROVISION

## ARTICLE 379

Without prejudice to the special obligations imposed on her by the present Treaty for the benefit of the Allied and Associated Powers, Germany undertakes to adhere to any General Conventions regarding the international régime of transit, waterways, ports or railways which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers, with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

## SECTION VI.—CAUSES RELATING TO THE KIEL CANAL

## ARTICLE 380

The Kiel Canal and its approaches shall be maintained free and open to the vessels of commerce and

of war of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality.

## ARTICLE 381

The nationals, property and vessels of all Powers shall, in respect of charges, facilities, and in all other respects, be treated on a footing of perfect equality in the use of the Canal, no distinction being made to the detriment of nationals, property and vessels of any Power between them and the nationals, property and vessels of Germany or of the most favoured nation.

No impediment shall be placed on the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising out of police, customs, sanitary, emigration or immigration regulations and those relating to the import or export of prohibited goods. Such regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not unnecessarily impede traffic.

## ARTICLE 382

Only such charges may be levied on vessels using the Canal or its approaches as are intended to cover in an equitable manner the cost of maintaining in a navigable condition, or of improving, the Canal or its approaches, or to meet expenses incurred in the interests of navigation. The schedule of such charges shall be calculated on the basis of such expenses, and shall be posted up in the ports.

These charges shall be levied in such a manner as to render any detailed examination of cargoes unnecessary, except in the case of suspected fraud or contravention.

## ARTICLE 383

Goods in transit may be placed under seal or in the custody of customs agents; the loading and unloading of goods, and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, shall only take place in the ports specified by Germany.

## ARTICLE 384

No charges of any kind other than those provided for in the present Treaty shall be levied along the course or at the approaches of the Kiel Canal.

## ARTICLE 385

Germany shall be bound to take suitable measures to remove any obstacle or danger to navigation, and to ensure the maintenance of good conditions of navigation. She shall not undertake any works of a nature to impede navigation on the Canal or its approaches.

## ARTICLE 386

In the event of violation of any of the conditions of Articles 380 to 386, or of disputes as to the interpretation of these Articles, any interested Power can appeal to the jurisdiction instituted for the purpose by the League of Nations.

In order to avoid reference of small questions to the League of Nations, Germany will establish a local authority at Kiel qualified to deal with disputes in the first instance and to give satisfaction so far as possible to complaints which may be presented through the consular representatives of the interested Powers.



## PART XIII

### LABOUR

#### SECTION I.—ORGANISATION OF LABOUR

Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures;

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

The HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:

#### CHAPTER I.—ORGANISATION

##### ARTICLE 387

A permanent organisation is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the Preamble.

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be the original Members of this organisation, and hereafter membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said organisation.

##### ARTICLE 388

The permanent organisation shall consist of:

(1) a General Conference of Representatives of the Members and,

(2) an International Labour Office controlled by the Governing Body described in Article 393.

##### ARTICLE 389

The meetings of the General Conference of Representatives of the Members shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four Representatives of each of the Members, of whom two shall be Government Delegates and the two others shall be Delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the Members.

Each Delegate may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. When questions spe-

cially affecting women are to be considered by the Conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

The Members undertake to nominate non-Government Delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.

Advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the delegate whom they accompany and by the special authorization of the President of the Conference, and may not vote.

A Delegate may by notice in writing addressed to the President appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser, while so acting, shall be allowed to speak and vote.

The names of the Delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the International Labour Office by the Government of each of the Members.

The credentials of Delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present, refuse to admit any Delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with this Article.

##### ARTICLE 390

Every Delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the Conference.

If one of the Members fails to nominate one of the non-Government Delegates whom it is entitled to nominate, the other non-Government Delegate shall be allowed to sit and speak at the Conference, but not to vote.

If in accordance with Article 389 the Conference refuses admission to a Delegate of one of the Members, the provisions of the present Article shall apply as if that Delegate had not been nominated.

##### ARTICLE 391

The meetings of the Conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, or at such other place as may be decided by the Conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present.

##### ARTICLE 392

The International Labour Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organisation of the League.

##### ARTICLE 393

The International Labour Office shall be under the control of a Governing Body consisting of twenty-four persons, appointed in accordance with the following provisions:

The Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall be constituted as follows:

Twelve persons representing the Governments;

Six persons elected by the Delegates to the Conference representing the employers;

Six persons elected by the Delegates to the Conference representing the workers.

Of the twelve persons representing the Governments eight shall be nominated by the Members which are of the chief industrial importance, and four shall be nominated by the Members selected for the purpose by the Government Delegates to the Conference, excluding the Delegates of the eight Members mentioned above.

Any questions as to which are the Members of the chief industrial importance shall be decided by the Council of the League of Nations.

The period of office of the Members of the Governing Body will be three years. The method of filling vacancies and other similar questions may be determined by the Governing Body subject to the approval of the Conference.

The Governing Body shall, from time to time, elect one of its members to act as its Chairman, shall regulate its own procedure and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a written request to that effect is made by at least ten members of the Governing Body.

#### ARTICLE 394

There shall be a director of the International Labour Office, who shall be appointed by the Governing Body, and subject to the instructions of the Governing Body shall be responsible for the efficient conduct of the International Labour Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him.

The Director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the Governing Body.

#### ARTICLE 395

The staff of the International Labour Office shall be appointed by the Director, who shall, so far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these persons shall be women.

#### ARTICLE 396

The functions of the International Labour Office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the Conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this Part of the present Treaty in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish in French and English, and in such other languages as the Governing Body may think desirable, a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this Article, it shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned to it by the Conference.

#### ARTICLE 397

The Government Departments of any of the Members which deal with questions of industry and employment may communicate directly with the Director through the Representative of their Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, or failing any such Representative, through such other qualified official as the Government may nominate for the purpose.

#### ARTICLE 398

The International Labour Office shall be entitled to the assistance of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given.

#### ARTICLE 399

Each of the Members will pay the travelling and subsistence expenses of its Delegates and their advisers and of its Representatives attending the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body, as the case may be.

All the other expenses of the International Labour Office and of the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body shall be paid to the Director by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations out of the general funds of the League.

The Director shall be responsible to the Secretary-General of the League for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this Article.

### CHAPTER II.—PROCEDURE

#### ARTICLE 400

The agenda for all meetings of the Conference will be settled by the Governing Body, who shall consider any suggestion as to the agenda that may be made by the Government of any of the Members or by any representative organisation recognized for the purpose of Article 389.

#### ARTICLE 401

The Director shall act as the Secretary of the Conference, and shall transmit the agenda so as to reach the Members four months before the meeting of the Conference, and, through them, the non-Government Delegates when appointed.

#### ARTICLE 402

Any of the Governments of the Members may formally object to the inclusion of any item or items in the agenda. The grounds for such objection shall be set forth in a reasoned statement addressed to the Director, who shall circulate it to all the Members of the Permanent Organisation.

Items to which such objection has been made shall not, however, be excluded from the agenda, if at the Conference a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present is in favour of considering them.

If the Conference decides (otherwise than under the preceding paragraph) by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present that any subject shall be considered by the Conference, that subject shall be included in the agenda for the following meeting.

## ARTICLE 403

The Conference shall regulate its own procedure, shall elect its own President, and may appoint committees to consider and report on any matter.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Part of the present Treaty, all matters shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast by the Delegates present.

The voting is void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of the Delegates attending the Conference.

## ARTICLE 404

The Conference may add to any committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote.

## ARTICLE 405

When the Conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the agenda, it will rest with the Conference to determine whether these proposals shall take the form: (a) of a recommendation to be submitted to the Members for consideration with a view to effect being given to it by national legislation or otherwise, or (b) of a draft international convention for ratification by the Members.

In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be, by the Conference.

In framing any recommendation or draft convention of general application the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisation or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different and shall suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries.

A copy of the recommendation or draft convention shall be authenticated by the signature of the President of the Conference and of the Director and shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General will communicate a certified copy of the recommendation or draft convention to each of the Members.

Each of the Members undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the closing of the session of the Conference, or if it is impossible owing to exceptional circumstances to do so within the period of one year, then at the earliest practicable moment and in no case later than eighteen months from the closing of the session of the Conference, bring the recommendation or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action.

In the case of a recommendation, the Members will inform the Secretary-General of the action taken.

In the case of a draft convention, the Member will, if it obtains the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, communicate the formal ratification of the convention to the Secretary-General and will take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of such convention.

If on a recommendation no legislative or other

action is taken to make a recommendation effective, or if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation shall rest upon the Member.

In the case of a federal State, the power of which to enter into conventions on labour matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of that Government to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this Article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case.

The above Article shall be interpreted in accordance with the following principle:

In no case shall any Member be asked or required as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft convention by the Conference, to lessen the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned.

## ARTICLE 406

Any convention so ratified shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, but shall only be binding upon the Members which ratify it.

## ARTICLE 407

If any convention coming before the Conference for final consideration fails to secure the support of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present, it shall nevertheless be within the right of any of the Members of the Permanent Organisation to agree to such convention among themselves.

Any convention so agreed to shall be communicated by the Governments concerned to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall register it.

## ARTICLE 408

Each of the Members agrees to make an annual report to the International Labour Office on the measures which it has taken to give effect to the provisions of conventions to which it is a party. These reports shall be made in such form and shall contain such particulars as the Governing Body may request. The Director shall lay a summary of these reports before the next meeting of the Conference.

## ARTICLE 409

In the event of any representation being made to the International Labour Office by an industrial association of employers or of workers that any of the Members has failed to secure in any respect the effective observance within its jurisdiction of any convention to which it is a party, the Governing Body may communicate this representation to the Government against which it is made and may invite that Government to make such statement on the subject as it may think fit.

## ARTICLE 410

If no statement is received within a reasonable time from the Government in question, or if the statement when received is not deemed to be satisfactory by the Governing Body, the latter shall have the right to publish the representation and the statement, if any, made in reply to it.

## ARTICLE 411

Any of the Members shall have the right to file a complaint with the International Labour Office if



it is not satisfied that any other Member is securing the effective observance of any convention which both have ratified in accordance with the foregoing Articles.

The Governing Body may, if it thinks fit, before referring such complaint to a Commission of Enquiry, as hereinafter provided for, communicate with the Government in question in the manner described in Article 409.

If the Governing Body does not think it necessary to communicate the complaint to the Government in question, or if, when they have made such communication, no statement in reply has been received within a reasonable time which the Governing Body considers to be satisfactory, the Governing Body may apply for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to consider the complaint and to report thereon.

The Governing Body may adopt the same procedure either of its own motion or on receipt of a complaint from a Delegate to the Conference.

When any matter arising out of Articles 410 or 411 is being considered by the Governing Body, the Government in question shall, if not already represented thereon, be entitled to send a representative to take part in the proceedings of the Governing Body while the matter is under consideration. Adequate notice of the date on which the matter will be considered shall be given to the Government in question.

#### ARTICLE 412

The Commission of Enquiry shall be constituted in accordance with the following provisions:

Each of the Members agrees to nominate within six months of the date on which the present Treaty comes into force three persons of industrial experience, of whom one shall be a representative of employers, one a representative of workers, and one a person of independent standing, who shall together form a panel from which the Members of the Commission of Enquiry shall be drawn.

The qualifications of the persons so nominated shall be subject to scrutiny by the Governing Body, which may by two-thirds of the votes cast by the representatives present refuse to accept the nomination of any person whose qualifications do not in its opinion comply with the requirements of the present Article.

Upon the application of the Governing Body, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall nominate three persons, one from each section of this panel, to constitute the Commission of Enquiry, and shall designate one of them as the President of the Commission. None of these three persons shall be a person nominated to the panel by any Member directly concerned in the complaint.

#### ARTICLE 413

The Members agree that, in the event of the reference of a complaint to a Commission of Enquiry under Article 411, they will each, whether directly concerned in the complaint or not, place at the disposal of the Commission all the information in their possession which bears upon the subject-matter of the complaint.

#### ARTICLE 414

When the Commission of Enquiry has fully considered the complaint, it shall prepare a report embodying its findings on all questions of fact relevant

to determining the issue between the parties and containing such recommendations as it may think proper as to the steps which should be taken to meet the complaint and the time within which they should be taken.

It shall also indicate in this report the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting Government which it considers to be appropriate, and which it considers other Governments would be justified in adopting.

#### ARTICLE 415

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall communicate the report of the Commission of Enquiry to each of the Governments concerned in the complaint, and shall cause it to be published.

Each of these Governments shall within one month inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations whether or not it accepts the recommendations contained in the report of the Commission; and if not, whether it proposes to refer the complaint to the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations.

#### ARTICLE 416

In the event of any Member failing to take the action required by Article 405, with regard to a recommendation or draft Convention, any other Member shall be entitled to refer the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

#### ARTICLE 417

The decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice in regard to a complaint or matter which has been referred to it in pursuance of Article 415 or Article 416 shall be final.

#### ARTICLE 418

The Permanent Court of International Justice may affirm, vary or reverse any of the findings or recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry, if any, and shall in its decision indicate the measures, if any, of an economic character which it considers to be appropriate, and which other Governments would be justified in adopting against a defaulting Government.

#### ARTICLE 419

In the event of any Member failing to carry out within the time specified the recommendations, if any, contained in the report of the Commission of Enquiry, or in the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, any other Member may take against that Member the measures of an economic character indicated in the report of the Commission or in the decision of the Court as appropriate to the case.

#### ARTICLE 420

The defaulting Government may at any time inform the Governing Body that it has taken the steps necessary to comply with the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry or with those in the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, and may request it to apply to the Secretary-General of the League to constitute a Commission of Enquiry to verify its contention. In this case the provisions of Articles

412, 413, 414, 415, 417, and 418 shall apply, and if the report of the Commission of Enquiry or the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice is in favour of the defaulting Government, the other Governments shall forthwith discontinue the measures of an economic character that they have taken against the defaulting Government.

## CHAPTER III—GENERAL

### ARTICLE 421

The Members engage to apply conventions which they have ratified in accordance with the provisions of this Part of the present Treaty to their colonies, protectorates and possessions which are not fully self-governing:

- (1) Except where owing to the local conditions the convention is inapplicable, or,
- (2) Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt the convention to local conditions.

And each of the Members shall notify to the International Labour Office the action taken in respect of each of its colonies, protectorates and possessions which are not fully self-governing.

### ARTICLE 422

Amendments to this Part of the present Treaty which are adopted by the Conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the Members.

### ARTICLE 423

Any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this Part of the present Treaty or of any subsequent convention concluded by the Members in pursuance of the provisions of this part of the present Treaty shall be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

## CHAPTER IV.—TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

### ARTICLE 424

The first meeting of the Conference shall take place in October, 1919. The place and agenda for this meeting shall be specified in the Annex hereto.

Arrangements for the convening and the organisation of the first meeting of the Conference will be made by the Government designated for the purpose in the said Annex. That Government shall be assisted in the preparation of the documents for submission to the Conference by an International Committee constituted as provided in the said Annex.

The expenses of the first meeting and of all subsequent meetings held before the League of Nations has been able to establish a general fund, other than the expenses of Delegates and their advisers, will be borne by the Members in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

### ARTICLE 425

Until the League of Nations has been constituted all communications which under the provisions of the foregoing Articles should be addressed to the Secretary-General of the League will be preserved

by the Director of the International Labour Office, who will transmit them to the Secretary-General of the League.

### ARTICLE 426

Pending the creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice, disputes which in accordance with this Part of the present Treaty would be submitted to it for decision will be referred to a tribunal of three persons appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

## ANNEX

### FIRST MEETING OF ANNUAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, 1919

The place of meeting will be Washington.

The Government of the United States of America is requested to convene the Conference.

The International Organising Committee will consist of seven Members, appointed by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and Switzerland. The Committee may, if it thinks necessary, invite other Members to appoint representatives.

Agenda:

- (1) Application of principle of the 8-hours day or of the 48-hours week.
- (2) Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.
- (3) Women's employment:
  - (a) Before and after child-birth, including the question of maternity benefit;
  - (b) During the night;
  - (c) In unhealthy processes.
- (4) Employment of children:
  - (a) Minimum age of employment;
  - (b) During the night;
  - (c) In unhealthy processes.
- (5) Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

## SECTION II.—GENERAL PRINCIPLES

### ARTICLE 427

The High Contracting Parties, recognising that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in Section I and associated with that of the League of Nations.

They recognise that differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following

seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

*First.*—The guiding principle above enunciated that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

*Second.*—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

*Third.*—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

*Fourth.*—The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

*Fifth.*—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

*Sixth.*—The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

*Seventh.*—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

*Eighth.*—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

*Ninth.*—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the High Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations; and that, if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the League, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage-earners of the world.

## PART XIV

### GUARANTEES

#### SECTION I.—WESTERN EUROPE

##### ARTICLE 428

As a guarantee for the execution of the present Treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridge-heads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

##### ARTICLE 429

If the conditions of the present Treaty are faithfully carried out by Germany, the occupation referred to in Article 428 will be successively restricted as follows:

(i) At the expiration of five years there will be evacuated: the bridgehead of Cologne and the territories north of a line running along the Ruhr, then along the railway Jülich, Düren, Euskirchen, Rheinbach, thence along the road Rheinbach to Sinzig, and reaching the Rhine at the confluence with the Ahr; the roads, railways and places mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(ii) At the expiration of ten years there will be evacuated: the bridgehead of Coblenz and the territories north of a line to be drawn from the intersection between the frontiers of Belgium, Germany and Holland, running about 4 kilometres south of Aix-la-Chapelle, then to and following the crest of Forst Gemünd, then east of the railway of the Urft Valley, then along Blankenheim, Valdorf, Dreis, Ulmen to and following the Moselle from Bremm to Nehren, then passing by Kappel and Simmern, then following the ridge of the heights between Simmern and the Rhine and reaching this river at Bacharach; all the places, valleys, roads and railways mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(iii) At the expiration of fifteen years there will be evacuated: the bridgehead of Mainz, the bridge-

head of Kehl and the remainder of German territory under occupation.

If at that date the guarantees against unprovoked aggression by Germany are not considered sufficient by the Allied and Associated Governments, the evacuation of the occupying troops may be delayed to the extent regarded as necessary for the purpose of obtaining the required guarantees.

##### ARTICLE 430

In case either during the occupation or after the expiration of the fifteen years referred to above the Reparation Commission finds that Germany refuses to observe the whole or part of her obligations under the present Treaty with regard to reparation, the whole or part of the areas specified in Article 429 will be re-occupied immediately by the Allied and Associated forces.

##### ARTICLE 431

If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present Treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

##### ARTICLE 432

All matters relating to the occupation and not provided for by the present Treaty shall be regulated by subsequent agreements, which Germany hereby undertakes to observe.

#### SECTION II.—EASTERN EUROPE

##### ARTICLE 433

As a guarantee for the execution of the provisions of the present Treaty, by which Germany accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty,



and of all treaties, conventions and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia, and in order to ensure the restoration of peace and good government in the Baltic Provinces and Lithuania, all German troops at present in the said territories shall return to within the frontiers of Germany as soon as the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers shall think the moment suitable, having regard to the internal situation of these territories. These

troops shall abstain from all requisitions and seizures and from any other coercive measures, with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany, and shall in no way interfere with such measures for national defence as may be adopted by the Provisional Governments of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

No other German troops shall, pending the evacuation or after the evacuation is complete, be admitted to the said territories.

## PART XV

### MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

#### ARTICLE 434

Germany undertakes to recognise the full force of the Treaties of Peace and Additional Conventions which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the Powers who fought on the side of Germany and to recognise whatever dispositions may be made concerning the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of the Kingdom of Bulgaria and of the Ottoman Empire, and to recognise the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

#### ARTICLE 435

The High Contracting Parties, while they recognise the guarantees stipulated by the Treaties of 1815, and especially by the Act of November 20, 1815, in favour of Switzerland, the said guarantees constituting international obligations for the maintenance of peace, declare nevertheless that the provisions of these treaties, conventions, declarations and other supplementary Acts concerning the neutralized zone of Savoy, as laid down in paragraph 1 of Article 92 of the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna and in paragraph 2 of Article 3 of the Treaty of Paris of November 20, 1815, are no longer consistent with present conditions. For this reason the High Contracting Parties take note of the agreement reached between the French Government and the Swiss Government for the abrogation of the stipulations relating to this zone which are and remain abrogated.

The High Contracting Parties also agree that the stipulations of the Treaties of 1815 and of the other supplementary Acts concerning the free zones of Upper Savoy and the Gex district are no longer consistent with present conditions, and that it is for France and Switzerland to come to an agreement together with a view to settling between themselves the status of these territories under such conditions as shall be considered suitable by both countries.

#### ANNEX

##### I

The Swiss Federal Council has informed the French Government on May 5, 1919, that after examining the provisions of Article 435 in a like spirit of sincere friendship it has happily reached the conclusion that it was possible to acquiesce in it under the following conditions and reservations:

#### (1) The neutralized zone of Haute-Savoie:

(a) It will be understood that as long as the Federal Chambers have not ratified the agreement come to between the two Governments concerning the abrogation of the stipulations in respect of the neutralized zone of Savoy, nothing will be definitely settled, on one side or on the other, in regard to this subject.

(b) The assent given by the Swiss Government to the abrogation of the above-mentioned stipulations presupposes, in conformity with the text adopted, the recognition of the guarantees formulated in favour of Switzerland by the Treaties of 1815 and particularly by the Declaration of November 20, 1815.

(c) The agreement between the Governments of France and Switzerland for the abrogation of the above-mentioned stipulations will only be considered as valid if the Treaty of Peace contains this Article in its present wording. In addition the Parties to the Treaty of Peace should endeavour to obtain the assent of the signatory Powers of the Treaties of 1815 and of the Declaration of November 20, 1815, which are not signatories of the present Treaty of Peace.

#### (2) Free zone of Haute-Savoie and the district of Gex:

(a) The Federal Council makes the most express reservations to the interpretation to be given to the statement mentioned in the last paragraph of the above Article for insertion in the Treaty of Peace, which provides that "the stipulations of the Treaties of 1815 and other supplementary acts concerning the free zones of Haute-Savoie and the Gex district are no longer consistent with present conditions." The Federal Council would not wish that its acceptance of the above wording should lead to the conclusion that it would agree to the suppression of a system intended to give neighbouring territory the benefit of a special régime which is appropriate to the geographical and economical situation and which has been well tested.

In the opinion of the Federal Council the question is not the modification of the customs system of the zones as set up by the Treaties mentioned above, but only the regulation in a manner more appropriate to the economic conditions of the present day of the terms of the exchange of goods between the regions in question. The Federal Council has been led to make the preceding observations by the perusal of the draft Convention concerning the future constitution of the zones which was annexed to the note

of April 26 from the French Government. While making the above reservations the Federal Council declares its readiness to examine in the most friendly spirit any proposals which the French Government may deem it convenient to make on the subject.

(b) It is conceded that the stipulations of the Treaties of 1815 and other supplementary acts relative to the free zones will remain in force until a new arrangement is come to between France and Switzerland to regulate matters in this territory.

## II

The French Government have addressed to the Swiss Government, on May 18, 1919, the following note in reply to the communication set out in the preceding paragraph:

In a note dated May 5 the Swiss Legation in Paris was good enough to inform the Government of the French Republic that the Federal Government adhered to the proposal Article to be inserted in the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Governments and Germany.

The French Government have taken note with much pleasure of the agreement thus reached, and, at their request, the proposed Article, which had been accepted by the Allied and Associated Governments, has been inserted under No. 435 in the Peace conditions presented to the German Plenipotentiaries.

The Swiss Government, in their note of May 5 on this subject, have expressed various views and reservations.

Concerning the observations relating to the free zones of Haute-Savoie and the Gex district, the French Government have the honour to observe that the provisions of the last paragraph of Article 435 are so clear that their purport cannot be misapprehended, especially where it implies that no other Power but France and Switzerland will in future be interested in that question.

The French Government, on their part, are anxious to protect the interests of the French territories concerned, and, with that object, having their special situation in view, they bear in mind the desirability of assuring them a suitable customs régime and determining, in a manner better suited to present conditions, the methods of exchanges between these territories and the adjacent Swiss territories, while taking into account the reciprocal interests of both regions.

It is understood that this must in no way prejudice the right of France to adjust her customs line in this region in conformity with her political frontier, as is done on the other portions of her territorial boundaries, and as was done by Switzerland long ago on her own boundaries in this region.

The French Government are pleased to note on this subject in what a friendly disposition the Swiss Government take this opportunity of declaring their willingness to consider any French proposal dealing with the system to be substituted for the present régime of the said free zones, which the French Government intend to formulate in the same friendly spirit.

Moreover, the French Government have no doubt that the provisional maintenance of the régime of 1815 as to the free zones referred to in the above-mentioned paragraph of the note from the Swiss Legation of May 5, whose object is to provide for the passage from the present régime to the conventional régime, will cause no delay whatsoever in

the establishment of the new situation which has been found necessary by the two Governments. This remark applies also to the ratification by the Federal Chambers, dealt with in paragraph 1 (a), of the Swiss note of May 5, under the heading "Neutralized zone of Haute-Savoie."

## ARTICLE 436

The High Contracting Parties declare and place on record that they have taken note of the Treaty signed by the Government of the French Republic on July 17, 1918, with His Serene Highness the Prince of Monaco defining the relations between France and the Principality.

## ARTICLE 437

The High Contracting Parties agree that, in the absence of a subsequent agreement to the contrary, the Chairman of any Commission established by the present Treaty shall in the event of an equality of votes be entitled to a second vote.

## ARTICLE 438

The Allied and Associated Powers agree that where Christian religious missions were being maintained by German societies or persons in territory belonging to them, or of which the government is entrusted to them in accordance with the present Treaty, the property which these missions or missionary societies possessed, including that of trading societies whose profits were devoted to the support of missions, shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes. In order to ensure the due execution of this undertaking the Allied and Associated Governments will hand over such property to boards of trustees appointed by or approved by the Governments and composed of persons holding the faith of the Mission whose property is involved.

The Allied and Associated Governments, while continuing to maintain full control as to the individuals by whom the Missions are conducted, will safeguard the interests of such Missions.

Germany, taking note of the above undertaking, agrees to accept all arrangements made or to be made by the Allied or Associated Government concerned for carrying on the work of the said missions or trading societies and waive all claims on their behalf.

## ARTICLE 439

Without prejudice to the provisions of the present Treaty, Germany undertakes not to put forward directly or indirectly against any Allied or Associated Power, signatory of the present Treaty, including those which without having declared war, have broken off diplomatic relations with the German Empire, any pecuniary claim based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of the present Treaty.

The present stipulation will bar completely and finally all claims of this nature which will be thenceforward extinguished, whoever may be the parties in interest.

## ARTICLE 440

Germany accepts and recognises as valid and binding all decrees and orders concerning German ships and goods and all orders relating to the payment of costs made by any Prize Court of any of the Allied or Associated Powers, and undertakes not to put forward

any claim arising out of such decrees or orders on behalf of any German national.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to examine in such manner as they may determine all decisions and orders of German Prize Courts, whether affecting the property rights of nationals of those Powers or of neutral Powers. Germany agrees to furnish copies of all the documents constituting the record of the cases, including the decisions and orders made, and to accept and give effect to the recommendations made after such examinations of the cases.

THE PRESENT TREATY, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris as soon as possible.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the Treaty has been

ratified by Germany on the one hand, and by three of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers on the other hand.

From the date of this first procès-verbal the Treaty will come into force between the High Contracting Parties who have ratified it. For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present Treaty this date will be the date of the coming into force of the Treaty.

In all other respects the Treaty will enter into force for each Power at the date of the deposit of its ratification.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbaux of the deposit of the ratifications.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at Versailles, the Twenty-eight day of June, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Nineteen, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the Signatory Powers.



# PEACE TREATY WITH AUSTRIA

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We give below, by permission of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office, a summary of the text of the Austrian Treaty signed at Saint Germain-en-Laye on September 10, 1919. The Treaty itself was signed on behalf of Austria—officially designated on August 12 of the same year as the Austrian Republic, but with freedom to describe herself as German-Austria—by her Chancellor, Dr. Renner, whose signature had been authorized by the Austrian National Assembly on September 7. Modelled on the Peace Terms with Germany, the Treaty of St. Germain repeats many sections of the Versailles agreement. Whole parts are printed word for word, only such additions being made as circumstances rendered necessary. Austria, like Germany, was for the time being excluded from the League of Nations, subsequent admis-

sion being made conditional on her good behaviour.

The Treaty is in fourteen parts, with a preamble to the effect that the Allied and Associated Powers have already recognized the Czecho-Slovak State, incorporating certain portions of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as a free, independent, and allied State, as well as the union of other portions of the said Monarchy with the Kingdom of Serbia under the name of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. The net result of the changes is that the territory of the former Empire of Austria proper is reduced from over 115,000 square miles to about 6000 square miles, and the population from 30,000,000 to rather more than 6,000,000. She becomes an inland State, devoid of a maritime border. The official text of the Treaty is printed in Cmd. 400.

## PART I

### THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The text as in the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

## PART II

### FRONTIERS OF AUSTRIA

1. With Switzerland and Lichtenstein—as in 1914.  
2. With Italy, a line starting from the Swiss frontier and crossing the Southern Tyrol, following the watershed eastwards between the basins of the Inn to the north and the Adige to the south; thence generally south-south-eastwards between the basins of the Drave and the Adige, and afterwards between the basin of the Drave on the north and successively the basins of the Sextenbach, the Piave and the Tagliamento on the south. Thence east-south-eastwards the new frontier passes about 2 kilometres west of Thörl, a line to the fixed cutting on the Gailitz south of the town of Thörl, and passing through Cabin Berg.  
3. On the south, and then with the Klagenfurt area [where the mixed population, by the terms of the Treaty, were to decide their future by a plebiscite under Allied supervision]. From Pec (in continuation of the line leaving Italian territory at Cabin Berg) eastwards to Maestiger; thence in a north-easterly direction as far as the Drave, about 6 kilometres east of Villach. From this point the line follows roughly the course of the Drave, thence striking north-eastwards by way of Taubenbühel, Gallenberg, Freudenberg, Steinbruch Kogl, and Speik Kogl, where it passes south-eastwards to a point 1 kilometre to the west of Kasparstein, and then eastwards to Kühner Kogl, where it passes into the new Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

4. With the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. From Kühner Kogl generally eastwards to the former frontier between Austria and Hungary, 16 kilometres north of the Radkersburg, passing St. Lorenzen on the way and crossing the Mur well to the north of Marburg.

5. With Hungary. From Radkersburg the line strikes northwards until it leaves the former frontier between Austria and Hungary near Gedoudvar, where it proceeds in a north-easterly direction in order to add the Odenburg region of Hungary, with its several hundred thousand Germans, to the new Republic of Austria. The new boundary passes about 6 kilometres north-north-east of Szentgotthard, and some 7 kilometres north-north-east of Pinkamindszent. Thence it strikes northwards to Trött Kö, about 9 kilometres south-west of Köszeg, whence it passes north-eastwards, by way of Kamenje and the Neusiedler See, to a point about 1 kilometre west of Antonienhof, where the three frontiers of Austria, Hungary, and the Czecho-Slovak State meet.

6. With the Czecho-Slovak State. From the point above the line defined this line follows as much as possible the former administrative boundaries between the provinces of Moravia and Bohemia with Lower and Upper Austria, with minor rectification of local importance along the course of the Morava, and in the regions of Feldsberg and Gmünd.

## PART III

## POLITICAL CLAUSES FOR EUROPE

## SECTION I.—ITALY

ART. 36.—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favour of Italy all rights and title over the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy situated beyond the frontiers of Austria as laid down in Part II, and lying between those frontiers, the former Austro-Hungarian frontier, the Adriatic Sea, and the eastern frontier of Italy as subsequently determined.

Austria similarly renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favour of Italy all rights and title over other territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which may be recognised as forming part of Italy by any treaties which may be concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement. A Commission composed of five members, one nominated by Italy, three by the other Principal Allied and Associated Powers, and one by Austria, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to trace on the spot the frontier line between Italy and Austria. The decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

ART. 38.—A special Convention will determine the terms of repayment in Austrian currency of the special war expenditure advanced during the war by territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy transferred to Italy or by public associations in that territory on account of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy under its legislation, such as allowances to the families of persons mobilised, requisitions, billeting of troops, and relief to persons who have been evacuated.

In fixing the amount of these sums Austria shall be credited with the amount which the territory would have contributed to Austria-Hungary to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the revenues of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy derived from the territory in 1913.

ART. 39.—The Italian Government will collect for its own account the taxes, dues and charges of every kind leviable in the territories transferred to Italy and not collected on November 3, 1918.

ART. 40.—No sum shall be due by Italy on the ground of her entry into possession of the Palazzo Venezia at Rome.

ART. 41.—The Italian Government is substituted in all the rights which the Austrian State possessed over all the railways in the territories transferred to Italy which were administered by the Railway Administration of the said State and which are actually working or under construction. The same shall apply to the rights of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with regard to railway and tramway concessions within the above-mentioned territories. The frontier railway stations shall be determined by a subsequent agreement.

ART. 44.—For a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present Treaty central electric power stations situated in Austrian territory and formerly furnishing electric power to the territories transferred to Italy or to any establishment the exploitation of which passes to Italy shall be required to continue

furnishing this supply up to an amount corresponding to the undertakings and contracts in force on November 3, 1918.

Austria further admits the right of Italy to the free use of the waters of Lake Raibl and its derivative watercourse and to divert the said waters to the basin of the Korinitza.

ART. 45.—1. Judgments rendered since August 4, 1914, by the courts in the territory transferred to Italy in civil and commercial cases between the inhabitants of such territory and other nationals of the former Austrian Empire, or between such inhabitants and the subjects of the Powers allies of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, shall not be carried into effect until after endorsement by the corresponding new court in such territory. 2. All decisions rendered for political crimes or offences since August 4, 1914, by the judicial authorities of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy against Italian nationals, including persons who obtain Italian nationality under the present Treaty, shall be annulled.

## SECTION II.—SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE

ART. 46.—Austria recognizes the complete independence of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

ART. 47.—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favour of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State all rights and title over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Austria as laid down in Part II and recognised by the present Treaty, or by any Treaties concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement, as forming part of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

ART. 48.—A Commission consisting of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and one by Austria, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to trace on the spot the frontier line described in Part II.

The decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

ART. 49-50.—The inhabitants of the Klagenfurt area will be called upon to indicate by a vote the State to which they wish the territory to belong. The Klagenfurt area will be divided into two zones, and placed under the control of a Commission entrusted with the duty of preparing the plebiscite in that area and assuring the impartial administration thereof. This Commission will be composed as follows: four members nominated respectively by the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy, one by Austria, one by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, the Austrian member only taking part in the deliberations of the Commission in regard to the second zone, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene member only taking part therein with regard to the first zone. The decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority. The second zone will be occupied by the Austrian troops and administered in accordance with the general regulations of the Austrian legislation. The first zone will be occupied by the

troops of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and administered in accordance with the general regulations of the legislation of that State. In both zones the troops, whether Austrian or Serb-Croat-Slovene, shall be reduced to the numbers which the Commission may consider necessary for the preservation of order, and shall carry out their mission under the control of the Commission. These troops shall be replaced as speedily as possible by a police force recruited on the spot.

The Commission will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to ensure its freedom, fairness and secrecy.

In the first zone the plebiscite will be held within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, at a date fixed by the Commission.

If the vote is in favour of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, a plebiscite will be held in the second zone within three weeks from the proclamation of the result of the plebiscite in the first zone, at a date to be fixed by the Commission.

If, on the other hand, the vote in the first zone is in favour of Austria, no plebiscite will be held in the second zone, and the whole of the area will remain definitively under Austrian sovereignty.

The right of voting will be granted to every person without distinction of sex who:

(a.) Has attained the age of 20 years on or before January 1, 1919,

(b.) Has on January 1, 1919, his or her habitual residence within the zone subjected to the plebiscite; and,

(c.) Was born within the said zone, or has had his or her habitual residence or rights of citizenship there from a date previous to January 1, 1912.

ART. 51.—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

### SECTION III.—CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE

ART. 53.—Austria recognises the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State, which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians.

ART. 54.—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favour of the Czecho-Slovak State all rights and title over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Austria as laid down in Part II, and recognised in accordance with the present Treaty as forming part of the Czecho-Slovak State.

ART. 55.—A Commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by the Czecho-Slovak State, and one by Austria, will be appointed within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present

Treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line laid down in Part II. The decisions of this Commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

ART. 56.—The Czecho-Slovak State undertakes not to erect any military works in that portion of its territory which lies on the right bank of the Danube to the south of Bratislava (Pressburg).

ART. 57.—The Czecho-Slovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provision as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.<sup>1</sup>

The Czecho-Slovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

### SECTION IV.—ROUMANIA

ART. 59.—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favour of Roumania all rights and title over such portion of the former Duchy of Bukovina as lies within the frontiers of Roumania which may ultimately be fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ART. 60.—Roumania accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.<sup>2</sup> Roumania further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

### SECTION V.—PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

ART. 63.—Austria undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Austria without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion. All inhabitants of Austria shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

ART. 66.—All Austrian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion. Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Austrian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions, and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Austrian national of

<sup>1</sup> Reservations which the representatives of the Czecho-Slovak State desired to make in regard to this clause were overruled, and the representatives accordingly withheld their signatures from the Treaty.

<sup>2</sup> Roumania, like the Czecho-Slovak State, endeavoured to make certain qualifications to this clause, but, after a somewhat sharp controversy, agreed to sign the Treaty with reservations.



any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings. Notwithstanding any establishment by the Austrian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Austrian nationals of non-German speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ART. 67.—Austrian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Austrian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ART. 68.—Austria will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals of other than German speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Austrian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Austrian Government from making the teaching of the German language obligatory in the said schools.

## SECTION VI.—CLAUSES RELATING TO NATIONALITY

[In conformity with similar clauses in the Peace Treaty with Germany.]

## SECTION VII.—POLITICAL CLAUSES RELATING TO CERTAIN EUROPEAN STATES

[Austria agrees to clauses similar to those in the Versailles Treaty with Germany relating to the new arrangements made by the Allied and Associated

Powers in regard to Belgium, Luxemburg, Schleswig, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Russia.]

## SECTION VIII.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

ART. 88.—The independence of Austria is inalienable otherwise than with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Consequently Austria undertakes in the absence of the consent of the said Council to abstain from any act which might directly or indirectly or by any means whatever compromise her independence, particularly, and until her admission to membership of the League of Nations, by participation in the affairs of another Power.

ART. 93.—Austria will hand over without delay to the Allied and Associated Governments concerned archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and documents of every kind belonging to the civil, military, financial, judicial or other forms of administration in the ceded territories. If any one of these documents, archives, registers, title-deeds or plans is missing, it shall be restored by Austria upon the demand of the Allied or Associated Governments concerned.

In case the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds or documents referred to in the preceding paragraph, exclusive of those of a military character, concern equally the administrations in Austria, and cannot therefore be handed over without inconvenience to such administrations, Austria undertakes, subject to reciprocity, to give access thereto to the Allied and Associated Governments concerned.

ART. 94.—Separate conventions between Austria and each of the States to which territory of the former Austrian Empire is transferred, and each of the States arising from the dismemberment of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, will provide for the interests of the inhabitants, especially in connection with their civil rights, their commerce, and the exercise of their professions.

## PART IV

### AUSTRIAN INTERESTS OUTSIDE EUROPE

ART. 95.—In territory outside her frontiers as fixed by the present Treaty Austria renounces so far as she is concerned all rights, titles and privileges whatever in or over territory outside Europe which belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy or to its allies, and all rights, titles and privileges whatever their origin which it held as against the Allied and Associated Powers. This applies to all rights, titles and privileges in Morocco conferred on her by the General Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German Agreements of February 9, 1909 and November 4, 1911, Austria undertaking not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to the Sherifian Empire which may take place between France and the other Powers; to Egypt Austria recognising the Protectorate proclaimed over that country by Great Britain on December 18, 1914, and renouncing so far as she is concerned the régime of the capitulations in Egypt;

to Siam, Austria recognising that all treaties, conventions and agreements between the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and that Kingdom, and all rights, titles and privileges derived therefrom, including all rights of extra-territorial jurisdiction, terminated as from July 22, 1917; and to China, Austria renouncing all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final Protocol signed at Peking on September 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favour of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to August 14, 1917, and cedes to China all her rights over the buildings, forts, arms and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property which belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and which are situated in the Austro-Hungarian Concession at Tientsin or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

## PART V

## MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR CLAUSES

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Austria undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow.

ART. 118.—Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the military forces of Austria shall be demobilised to the extent prescribed hereinafter.

ART. 119.—Universal compulsory military service shall be abolished in Austria. The Austrian Army shall in future only be constituted and recruited by means of voluntary enlistment.

ART. 120.—The total number of military forces in the Austrian Army shall not exceed 30,000 men, including officers and depot troops. The Austrian Army shall be devoted exclusively to the maintenance of order within the territory of Austria, and to the control of her frontiers.

ART. 132.—The manufacture of arms, munitions, and war material shall only be carried on in one single factory, which shall be controlled by and belong to the State, and whose output shall be strictly limited to the manufacture of such arms, munitions and war material as is necessary for the military forces and armaments referred to in Article 120.

The manufacture of sporting weapons is not forbidden, provided that sporting weapons manufactured in Austria taking ball cartridge are not of the same calibre as that of military weapons used in any European army.

Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, all other establishments for the manufacture, preparation, storage, or design of arms, munitions, or any other war material shall be closed down or converted to purely commercial uses.

Within the same length of time, all arsenals shall also be closed down, except those to be used as depôts for the authorised stocks of munitions, and their staffs discharged.

The plant of any establishments or arsenals in excess of the amount required for the manufacture authorised shall be rendered useless or converted to purely commercial purposes in accordance with the decisions of the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control referred to in Article 153.

ART. 133.—Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, all arms, munitions, and war material, including any kind of anti-aircraft material, of whatever origin, existing in Austria in excess of the quantity authorised shall be handed over to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Delivery shall take place at such points in Austrian territory as may be appointed by the said Powers, who shall also decide on the disposal of such material.

ART. 134.—The importation into Austria of arms, munitions and war material of all kinds is strictly forbidden.

The manufacture for foreign countries and the exportation of arms, munitions and war material shall also be forbidden.

ART. 136.—From the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty all Austro-Hungarian warships, submarines included, are declared to be

finally surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. All the monitors, torpedo boats and armed vessels of the Danube Flotilla will be surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. Austria will, however, have the right to maintain on the Danube for the use of the river police three patrol boats to be selected by the Commission referred to in Article 154 of the present Treaty.

ART. 137.—The Austro-Hungarian auxiliary cruisers and fleet auxiliaries will be disarmed and treated as merchant ships:

ART. 138.—All warships, including submarines, now under construction in Austrian ports, or in ports which previously belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, shall be broken up.

The work of breaking up these vessels will be commenced as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ART. 139.—Articles, machinery, and material arising from the breaking up of Austro-Hungarian warships of all kinds, whether surface vessels or submarines, may not be used except for purely industrial or commercial purposes.

They may not be sold or disposed of to foreign countries.

ART. 140.—The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, shall be forbidden in Austria.

ART. 141.—All arms, ammunition and other naval war material, including mines and torpedoes, which belonged to Austria-Hungary at the date of the signature of the Armistice of November 3, 1918, are declared to be finally surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ART. 143.—During the three months following the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Austrian high-power wireless telegraphy station at Vienna shall not be used for the transmission of messages concerning naval, military or political questions of interest to Austria, or any State which has been allied to Austria-Hungary in the war, without the assent of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. This station may be used for commercial purposes, but only under the supervision of the said Powers, who will decide the wave-length to be used.

During the same period Austria shall not build any more high-power wireless telegraphy stations in her own territory or that of Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria or Turkey.

ART. 144.—The armed forces of Austria must not include any military or naval air forces.

No dirigible shall be kept.

ART. 145.—Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the personnel of the air forces on the rolls of the Austrian land and sea forces shall be demobilised.

ART. 146.—Until the complete evacuation of Austrian territory by the Allied and Associated troops the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Austria freedom of passage through the air, freedom of transit and of landing.

ART. 147.—During the six months following the coming into force of the present Treaty, the manufacture, importation, and exportation of aircraft,

parts of aircraft, engines for aircraft, and parts of engines for aircraft shall be forbidden in all Austrian territory.

ART. 148.—On the coming into force of the present Treaty, all military and naval aeronautical material [including complete dirigibles, aeroplanes, and sea-

planes] must be delivered by Austria and at her expense to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

[In other respects the naval, military, and air clauses follow the lines laid down in the Treaty with Germany.]

## PART VI

### PRISONERS OF WAR AND GRAVES

Similar clauses to those in the German Treaty.

## PART VII

### PENALTIES

ART. 173.—The Austrian Government recognises the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by law. This provision will apply notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecutions before a tribunal in Austria or on the territory of her allies.

The Austrian Government shall hand over to the Allied and Associated Powers, or to such one of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war, who are specified either by name or by the rank, office or employment which they held under the Austrian authorities.

[The remaining conditions as in the German Treaty.]

## PART VIII

### REPARATION

ART. 177.—Austria accepts the responsibility of Austria and her Allies for causing the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Austria-Hungary and her Allies.

ART. 178.—The Allied and Associated Governments recognise that the resources of Austria are not adequate, after taking into account the permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present Treaty, to make complete reparation for such loss and damage. The Allied and Associated Governments however require, and Austria undertakes, that she will make compensation as determined by them for damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied and Associated Power against Austria by the said aggression by land, by sea and from the air, and in general damage.

ART. 179.—The amount of such damage shall be determined by the Inter-Allied Commission to be called the *Reparation Commission*, set up in the Treaty with Germany (see Article 233 of that Treaty). The Commission shall constitute a Section to consider the special questions raised by the application of the present Treaty, and give to the Austrian Government a just opportunity to be heard.

The Commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging by Austria, within thirty years dating from May 1, 1921, that part of the debt which shall have been assigned to her after the Commission has decided whether Germany is in a position to pay the balance of the total amount of claims presented against Germany and her allies and approved by the Commission. If, however, within the period mentioned, Austria fails to discharge her

obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may, within the discretion of the Commission, be postponed for settlement in subsequent years or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the Allied and Associated Governments acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this Part of the present Treaty shall determine.

ART. 180.—The Reparation Commission shall, after May 1, 1921, from time to time consider the resources and capacity of Austria, and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date and to modify the form of payments such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 179, but not to cancel any part except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented on the Commission.

ART. 181.—Austria shall pay in the course of the years 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921, in such instalments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may lay down, a reasonable sum which shall be determined by the Commission. Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the Armistice of November 3, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers essential to enable Austria to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of the said Governments, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned towards the liquidation of the amount due for reparation. Austria shall further deposit bonds of amounts to be fixed by the Commission by way of security and acknowledgment of her debt.

ART. 184.—In addition to the payments mentioned above, Austria shall effect, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Reparation Commission,



restitution in cash of cash taken away, seized or sequestered, and also restitution of animals, objects of every nature and securities taken away, seized or sequestered in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them on territory belonging to, or during the execution of the present Treaty in the possession of, Austria or her allies.

ART. 190.—The transfer of the Austrian submarine cables, in the absence of any special provision in the present Treaty, is regulated as follows: Austria renounces all rights and privileges in favour of Italy of all such cables connecting Italian territory, including the territories assigned to Italy under the present Treaty. She also renounces all rights in submarine cables connecting any territories ceded under the Treaty to the various Allied and Associated Powers. As regards the cable from Trieste to Corfu the Italian Government shall enjoy in its relations with the owning company the same position as that held by the Austro-Hungarian Government. The value of the cables to be credited to Austria in the reparation account.

#### ANNEX

Austria recognizes the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to the replacement ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war.

Nevertheless and in spite of the fact that the tonnage of Austrian shipping at present in existence is much less than that lost by the Allied and Associated Powers in consequence of the aggression of Austria and her allies, the right thus recognised will be enforced on the Austrian ships and boats under the following conditions:—

The Austrian Government, on behalf of themselves, and so as to bind all other persons interested, cede to the Allies and Associated Governments the property in all merchant ships and fishing boats belonging to nationals of the former Austrian Empire.

The Austrian Government will, within two months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, deliver to the Reparation Commission all the ships and boats mentioned in paragraph 1.

#### SPECIAL PROVISIONS

ART. 191.—Austria undertakes to surrender to each of the Allied and Associated Powers respectively all records, documents, objects of antiquity and of art, and all scientific and bibliographical material taken away from the invaded territories, whether they belong to the State or to provincial, communal, charitable or ecclesiastical administrations or other public or private institutions.

ART. 193.—Austria will give up to each of the Allied and Associated Governments respectively all the records, documents and historical material possessed by public institutions which may have a direct bearing on the history of the ceded territories and which have been removed during the last ten years. This last-mentioned period, as far as concerns Italy, shall be extended to the date of the proclamation of the Kingdom (1861).

The new States arising out of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the States which receive part of the territory of that Monarchy undertake on their part to hand over to Austria the records, documents and material dating from a period not exceeding twenty years which have a direct bearing on the

history or administration of the territory of Austria and which may be found in the territories transferred.

ART. 194.—Austria acknowledges that she remains bound, as regards Italy, to execute the obligations referred to in Article 15 of the Treaty of Zurich of November 10, 1859, in Article 18 of the Treaty of Vienna of October 3, 1866, and in the Convention of Florence of July 14, 1868, concluded between Italy and Austria-Hungary, in so far as the Articles referred to have not in fact been executed in their entirety, and in so far as the documents and objects in question are situated in the territory of Austria or her allies.

ART. 195.—Within a period of twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty a Committee of three jurists appointed by the Reparation Commission shall examine the conditions under which the objects or manuscripts in possession of Austria, enumerated in Annex I hereto, were carried off by the House of Hapsburg, and by the other Houses which have reigned in Italy. If it is found that the said objects or manuscripts were carried off in violation of the rights of the Italian provinces the Reparation Commission, on the report of the Committee referred to, shall order their restitution. Italy and Austria agree to accept the decisions of the Commission.

Belgium, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia may also submit claims for restitution, to be examined by the same Committee of three jurists, relating to the objects and documents enumerated in Annexes II, III and IV hereto. Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria undertake to accept the decisions taken by the Reparation Commission as the result of the report of the said Committee.

#### ANNEX I

##### *Tuscany*

The Crown jewels (such part as remains after their dispersion); the private jewels of the Princess Electress of Medici; the medals which form part of the Medici heirlooms and other precious objects—all being domanial property according to contractual agreements and testamentary dispositions—removed to Vienna during the eighteenth century.

Furniture and silver plate belonging to the House of Medici and the "jewel of Aspasios" in payment of debts owed by the House of Austria to the Crown of Tuscany.

The ancient instruments of astronomy and physics belonging to the Academy of Cimento removed by the House of Lorraine and sent as a present to the cousins of the Imperial House of Vienna.

##### *Modena*

A "Virgin" by Andrea del Sarto and four drawings by Correggio belonging to the Pinacothek of Modena and removed in 1859 by Duke Francis V.

The three following MSS. belonging to the Library of Modena: *Biblia Vulgata* (Cod. Lat. 422/23), *Breviarium Romanum* (Cod. Lat. 424), and *Officium Beatæ Virginis* (Cod. Lat. 262), carried off by Duke Francis V in 1859.

The bronzes carried off under the same circumstances in 1859.

Certain objects (among others two pictures by Salvator Rosa and a portrait by Dosso Dossi) claimed by the Duke of Modena in 1868 as a condition of the

execution of the Convention of June 20, 1868, and other objects given up in 1872 in the same circumstances.

## Palermo

Objects made in Palermo in the twelfth century for the Norman kings and employed in the coronation of the Emperors, which were carried off from Palermo and are now in Vienna.

## Naples

Ninety-eight MSS. carried off from the Library of S. Giovanni a Carbonara and other libraries at Naples in 1718 under the orders of Austria and sent to Vienna.

Various documents carried off at different times from the State Archives of Milan, Mantua, Venice, Modena, and Florence.

## ANNEX II

I. The Triptych of S. Ildephonse, by Rubens, from the Abbey of Saint-Jacques sur Cowdenberg at Brussels, bought in 1777 and removed to Vienna.

II. Objects and documents removed for safety from Belgium to Austria in 1794:

(a.) Arms, armour, and other objects from the old Arsenal of Brussels.

(b.) The Treasure of the "Toison d'or" preserved in previous times in the "Chapelle de la Cour" at Brussels.

(c.) Coinage, stamps, medals, and counters by Theodore van Berckel which were an essential feature in the archives of the "Chambre des Comptes" at Brussels.

(d.) The original manuscript copies of the "carte chorographique" of the Austrian Low Countries drawn up by Lieut.-General Comte Jas de Ferraris between 1770 and 1777, and the documents relating thereto.

## ANNEX III

Object removed from the territory forming part of Poland subsequent to the first partition in 1772:

The gold cup of King Ladislas IV, No. 1,114 of the Court Museum at Vienna.

## ANNEX IV

1. Documents, historical memoirs, manuscripts, maps, etc., claimed by the present State of Czechoslovakia, which Thaulow von Rosenthal removed by order of Maria Theresa.

2. The documents originally belonging to the Royal Aulic Chancellory of Bohemia and the Aulic Chamber of Accounts of Bohemia, and the works of art which formed part of the installation of the Royal Château of Prague and other royal castles in Bohemia, which were removed by the Emperors Mathias, Ferdinand II, Charles VI (about 1718, 1723, and 1737) and Francis Joseph I, all of which are now in the archives, Imperial castles, museums, and other central public institutions at Vienna.

## PART IX

### FINANCIAL CLAUSES

ART. 203.—Each of the States to which territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is transferred, and each of the States arising from the dismemberment of that Monarchy, including Austria, shall assume responsibility for a portion of the debt of the former Austrian Government which is specifically secured on railways, salt mines, or other property and which was in existence on July 28, 1914. The portion to be so assumed by each State shall be such portion as in the opinion of the Reparation Commission represents the secured debt in respect of the railways, salt mines and other properties transferred to that State under the terms of the present Treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto.

Each of the States to which territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is transferred, and each of the States arising from the dismemberment of that Monarchy, including Austria, shall assume responsibility for a portion of the unsecured bonded

debt of the former Austrian Government which was in existence on July 28, 1914, calculated on the basis of the ratio between the average for the three financial years 1911, 1912, 1913, of such revenues of the distributed territory and the average for the same years of such revenues of the whole of the former Austrian territories as in the judgment of the Reparation Commission are best calculated to represent the financial capacity of the respective territories. In making the above calculation the revenues of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall not be included.

[The remaining financial clauses follow very closely the terms of the Treaty with Germany, with alterations to suit the circumstances of the dismembered monarchy. The same remark applies to the remaining parts of the Austrian Treaty, containing the Economic Clauses and dealing with Aerial Navigation, Ports, Waterways, and Railways, Labour, and miscellaneous details.]

# PEACE TREATY WITH BULGARIA

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Though Bulgaria was the first of the Central Powers to abandon the struggle she had to wait until the Peace Treaties had been settled with Germany and Austria before the final terms were handed to her own delegates in Paris. Rather more than two months later—on November 27, 1919—the Treaty itself was signed on her behalf at Neuilly-sur-Seine by M. Stamboliski, President of the Bulgarian

Council of Ministers, and Minister of War. The preamble is the same as in the Austrian Treaty, and the terms follow closely the lines laid down both in that agreement and the German Treaty. The following is a summary of the terms, printed by permission of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office. The full official text will be printed in Cmd. 522.

## PART I

### THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The text as in the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

## PART II

### FRONTIERS OF BULGARIA

1. With the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. The line follows in the main the former boundary with Serbia. The projection round Strumnitza and two border strips further south are ceded to the new State for strategic purposes.

2. With Greece the old frontier is also retained for the most part, with a slight variation in favour of the old Greek town of Buk, and the transfer of another small area north-west of Adrianople.

3. On the south, with territories to be subsequently attributed by the Allied and Associated Powers, the new frontier follows a line passing roughly from a point about 18 kilometres west of Kuchuk-Derbend, thence following the watershed between the basin of the Maritsa on the north, and

the basins of the Mesta Karasu and the other rivers which flow directly into the Ægean Sea on the south. Bulgaria loses her hold on Western Thrace, won from Turkey in 1913, and important as giving her direct access to the Ægean, the new frontier line proceeding eastwards, and then northwards, to the point where it meets the river Maritsa, and east and northwards again until it reaches the Black Sea at Ava Stefano.

4. The Black Sea. This, as before, forms the eastern boundary of Bulgaria.

5. With Roumania. From the Black Sea to the Danube. The frontier existing on August 1, 1914; thence to the confluence of the Timok and the Danube.

## PART III

### POLITICAL CLAUSES

ART. 36-7.—Bulgaria recognises the Serb-Croat-Slovene State in whose favour she renounces all rights and title over the territories of the Bulgarian Monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Bulgaria and recognised by the present Treaty, or by any Treaties concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement, as forming part of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

ART. 38.—A Commission consisting of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and one by Bulgaria, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line described in Part II.

ART. 39.—Bulgarian nationals habitually resident in the territories assigned to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State will acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality *ipso facto* and will lose their Bulgarian nationality. Bulgarian nationals, however, who became resident in these territories after January 1, 1913, will not acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality without a permit from the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

ART. 40.—Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, Bulgarian nationals over 18 years of age and habitually resident in the territories which are assigned to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State in accordance with the present Treaty will be entitled to opt for their former nationality. Serb-Croat-Slovenes over 18 years of age



who are Bulgarian nationals and habitually resident in Bulgaria will have a similar right to opt for Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality.

[Similar clauses are introduced with regard to Greece and Thrace.]

## PART IV

### MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR CLAUSES

ART. 64.—Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the military forces of Bulgaria shall be demobilized to the extent prescribed hereinafter.

ART. 65.—Universal compulsory military service shall be abolished in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Army shall in future only be constituted and recruited by means of voluntary enlistment.

ART. 66.—The total number of military forces in the Bulgarian Army shall not exceed 20,000 men, including officers and depot troops. The Bulgarian Army shall be exclusively employed for the maintenance of order within Bulgarian territory and for the control of the frontiers.

ART. 69.—The number of gendarmes, customs officials, forest guards, local or municipal police or other like officials shall be fixed by the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control, and shall not exceed the number of men employed in a similar capacity in 1911 within the territorial limits of Bulgaria as fixed in accordance with the present Treaty. In no case shall the number of these officials who are armed with rifles exceed 10,000. The number of these officials may only be increased in the future in proportion to the increase of population in the localities or municipalities which employ them. These officials, as well as those employed in the railway service, must not be assembled for the purpose of taking part in any military exercises. In addition, Bulgaria may establish a special corps of frontier guards, which must be recruited by means of voluntary enlistment and must not exceed 3,000 men, so that the total number of rifles in use in Bulgaria shall not exceed 33,000.

ART. 73.—On the expiration of three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty there must only exist in Bulgaria one military school, strictly set apart for the recruitment of officers for the authorised units.

ART. 77.—The stock of munitions at the disposal of the Bulgarian Army shall not exceed the amounts fixed in the Treaty. Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Bulgarian Government shall deposit any existing surplus of armament and munitions in such places as shall be notified to it by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. No other stock, depot or reserve of munitions shall be formed.

ART. 78.—The number and calibre of guns constituting the fixed normal armament of fortified places existing at the present moment in Bulgaria shall be immediately notified to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, and will constitute maximum amounts which may not be exceeded. Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the maximum stock of ammunition for these guns will be reduced to and maintained at the following uniform rates:

1,500 rounds per gun for those the calibre of which is 105 mm. and under;

ART. 48.—The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to ensure the economic outlets of Bulgaria to the Aegean Sea. The conditions of this guarantee to be fixed at a later date.

500 rounds per gun for those of higher calibre.

No new fortifications or fortified places shall be constructed in Bulgaria.

ART. 79.—The manufacture of arms, munitions and of war material shall only be carried on in one single factory, which shall be controlled by and belong to the State, and whose output shall be strictly limited to the manufacture of such arms, munitions and war material as is necessary for the military forces and armaments referred to in Articles 66, 69, 77 and 78 above. Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty all other establishments for the manufacture, preparation, storage or design of arms, munitions or any other war material shall be abolished or converted to purely commercial uses. Within the same length of time all arsenals shall also be suppressed, except those to be used as depots for the authorised stocks of munitions, and their staffs discharged. The plant of any establishments or arsenals existing in excess of the needs of the authorised manufacture shall be rendered useless or converted to purely commercial uses.

ART. 80.—Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty all arms, munitions and war material, including any kind of anti-aircraft material, of whatever origin, existing in Bulgaria in excess of the authorised quantity shall be handed over to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. This delivery shall take place at such points in Bulgarian territory as may be appointed by the said Powers, who shall also decide on the disposal of such material.

ART. 81.—The importation into Bulgaria of arms, munitions and war material of kinds is forbidden. The manufacture for foreign countries and the exportation of arms, munitions and war material shall also be forbidden.

ART. 83.—From the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty all Bulgarian warships, submarines included, are declared to be finally surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. Bulgaria will, however, have the right to maintain on the Danube and along her coasts for police and fishery duties not more than four torpedo boats and six motor boats, all without torpedoes and torpedo apparatus.

The personnel of the above vessels shall be organised on a purely civilian basis. The vessels allowed to Bulgaria must only be replaced by lightly-armed patrol craft not exceeding 100 tons displacement and of non-military character.

ART. 84.—All warships, including submarines, now under construction in Bulgaria shall be broken up. The work of breaking up these vessels shall be commenced as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ART. 85.—Articles, machinery and material arising from the breaking up of Bulgarian warships of all kinds, whether surface vessels or submarines, may

not be used except for purely industrial or commercial purposes. They may not be sold or disposed of to foreign countries.

ART. 86.—The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, shall be forbidden in Bulgaria.

ART. 87.—All arms, ammunition and other naval war material, including mines and torpedoes, which belonged to Bulgaria at the date of the signature of the Armistice of September 29, 1918, are declared to be finally surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ART. 88.—During the three months following the coming into force of the present Treaty the high-power wireless telegraphy station at Sofia shall not be used for the transmission of messages concerning naval, military or political questions of interest to

Bulgaria, or any State which has been allied to Bulgaria in the war, without the assent of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. This station may be used for commercial purposes, but only under the supervision of the said Powers, who will decide the wave-lengths to be used. During the same period Bulgaria shall not build any more high-power wireless telegraphy stations in her own territory or that of Germany, Austria, Hungary or Turkey.

#### AIR CLAUSES

ART. 89.—The armed forces of Bulgaria must not include any military or naval air forces. No dirigible shall be kept. [This, and the remaining air clauses, are identical with those in the Austrian Treaty.]

### PART V

#### PRISONERS OF WAR AND GRAVES

As in the Austrian Treaty.

ART. 113.—An Inter-Allied Commission for enquiry and control shall be formed for the purpose of:

- (1) searching for non-repatriated Allied and Associated nationals;
- (2) identifying those who have expressed their desire to remain within Bulgarian territory;
- (3) establishing criminal acts punishable by the penalties referred to in Part VI (Penalties) of the present Treaty, committed by Bulgarians against the persons of prisoners of war or Allied and Associated nationals during their captivity.

This Commission shall consist of a representative of each of the following Powers, viz.: the British

Empire, France, Italy, Greece, Roumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

The result of the enquiries made by this Commission shall be transmitted to each of the Governments concerned.

The Bulgarian Government undertakes:

(1) To give every facility to this Commission, to furnish it with all necessary means of transport; to allow it free access to camps, prisons, hospitals and all other places; and to place at its disposal all documents, whether public or private, which would facilitate its enquiries;

(2) To impose penalties upon any Bulgarian officials or private persons who have concealed the presence of any nationals of any of the Allied or Associated Powers, or have neglected to reveal the presence of any such after it had come to their knowledge.

### PART VI

#### PENALTIES

As in the Austrian Treaty.

### PART VII

#### REPARATION

ART. 121.—Bulgaria recognises that, by joining in the war of aggression which Germany and Austria-Hungary waged against the Allied and Associated Powers, she has caused to the latter losses and sacrifices of all kinds, for which she ought to make complete reparation.

On the other hand, the Allied and Associated Powers recognise that the resources of Bulgaria are not sufficient to enable her to make complete reparation.

Bulgaria, therefore, agrees to pay, and the Allied and Associated Powers agree to accept, as being such reparation as Bulgaria is able to make, the sum of 2,250,000,000 (two and a quarter milliards) francs gold.

This amount shall (except as hereinafter provided) be discharged by a series of half-yearly payments on January 1 and July 1 in each year, beginning on July 1, 1920.

The payments on July 1, 1920, and January 1, 1921 shall represent interest at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum from January 1, 1920, on the total sum due by Bulgaria. Thereafter, each half-yearly payment shall include, besides the payment of interest at 5 per cent. per annum, the provision of a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish the total amount due by Bulgaria in 37 years from January 1, 1921.

ART. 123.—Bulgaria shall have the power at any time, if she so desires, to make immediate payments in reduction of the total capital sum due over and above the half-yearly payments.

ART. 124.—Bulgaria recognises the transfer to the Allied and Associated Powers of any claims to payment or repayment which Germany, Austria, Hungary or Turkey may have against her. The Allied and Associated Powers, on the other hand, agree not to acquire from Bulgaria any payment in respect of claims so transferred, as they have taken these claims

into account in fixing the amount to be paid by Bulgaria under Article 121.

ART. 125.—In addition to the payments mentioned in Article 121, Bulgaria undertakes to return, in accordance with the procedure to be laid down by the Inter-Allied Commission, objects of any nature and securities taken away, seized or sequestered in the territory invaded in Greece, Roumania or Serbia, in cases in which it is possible to identify them in Bulgarian territory, except in the case of livestock, which shall be dealt with separately.

ART. 126.—Bulgaria undertakes to seek for and forthwith to return to Greece, Roumania, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State respectively any records or archives or any articles of archaeological, historic or artistic interest which have been taken away from the territories of those countries during the present war. Any dispute between the Powers above named and Bulgaria as to their ownership of any such articles shall be referred to an arbitrator to be appointed by the Inter-Allied Commission, and whose decision shall be final.

ART. 128.—By way of special compensation for the destruction caused to the coal-mines situated on Serbian territory occupied by the Bulgarian armies, Bulgaria undertakes, subject to the proviso contained in the final paragraph of this Article, to deliver to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State during five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty 50,000 tons of coal a year from the output of the Bulgarian State mines at Pernik. These deliveries shall be made free on rail on the Serb-Croat-Slovene frontier on the Pirot-Sofia railway. The value of these deliveries will not be credited to Bulgaria, and will not be taken in diminution of the payment required under Article 121. Provided, nevertheless, that these deliveries will only be made subject to the approval of the Inter-Allied Commission, which approval shall only be given if and in so far as the Commission is satisfied that such deliveries of coal will not unduly interfere with the economic life of Bulgaria; the decision of the Commission on this point shall be final.

ART. 130.—In order to facilitate the discharge by Bulgaria of the obligations assumed by her under the

present Treaty, there shall be established at Sofia as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty an Inter-Allied Commission. The Commission shall be composed of three members to be appointed respectively by the Governments of the British Empire, France and Italy. Each Government represented on the Commission shall have the right to withdraw therefrom upon six months' notice filed with the Commission. Bulgaria shall be represented by a Commissioner, who shall take part in the sittings of the Commission whenever invited by the Commission to do so, but shall not have the right to vote. The Commission shall be constituted in the form and shall possess the powers prescribed by the present Treaty, including the Annex to this Part.

The Commission shall continue in existence as long as any of the payments due under the terms of this Part of the present Treaty remain unpaid. The members of the Commission shall enjoy the same rights and immunities as are enjoyed in Bulgaria by duly accredited diplomatic agents of friendly Powers. The Bulgarian Government agrees to provide by law, within six months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the authority necessary for enabling the Commission to carry out its duties.

#### ANNEX

This, among other clauses, provides that in case of default by Bulgaria in the performance of her obligations under Articles 121 and 130 and this Annex the Commission shall be entitled to assume to the extent and for the period fixed by it the full control and management of and to undertake the collection of such taxes and sources of revenue and to hold and disburse the proceeds thereof, and to apply any net proceeds after meeting the cost of administration and collection to the satisfaction of the reparation obligations of Bulgaria, subject to any priorities laid down in the present Treaty. In the case of such action by the Commission, Bulgaria undertakes to recognise the authority and powers of the said Commission, to abide by its decisions and to obey its directions.

## PART VIII

### FINANCIAL CLAUSES

ART. 132.—Subject to the provisions of Article 138,<sup>1</sup> and to such exceptions as the Inter-Allied Commission established by Article 130, Part VII (Reparation) of the present Treaty, may unanimously approve, a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of Bulgaria shall be the cost of reparation and all other costs arising under the present Treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto, or under arrangements concluded between Bulgaria and the Allied and Associated Powers during the Armistice signed on September 29, 1918.

Up to May 1, 1921, the Bulgarian Government shall not export or dispose of, and shall prohibit the export or disposal of, gold without the previous approval of the Inter-Allied Commission.

ART. 133.—There shall be paid by Bulgaria the total cost of all armies of the Allied and Associated

Governments occupying territory within her boundaries, as defined in the present Treaty, from the date of the signature of the Armistice of September 29, 1918, until the coming into force of the present Treaty, including the keep of men and beasts, lodging and billeting, pay and allowances, salaries and wages, bedding, heating, lighting, clothing, equipment, harness and saddlery, armament and rolling-stock, air services, treatment of sick and wounded, veterinary and remount services, transport services of all sorts (such as by rail, sea or river, motor lorries), communications and correspondence, and, in general, the cost of all administrative or technical services, the working of which is necessary for the training of troops and for keeping their numbers up to strength and preserving their military efficiency.

The cost of such liabilities under the above heads, so far as they relate to purchases or requisitions by the Allied and Associated Governments in the occupied territory, shall be paid by the Bulgarian

<sup>1</sup> Article 138 is to the effect that all rights created in connection with loans contracted by the Bulgarian Government before August 1, 1914, "are maintained in force without modification".



Government to the Allied and Associated Governments in any legal currency of Bulgaria. In cases where an Allied or Associated Government, in order to make such purchases or requisitions in the occupied territory, has incurred expenditure in a currency other than Bulgarian currency, such expenditure shall be reimbursed in Bulgarian currency at the rate of exchange current at the date of reimbursement, or at an agreed rate.

All other of the above costs shall be paid in the currency of the country to which the payment is due.

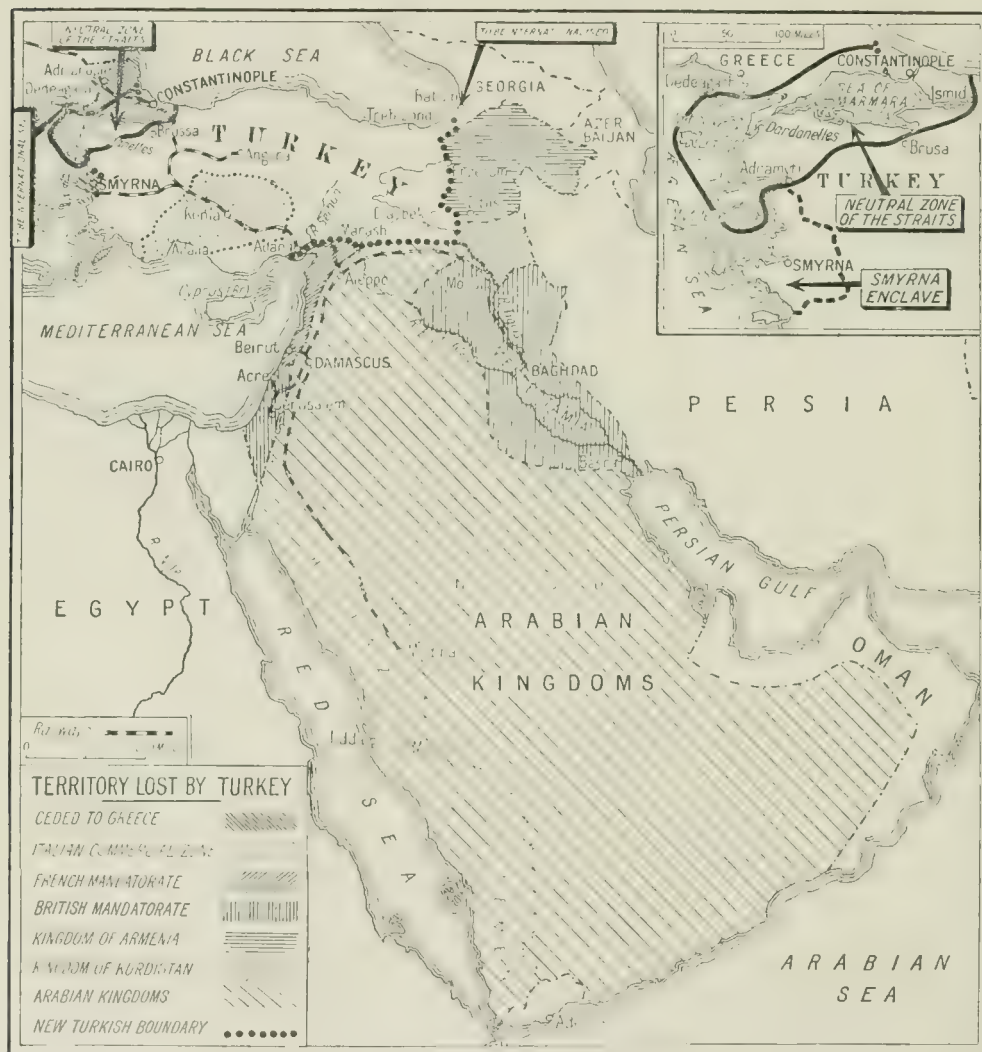
ART. 135.—The priority of the charges established by this Part of the Treaty shall be as follows:—

(i) the cost of military occupation;

(ii) the service of such part of the external pre-war Ottoman Public Debt as may be attributed to Bulgaria under the present Treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto in respect of the cession to Bulgaria of territory formerly belonging to the Ottoman Empire;

(iii) the cost of reparation as prescribed by the present Treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto.

Parts IX, X, XI and XII, containing the economic clauses, and dealing with Aerial Navigation, Ports, Waterways, and Railways, Labour, and Miscellaneous Provisions, follow in general the lines laid down in the German and Austrian Treaties.



Boundaries of Turkey as fixed by Peace Treaty

# PEACE TREATY WITH TURKEY

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The Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Turkey was handed to the Turkish Delegation, headed by Tewfik Pasha, in Paris, on May 11, 1920. Turkey protested against its

drastic conditions, but signed at Sèvres on August 10 following. An official summary of the treaty was issued by the Foreign Office on May 11 to the following effect:

## PART I

### THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The text as in the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

## PART II

### FRONTIERS OF TURKEY

The boundaries of Turkey are described in two articles, one dealing with Turkey in Europe and the other with Turkey in Asia. The frontier of Turkey in Europe is approximately that of the Chatalja lines, the northern half of these lines being, however, advanced in a north-westerly direction so as to include within the boundaries of Turkey the whole area of Lake Derkos, which is a reservoir for the supply of water to Constantinople. The boundaries of Turkey in Asia remain the same except as regards the southern frontier, which, together with the new frontier in Europe and the boundary of the Greek administrative zone round Smyrna (see section

dealing with Smyrna below), is shown approximately on the map on p. 284.

The above boundaries are described in detail in the Treaty in so far as they are not left to be settled by Boundary Commissions on the spot. Provision is also made in the Treaty for a possible modification of the present frontier between Turkey and the independent State of Armenia, namely, the former Russo-Turkish frontier in this region, by reference to the arbitration of the President of the United States regarding a new boundary for Armenia in the vilayets of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van, and Bitlis.

## PART III

### POLITICAL CLAUSES

#### CONSTANTINOPLE

Subject to the provisions of the Treaty, the parties agree to the maintenance of Turkish sovereignty over Constantinople, but a reservation is made that if Turkey fails to observe the provisions of the Treaty, or of supplementary Treaties or Conventions, particularly as regards the protection of minorities, the Allied Powers may modify the above provisions, and Turkey agrees to accept any dispositions which may be made in this connection.

#### THE STRAITS

The navigation of the Straits, including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus, is to be open in future, both in peace and war, to every vessel of commerce or of war, and to military

and commercial aircraft, without distinction of flag. These waters are not to be subject to blockade, and no belligerent right is to be exercised, nor any act of hostility committed within them, unless in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations. A "Commission of the Straits" is established with control over these waters, to which both the Turkish and Greek Governments delegate the necessary powers. The Commission is composed of representatives appointed respectively by the United States of America (if and when that Government is willing to participate), the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Russia (if and when Russia becomes a member of the League of Nations), Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria (if and when Bulgaria becomes a member of the League of Nations).

Each Power is to appoint one representative, but the representatives of the United States, the British

Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and Russia have two votes each, and the representatives of the other three Powers one vote each. The Commission exercises its authority in complete independence of the local authority, with its own flag, budget, and separate organization. The Commission is charged with the execution of any works necessary for the improvement of the channels or the approaches to harbours, lighting and buoying, the control of pilotage and towage, the control of anchorages, the control necessary to assure the execution in the ports of Constantinople and Haidar Pasha of the régime laid down in that part of the Treaty relating to ports, waterways, and railways, and the control of all matters relating to wrecks and salvage and lighterage.

In the case of threats to the freedom of passage of the Straits, special provision is made for appeal by the Commission to the representatives at Constantinople of Great Britain, France, and Italy, which Powers, under the military provisions of the Treaty, provide forces for the occupation of the zone of the Straits. These representatives will concert with the naval and military commanders of the Allied forces the necessary measures, whether the threat comes from within or without the zone of the Straits. Provision is also made for the acquisition of property or permanent works by the Commission, the raising of loans, the levying of dues on shipping in the Straits, the transfer to the Commission of the functions exercised within the waters of the Straits by the Constantinople Superior Council of Health, the Turkish Sanitary Administration, and the National Life-boat Service of the Bosphorus, and the relations of the Commission with persons or companies now holding concessions relating to lighthouses, docks, quays, or similar matters are laid down.

The Commission is empowered to raise a special police force, and provision is made for dealing with infringements of the regulations and bye-laws of the Commission by the appropriate local courts, whether consular, Turkish or Greek. A special article lays down that all dues and charges imposed by the Commission shall be levied without any discrimination, and on a footing of absolute equality between all vessels, whatever their port of origin or destination or departure, their flag or ownership, or the nationality or the ownership of their cargoes. Articles analogous to the relevant provisions of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 deal with the transit of warships, prizes, the passage of belligerent warships, and their stay within the waters under the control of the Commission, as well as their repair or replenishment with supplies, or the completion of their crews, but the freedom of action of belligerents acting in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations is specially reserved. Further regulations are to be laid down by the League of Nations regarding the passage of war material and contraband destined for the enemies of Turkey and other kindred matters.

#### KURDISTAN

Turkey accepts in advance a scheme of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas, east of the Euphrates, south of the southern frontier of Armenia, as eventually fixed, and north of the southern frontier of Turkey, to be drafted by a Commission composed of British, French, and Italian representatives sitting at Constantinople. This

scheme is to protect the rights of Assyro-Chaldeans and other racial or religious minorities within the above area, and with this object provision is also made for a possible rectification of the Turkish frontier, where that frontier coincides with that of Persia.

Secondly, the Treaty provides for an appeal for complete independence, within a stated time, to the Council of the League of Nations by the Kurdish peoples within the above area, and for the grant of such independence by Turkey, if recommended by the Council. In that event the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul vilayet are to be allowed, if they so desire, to adhere to the independent Kurdish State.

#### SMYRNA

The Turkish Government agrees to transfer to the Greek Government the exercise of her rights of sovereignty over a special area round the city of Smyrna. In witness of Turkish sovereignty the Turkish flag is to be flown on one of the forts outside Smyrna. The Greek Government is to be responsible for the administration of the area, may keep troops there to maintain order, may include the area in the Greek customs system, and is to establish a local Parliament on the basis of a scheme of proportional representation of minorities which is to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations and only to come into force after approval by a majority of the Council.

The elections may be postponed for a limited period to allow the return of inhabitants banished or deported by the Turkish authorities. Special provisions are included regarding the protection of minorities, the nationality of the inhabitants in the area and their protection abroad, the suspension of compulsory military service, freedom of commerce and transit, the use of the port of Smyrna by Turkey, the currency of the area, financial obligations, and the salt mines of Phocœa. Finally, after five years the local Parliament may ask the Council of the League of Nations for the incorporation of the area in the Kingdom of Greece, and the Council may impose a plebiscite, but, if such incorporation is granted, Turkey agrees in advance to renounce all her rights to the territory in favour of Greece.

#### GREECE

Turkey renounces in favour of Greece her rights and titles over Turkish territory in Europe outside the frontier, as well as over Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, Samothrace, Mitylene, Samos, Nikaria, and Chios, and certain other islands in the Ægean. In the zone of the Straits the Greek Government accepts practically the same obligations as are imposed in Turkey. Provision is made for a separate Treaty to be signed by Greece, protecting racial, linguistic, and religious minorities in her new territories, particularly at Adrianople, and safeguarding freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations. Greece also assumes certain financial obligations.

#### ARMENIA

Turkey recognizes Armenia as a free and independent State, and agrees to accept the arbitration



of the President of the United States of America upon the question of the frontier between Turkey and Armenia, in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, and upon Armenia's access to the sea. Provision is made for the obligations and rights which may pass to Armenia as the result of the award of the President giving former Turkish territory to her, for the eventual delimitation of the Armenian frontiers in Turkey as a result of the arbitration, and of the Armenian frontiers with Georgia and Azerbaijan, failing direct agreement on the subject by the three States, and for a separate Treaty to be signed by Armenia protecting racial, linguistic, and religious minorities, and safeguarding freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

### SYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, AND PALESTINE

Syria and Mesopotamia are provisionally recognized by the High Contracting Parties as independent States in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, subject to the tendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until they are able to stand alone. The boundaries of the States and the selection of mandatories will be fixed by the principal Allied Powers.

By the application of the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant the administration of Palestine is also entrusted to a mandatory. The selection of the mandatory and the determination of the frontiers of Palestine will be made by the principal Allied Powers. The declaration originally made on Nov. 2, 1917, by the British Government, and adopted by the other Allied Governments, in favour of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine is reaffirmed, and its terms cited in the Treaty. Provision is also made for a special commission, with a chairman appointed by the League of Nations, to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine.

The terms of the mandates will be drafted by the principal Allied Powers, and submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval.

### HEJAZ

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, recognizes the Hejaz as a free and independent State, and transfers to the Hejaz her sovereign rights over territory outside the boundaries of the former Turkish Empire and within the boundaries of the Hejaz as ultimately fixed.

In view of the sacred character of the cities and Holy Places of Mecca and Medina in the eyes of all Moslems, the King of the Hejaz undertakes to ensure free and easy access thereto of Moslems of every country desiring to go there on pilgrimages and for other religious objects, and respect for pious foundations. Provision is also made for complete commercial equality in the territory of the Hejaz as regards the new States in Turkey and all States, members of the League of Nations.

### EGYPT, SOUDAN, AND CYPRUS

Turkey renounces all rights and titles over Egypt as from Nov. 5, 1914, and recognizes the Protectorate proclaimed by Great Britain over Egypt on

Dec. 18, 1914. Special clauses provide for the acquisition of Egyptian nationality by Turkish subjects, and their right to opt for Turkish nationality, for the treatment of Egypt and Egyptian nationals, their goods and vessels, on the same footing as the Allied Powers and their nationals, for the protection of Egyptian nationals abroad by Great Britain, for the renunciation in favour of Great Britain of the powers conferred upon the Sultan of Turkey by the Convention signed at Constantinople on Oct. 29, 1888, regarding the Suez Canal, for the treatment of property belonging to the Turkish Government and Turkish nationals in Egypt, for the renunciation by Turkey of all claim to the tribute formerly paid by Egypt, and for the acceptance by Great Britain of Turkey's liability for Turkish loans secured on the Egyptian tribute.

The High Contracting Parties take note of the Convention between the British and Egyptian Governments of Jan. 19, 1899, and the supplementary Convention of July 10, 1899, regarding the status and administration of the Soudan.

The High Contracting Parties also recognize the annexation of Cyprus, proclaimed by the British Government on Nov. 5, 1914. Turkey renounces all rights over the island, including the right to tribute formerly paid by that island to the Sultan, and provision is made for the acquisition of British nationality by Turkish nationals born or habitually resident in Cyprus.

### MOROCCO AND TUNIS

Turkey recognizes the French Protectorate in Morocco as from March 30, 1912, and the French Protectorate over Tunis as from May 12, 1881. Moroccan and Tunisian goods entering Turkey shall be subject to the same treatment as French goods.

### LIBYA AND THE ÆGEAN ISLANDS

Turkey renounces all rights and privileges left to the Sultan in Libya under the Treaty of Lausanne of Oct. 12, 1912. Turkey also renounces in favour of Italy all rights and titles over the Dodecanese, now in the occupation of Italy, and also over the island of Castellorizzo.

### NATIONALITY

Detailed provisions are inserted in the Treaty for regulating the status of Turkish subjects habitually resident in territory detached by the Treaty from Turkey. These follow generally the lines of analogous provisions inserted in the Treaty with Austria.

### GENERAL PROVISIONS

Under this heading Turkey recognizes and accepts all other Treaties and supplementary Conventions with other enemy States, and with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Russian Empire, as well as the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties, and of all treaties, conventions, and agreements made by Turkey with the Maximalist [Bolshevik] Government in Russia.

Special provision is made for Turkey's acceptance of a scheme of judicial reform (on the lines either of a mixed or unified system) to be drafted by the

principal Allied Powers with the assistance of technical experts of the other capitulatory Powers, allied or neutral. This scheme shall replace the present capitulatory system in judicial matters in Turkey. Clauses also provide for an amnesty by Turkey to

Turkish subjects assisting the Allies during the war, and for the renunciation by Turkey of all rights of suzerainty or jurisdiction over Moslems who are subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of any other State.

## PART IV

### PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Turkey is to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion. Special provision is made for the annulment of forcible conversions to Islam during the war, and for the search and delivery, under the ægis of mixed Commissions appointed by the League of Nations, of all persons in Turkey, of whatever race or religion, carried off, interned, or placed in captivity during the war, and for future agreements with Turkey and other States regarding reciprocal or voluntary emigration of persons belonging to racial minorities. The Law of Abandoned Properties, 1915, is to be repealed, and Turkey agrees to certain measures of restitution and reparation, controlled by Mixed Arbitral Commissions appointed by the League of Nations, in favour of subjects of non-Turkish race who have suffered during the war. These Commissions will have power generally to

arrange for carrying out works of reconstruction, the removal of undesirable persons from different localities, the disposal of property belonging to members of a community who have died or disappeared during the war without leaving heirs, and for the cancellation of forced sales of property during the war.

This chapter further safeguards by special provisions the civil and political rights of minorities, the free use of their language, their right to establish, without interference by the Turkish authorities, educational, religious, and charitable institutions, and their ecclesiastical and scholastic autonomy. The measures necessary to guarantee the execution of this chapter of the Treaty are to be decided upon by the principal Allied Powers in consultation with the Council of the League of Nations, and Turkey accepts in advance any decisions that may be taken on the subject.

## PART V

### MILITARY CLAUSES

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Turkey undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow.

The military terms provide for the demobilization of the Turkish armies and the imposition of other military restrictions within three months of the signing of the Treaty. Recruiting on a voluntary and non-racial, non-religious basis is to be established, providing for the enlistment of non-commissioned officers and men for a period of not less than 12 consecutive years, and stipulating that officers shall serve for 25 years, and shall not be retired until the age of 45. No reserve of officers with war service is to be permitted, and the annual replacement of either officers or men who leave before the expiration of their term is not to exceed 5 per cent, of the total effectives of commissioned and other ranks respectively.

Turkey will be allowed to maintain an armed land force to serve the following purposes: The maintenance of internal order and security, the protection of minorities, the control of Turkish frontiers. This force will comprise:

1. Gendarmerie: 35,000 men.
2. Special elements intended for the reinforcement of the gendarmerie in case of serious trouble: 15,000 men.
3. The Sultan's bodyguard: 700 men.

The gendarmerie is to be distributed over Turkish territory, which will be divided for this purpose into a number of territorial areas to be delimited by the Inter-Allied Commission, which will be responsible

for the control and organization of the Turkish armed force. In each territorial area there will be one gendarmerie legion, the maximum strength of which is not to exceed one-quarter of the total strength of the gendarmerie. Neither artillery nor technical troops will be included in the gendarmerie legions. Provision is made for the collaboration of officers from Allied and neutral Powers in the command and training of the gendarmerie. The special elements referred to may include mountain, artillery, and technical services, in addition to infantry, cavalry, and general administrative services. Not more than one-third of the total strength of the special elements may be allotted to any one territorial area.

It will be seen from the above that the total number of Turkish effectives—excluding the Sultan's bodyguard—is fixed at 50,000, which figure includes not more than 2,500 officers. Any increase in the number of customs and forestry officials or urban police, or the military training of these, or of railway employees, is prohibited, and no formations are to include supplementary cadres. Military schools are to be reduced to one for officers and one per territorial area for non-commissioned officers.

The armament, munitions, and material of war at the disposal of Turkey is limited to a schedule based on the amount considered necessary for the new armed force. No reserves may be formed, and all existing armaments, munitions, and stores in excess of the limit fixed must be handed to the Allies for disposal. No flame-throwers, poison-gases, tanks, nor armoured cars are to be manufactured or imported. The manufacture of arms and war material of any sort shall take place only in factories authorized



by the Inter-Allied Commission of Control. Turkey is prohibited from manufacturing armaments and munitions for foreign countries and from importing them from abroad.

For the purpose of guaranteeing the freedom of the Straits all works, fortifications, and batteries are to be demolished within a zone extending 20 kilometres inland from the coasts of the Sea of Marmora and of the Straits, and comprising the islands of the Sea of Marmora, also the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Tenedos, and Mitylene. The construction of similar works or of roads or railways suitable for the rapid transport of mobile batteries is forbidden; France, Great Britain, and Italy have the right to prepare for demolition any existing roads and railways which might be utilized to this end, and to maintain such military forces within the zone as they may consider necessary; otherwise the zone is not to be used for military purposes. This provision does not exclude the employment of forces of Greek and Turkish gendarmerie, which will be under the Inter-Allied Command of the forces of occupation, nor the presence of the Sultan's bodyguard.

## NAVAL

The naval clauses provide for the surrender of all Turkish warships with the exception of a few small lightly-armed vessels which may be retained for police and fishery duties. Turkey is forbidden to construct or acquire any surface warships other than those required to replace the units allowed for police and fishery duties, and is also forbidden to construct or acquire any submarine, even for commercial purposes. Vessels which have been in use as transports and fleet auxiliaries, and which can be converted to commercial use, are to be disarmed and treated as other merchant vessels.

Warships under construction, including submarines are to be broken up, except such surface warships as can be completed for commercial purposes, and the material arising from the breaking up is only to be used for purely industrial purposes. All naval war material and munitions, except such as are allowed for the use of the police and fishery vessels, are to be surrendered, and their manufacture in Turkish territory is forbidden.

A certain number of the officers and men from the late Turkish navy may be retained for providing the personnel of the police fishery and signal services; the remainder is to be demobilized, and no other naval forces are to be organized in Turkey. The personnel for the police and fishery services is to be recruited on a voluntary and long-service basis.

The wireless telegraphy stations in the zone of the Straits are to be surrendered, and neither Turkey nor Greece will be permitted to build wireless telegraph stations in the zone.

A Naval Commission composed of representatives of the principal Allied Powers will be appointed to

exercise supervision as long as may be necessary to ensure the above conditions being complied with.

## AIR

The air clauses provide that no military or naval air forces are to be maintained by Turkey; that the entire Turkish air force personnel is to be demobilized within two months; and that the aircraft of the Allied Powers are to have freedom of passage over and transit and landing throughout Turkish territory until the complete evacuation of Turkey by the Allies.

The manufacture, importation, and exportation of aircraft or their component parts in Turkish territory during six months following the coming into force of the Treaty is forbidden. All military and naval aircraft (including dirigibles) either complete or in process of manufacture, assembling, or repair, all aeronautical material, armament, munitions, and instruments are to be delivered to the Principal Allied Powers within three months from the signing of the Treaty.

The air navigation clauses follow the lines of those in the other Peace Treaties.

## INTER-ALLIED COMMISSIONS OF CONTROL AND ORGANIZATION

These clauses provide that the military, naval, and air clauses of the Treaty are to be executed under the control of military, naval, and aeronautical Inter-Allied Commissions, of which the upkeep and expenditure are to be borne by Turkey. With the exception of the special section of the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization, which is to supervise the control, organization, and distribution of the new Turkish armed force, these Commissions will cease to operate when their work is completed. This section is to operate for a period of five years from the signing of the Treaty. At the end of this period the Principal Allied Powers are to decide whether the activities of the Commission shall continue. Representatives from each of the three Commissions will be appointed to control jointly the measures to be taken with regard to safeguarding the zone of the Straits.

## GENERAL

General articles provide for certain portions of the Armistice of Oct. 30, 1918, to remain in force.

No part is to be taken by Turkey, nor by any individual Turk in the military, naval, and aeronautical concerns of any foreign nation, and the Allied Powers undertake that they will not employ any Turkish national in this connection. A special provision is made allowing France the right to recruit for the Foreign Legion in accordance with French military law.

## PART VI

### PRISONERS OF WAR

Turkish prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be repatriated without delay at the cost of the Turkish Government. Those under sentence for offences against discipline committed before Jan. 1, 1920, are to be repatriated without regard to their

sentence, but this provision does not apply in the case of offences other than those against discipline. The Allies have the right to deal at their own discretion with Turkish nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, and all repatriation is conditional upon



the immediate release of any Allied subjects still in Turkey.

The Turkish Government is to afford facilities to Commissions of Inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war, in imposing penalties on Turkish officials who have concealed Allied nationals, and in establishing criminal acts committed by Turks against Allied nationals. The Turkish Government is to restore all property belonging to Allied prisoners.

### GRAVES

These clauses provide that the Turkish Government is to transfer to the British, French, and Italian Governments respectively rights of ownership over the ground in Turkey in which are situated the graves of their soldiers and sailors and over the land required for cemeteries, or for providing access to cemeteries. The Greek Government undertakes to fulfil the same obligation so far as concerns the portion of the zone of the Straits placed under its sovereignty. Within six months from the coming into force of the Treaty the British, French, and Italian Governments will respectively notify to the Turkish and Greek Governments the land which is

to be transferred to them. This land will include in particular certain areas in the Gallipoli Peninsula.

The Government in whose favour the transfer is made will not allow the land to be employed for any purpose other than that to which it is dedicated, and the shore is not to be employed for any military, marine, or commercial purpose. If compulsory acquisition of the land is necessary, it is to be effected by and at the cost of the Turkish or Greek Governments, who will not subject the land to any form of taxation. They will undertake to maintain all roads leading to the land, give free access to all persons desirous of visiting the graves, and afford facilities for the requirements of the staff engaged in duties in connection with the cemeteries. The provisions do not affect the Turkish or Greek sovereignty over the transferred land, and these Governments are to take the necessary measures to punish any act of desecration of cemeteries or graves.

The Allies and the Turkish Government are to respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried in their territories, and to recognize and assist any Commissions appointed by the Allies in connection with them. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

## PART VII

### PENALTIES

Military tribunals are to be set up by the Allies to try persons accused of acts of violation of the laws and customs of war, and the Turkish Government is to hand over all persons so accused. The Government of States to which former Turkish territory is assigned by the Treaty are to act similarly in the case of persons accused of acts against the laws and customs of war who are in the territory or at the disposal of such States. The accused are to be entitled to name their own counsel and the Turkish Government is to undertake to furnish all documents and

information the production of which may be necessary.

The Turkish Government undertakes to surrender to the Allies persons responsible for the massacres committed during the war on the territory of the former Turkish Empire, the Allies reserving the right to designate the tribunal to try such persons or to bring the accused before a tribunal of the League of Nations competent to deal with the said massacres if such a tribunal has been created by the League in sufficient time.

## PART VIII

### FINANCIAL CLAUSES

This part of the Treaty begins by a declaration reproduced from the Treaties already signed by Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria. Turkey thereby recognizes that in associating in the war of aggression waged against the Allied Powers she has caused them losses for which she ought to make complete reparation; nevertheless, in view of her loss of territory, the Powers will be satisfied with obtaining payment of the claims enumerated later in the chapter. All the resources of Turkey, except revenues ceded or hypothecated to the services of the Ottoman Public Debt, are to be employed as need arises for effecting the following payments set forth in order of priority:

1. Ordinary expenses of the Allied forces of occupation after the entry into force of the Treaty.

2. Expenses of the Allied forces of occupation since Oct. 30 in the territories remaining Turkish and expenses of occupation in the territories detached from Turkey to the advantage of a Power other than that which has supported such expenses of occupation. The expenses covered by the preceding paragraph will be discharged by annuities calculated

in a manner to enable Turkey to meet any deficiency that may arise in the sums required to pay that part of the interest on the Ottoman Public Debt for which Turkey remains responsible.

3. Indemnities due on account of claims of the Allied Powers for reparation for damages suffered by their nationals. The Turkish Government agreed to the financial indemnification of all the losses or damages suffered by the civilian nationals of the Allied Powers during the war and up to the entry into force of the Treaty. The Powers, in favour of whom territories are detached from Turkey, acquire without payment all properties and possessions situated therein and registered in the name of the Turkish Empire or the Sultan's civil list.

The Powers, in favour of whom territories are detached from the Turkish Empire, shall participate in the annual charge for the service of the Ottoman Public Debt.

The Governments of the States of the Balkan Peninsula and the newly-created States in Asia shall give adequate guarantees for the payment of the

share which falls to them. The distribution of these annual charges is to be made in proportion to the average revenue of the transferred territory in relation to the total revenues of Turkey during the three years preceding the Balkan War.

The same methods are to be applied for the calculation of the charges affected to the service of the Ottoman Public Debt, allotted to the Powers who have acquired Turkish territory as a result of the Balkan wars.

A Financial Commission composed of a representative of each of the interested Allied Powers, France, Great Britain, and Italy, to whom is added a Turkish representative in a consultative capacity, is created in Turkey with a view to take such measures as the Commission may judge most suitable for restoring Turkish finances. Its principal functions are the following:—

Preliminary examination of Turkish budgets which may not be applied without its approval;

Supervision over the execution of the budgets and financial laws and regulations of Turkey;

The termination of the measures to be taken with a view to improving the Turkish currency.

Further, the Turkish Government may not establish any new form of taxation, modify its customs system, or contract any internal or external loan

without the consent of the Financial Commission.

The consent of the Commission is equally required for the grant of new concessions in Turkey by the Turkish Government.

A clause provides that ultimately the Financial Commission may be substituted for the Council of the Debt as regards the administration of the conceded revenues. This substitution shall be decided by the Governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy, by a majority and after consulting the bondholders, and this decision shall be taken at least six months before the expiration of the powers of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt.

In particular, as regards the execution of the present Treaty it shall be the duty of the Financial Commission to fix the annuities to be paid by the Turkish Government for the reimbursement of the expenses of occupation and the settlement of the claims for reparation due to the nationals of the Allied Powers, to determine the amount of the annuities for the service of the Ottoman Public Debt to be placed to the charge of those Powers in whose favour territories are detached from Turkey, and to arrange for the disposal of the sums in gold transferred by Germany and Austria in execution of Article 259 (1), (2), (4), (7) of the Treaty of Peace with Germany and of Article 210 (1) of the Treaty of Peace with Austria.

## PART IX

### ECONOMIC CLAUSES

Commercial relations between the Allies and Turkey will be regulated, generally speaking, by the Capitulatory Régime which is re-established in favour of the Allies who enjoyed it before the war and extended to the other Allies. The rate of Customs duty is to be that fixed in 1907, i.e., 11 per cent *ad valorem*. Wide powers are, however, given to the Finance Commission set up under the Treaty to authorize modifications of import duties, the imposition of consumption duties, the application to Allied subjects and their property of taxes imposed on Turkish subjects and their property, and the imposition of prohibitions on importation and exportation. Such action can only be taken after six months' notice in each case to all the Allies.

The provisions with regard to the recognition of shipping documents and of the flags of new States, with regard to unfair trade competition, and with regard to pre-war multilateral and bilateral treaties, and with regard to the protection of industrial, literary, and artistic property, follow the general lines of the corresponding articles in former treaties of peace.

As in the case of previous treaties of peace, the Allies reserve the right to liquidate Turkish property in their territories and to hold the proceeds as a pledge for the payment by Turkey of compensation for damage to allied property in Turkey during the war and the settlement of pre-war private debts. So far as the claims against the Turkish Government are not satisfied from this source they are to be met in accordance with the financial clauses from any surplus available of Turkish revenues from time to time. It should be mentioned that in the case of territory detached from Turkey by the Treaty, the right to liquidate is limited to the property of Turkish companies, and does not extend to the property of Turkish individuals.

The Treaty contains provisions for enabling the Allies, if they think fit, to eliminate German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Bulgarian economic penetration in Turkey, by requiring the Turkish Government to liquidate the property of the nationals of those countries in Turkish territory, and by themselves liquidating it in territory detached from Turkey. In both cases the general principle is that the proceeds of the liquidation shall be paid to the owners, except where the property was Government property, in which case they will be paid to the Reparation Commissions set up under former Treaties of Peace.

Special provisions are included in order to enable the acquisition of the property of railway companies under German control. In detached territories the disposal of such property will rest with the Government controlling such territories. In Turkey itself the Financial Commission will have the disposal of it, the price being fixed by arbitration. In both cases the proceeds of sale will be distributed by the Financial Commission to such neutrals as are entitled to a share thereof, the share of Germans, Austrians, &c., being paid over to the respective Reparation Commissions.

The complicated provisions of former treaties for the settlement of pre-war debts through clearing houses have not been repeated, the only provision with regard to the settlement of such debts being one which fixes the pre-war rate of exchange for the purpose of the settlement of all debts between Turkish subjects in Turkey and Allies not resident or carrying on business in Turkey.

As regards pre-war contracts between Allies and Turks, the general principle is to maintain or dissolve them, and to decide any question relative thereto, according to the law of the particular Allied country concerned in each case. The detailed provisions



relative to particular descriptions of contracts follow those in the preceding Treaties.

Provisions are included in the Treaty for safeguarding the interests in Turkey of Allies who hold pre-war concessions from the Turkish Government. Concessions granted by the Turkish Government during the war need not be recognized by the Allies in detached territories, whilst other provisions enable

new States placed under a mandate to put an end to pre-war concessions if thought desirable in the public interest on payment of equitable compensation, to be fixed by arbitration. For this purpose and for the purpose of all other economic clauses Turkish companies which were actually under Allied control before the war are treated as Allied nationals.

## PART X

### AERIAL NAVIGATION

Turkey agrees to accord the aircraft of the Allied Powers full liberty of passage and landing over and in the territory and territorial waters of Turkey, freedom of transit, the use of all aerodromes in Turkey open to national public traffic, and equal treatment generally in these matters with Turkish aircraft, and most favoured nation treatment as regards internal commercial air traffic. Turkey also undertakes to establish aerodromes in localities designated by the Allied Powers, and the Allies reserve the right in certain eventualities to take measures to ensure international aerial navigation over the territory and territorial waters of Turkey.

States who fought on Turkey's side in the late war are debarred from these privileges and from the grant, without Allied consent, of concessions for civil aerial navigation, unless and until they become members of the League of Nations or are permitted to adhere to the Convention of Oct. 13, 1919, regarding aerial navigation. Turkey agrees to enforce the compliance by Turkish aircraft with the rules and regulations resulting from the latter Convention. The obligations imposed by this chapter remain in force until Turkey is admitted to the League of Nations or permitted to adhere to the above-mentioned Convention.

## PART XI

### PORTS, WATERWAYS, AND RAILWAYS

Turkey is required to grant freedom of transit and national treatment to persons, goods, vessels, rolling stock, &c., coming from or going to any Allied State and passing in transit through Turkish territories. Goods in transit are to be free of all Customs or other similar duties. Rates of transport are to be reasonable, and no charges of facilities are to depend directly or indirectly on the ownership or nationality of the vessel, or other means of transport. Provision is made against discrimination by control of transigrant traffic, and indirect discrimination of any kind is prohibited. International transport is to be expedited, particularly for perishable traffic. Discrimination in transport charges or facilities against Allied ports is prohibited.

The following Eastern ports are declared to be of international interest, but, subject to any provisions to the contrary, the régime laid down does not prejudice the territorial sovereignty:

Constantinople from St. Stefano to Dolma Bagtchi, Haida-Pasha, Smyrna, Alexandretta, Haifa, Basra, Trebizond, Batum.

The nationals, goods, and flags of all States members of the League of Nations are to enjoy complete freedom in the use of these ports, and they are to be accorded absolute equality of treatment, particularly as regards all charges and facilities.

Provision is made for "free" zones in the above-mentioned ports, and adequate facilities are to be provided for trade requirements without distinction of nationality. With the exception of a small statistical duty no Customs duties or analogous charges are to be levied in the "free" zones.

In order to ensure to Turkey free access to the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas she is accorded freedom of transit over the territories and in the ports severed from the former Ottoman Empire. Turkey

is also granted a lease in perpetuity, subject to determination by the League of Nations, of an area in the port of Smyrna, which is to be placed under the general régime of "free" zones.

Free access to the Black Sea by the port of Batum is accorded to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Persia, and Armenia; and Armenia is granted similar facilities in respect of the port of Trebizond, in which port she obtains a lease of an area on similar conditions to those which apply to Turkey in the case of Smyrna.

### RAILWAYS

The railway clauses provide that, subject to the rights of concessionaire companies, goods consigned from or to Allied States to or from Turkey, or in transit through Turkey, are entitled generally to the most favourable conditions available.

Certain railway tariff questions are dealt with.

When a new railway convention has replaced the Berne Convention it will be binding on Turkey. In the meantime she is to follow the Berne Convention.

Turkey is required to subscribe to any general convention regarding the international régime of transit, waterways, ports, or railways which may be concluded with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years.

### TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES AND SUBMARINE CABLES

Turkey is to grant facilities for the erection and maintenance of trunk telegraph and telephone lines across her territories, and is to accord freedom of transit for telegraphic correspondence and telephonic communications coming from or going to any one of the Allied Powers. This correspondence and these



communications are to enjoy national treatment in every respect.

Turkey is to transfer the landing rights at Constantinople for the Constantinople-Constanza cable to any administration or company designed by the Allies, and renounces in favour of the principal Allied Powers all her rights over the Jeddah-Suakin and Cyprus-Latakia cables.

## GENERAL

Differences are to be settled by the League of

Nations. Certain specified articles, e.g., those providing for equal treatment in matters of transit and transport, are subject to revision by the League of Nations after three years. Failing revision, they will only continue in force in relation to any Allied State which grants reciprocal treatment. It is provided that, unless otherwise expressly laid down in the Treaty, nothing shall prejudice more extensive rights conferred on the nationals of the Allied States by the capitulations or by any arrangements which may be substituted therefor.

## PART XII

### LABOUR CONVENTION

The text of the Convention as embodied in the Treaty with Germany.

## PART XIII

### MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Turkey recognizes conventions made or to be made by the Allies as to the traffic in arms and in spirituous liquors, and as to other subjects dealt with in the General Acts of Berlin of Feb. 26, 1885, and of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the Conventions completing or modifying these.

The High Contracting Parties take note of the Treaty of July, 1918, between France and the Principality of Monaco.

In a barrier clause Turkey undertakes not to put forward any pecuniary claim against any Allied Power signing the present Treaty, based on events previous to the coming into force of the Treaty.

Turkey accepts all decrees, &c., as to Turkish ships made by any Allied prize court, and the Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of Turkish Prize Courts. Turkey agrees to supply the Allies with all necessary information regarding vessels sunk or damaged by Turkish forces during the war, and to restore trophies, archives, historical souvenirs and works of art taken from the Allied Governments and their nationals, including companies. Special provisions are also inserted regarding a reform of the Turkish law of antiquities and the future treatment of archaeological research in Turkey, the restoration of all objects of religious, archaeological, historical, or artistic interest removed by Turkey during the war from territories detached from her, the surrender

by Turkey of all archives, plans, land registers, &c., belonging to the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other forms of administration in transferred territories, the grant of access by Turkey, subject to reciprocity, to documents, &c., relating to the administration of Wakfs in which the Governments of transferred territories are interested, the recognition by Turkey of Allied judicial decisions since the date of the armistice, the acceptance of Turkey of special measures to be formulated later by the Allied Powers, acting, if necessary, with third Powers, regarding the sanitary régime in Turkey and in the territories detached from Turkey, and the sanitary control of the Hejaz Pilgrimage, the enactment of the necessary legislation by Turkey to execute the Treaty, the obligation of Turkey to facilitate any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations may consider necessary in any matters relating directly or indirectly to the application of the Treaty, and the accession of Russia to the Treaty on certain conditions after she has become a member of the League of Nations.

Various diplomatic provisions as to ratification follow. The Treaty is to enter into force as soon as it has been ratified by Turkey on the one hand and by three of the principal Allied Powers on the other, so far as concerns those Powers who have then ratified it.



# APPENDIX

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE'S SHARE IN THE WAR

The following figures, to quote from the War Cabinet's *Report for the Year, 1918*, from which they are taken, "are a testimony far more eloquent than any words can be of the mighty part played by the British Empire and of the effort and sacrifice of her sons between the two fateful dates, August 4, 1914, and November 11, 1918":

### TOTAL ENLISTMENTS

Strength of the Regular Army, Reserve, and Territorial Forces	
on August 4, 1914, was	733,514
England subsequently recruited	4,006,158
Wales and Monmouthshire	272,924
Scotland	557,618
Ireland (excluding those enlisted out of Ireland)	134,202
Canada	628,964
Australia	416,809
New Zealand	220,099
South Africa	136,070
Newfoundland	11,922
Other Colonies, &c.	12,000
Total White enlistments	<u>7,130,280</u>

The figures for races other than white were approximately as follows:

India—	
At the outbreak of war	239,561
Recruited up to September 30, 1918	1,161,789
South Africa	92,837
West Indies	10,000
Other Colonies	20,000
Total of races other than white	<u>1,524,187</u>
Grand total all races	<u>8,654,467</u>

In addition to the above, Chinese and other labour units were raised for service in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Salonika.

These figures are apart from the unparalleled war strength of the Royal Navy, which safeguarded the world-wide operations of the Allies, and, with the co-operation of the Allied navies, ensured the final victory.



## The Great World War

## TOTAL CASUALTIES

In a written reply to Major Hills in the House of Commons—printed in the *Times*, on March 26, 1920—Sir A. Williamson gave the following table, showing the approximate number of casualties in all theatres during the period of the war:

	Killed (including died from wounds and died from other causes).		Wounded.		Missing (presumed dead owing to lapse of time). These should be added to the deaths.		Total Prisoners captured.	
	Off.	O.R.	Off.	O.R.	Off.	O.R.	Off.	O.R.
Regular and Territorial Forces ... ..	34,206	541,229	80,596	1,567,818	4140	96,867	6617	161,317
Canadian Contingent ...	2,885	53,514	6,346	143,386	—	—	238	3,516
Australian Contingent	2,828	55,318	6,304	145,867	—	—	173	3,911
New Zealand Contingent	735	15,401	1,688	39,061	—	—	12	490
Other Colonial Contingents	537	8,579	726	13,857	—	—	77	1,641
Royal Naval Division ...	425	6,620	777	19,388	38	1,427	64	3,009
					(Missing including Prisoners.)			
Indian and Native Troops	694	42,512	1,471	63,704	40	5,834	258	12,136

Of the prisoners captured a certain number died in captivity, and also appear under killed, &c.

It is the practice of the Dominions to show their missing under killed as soon as death is presumed. Owing to the closing of the Dominion Record Offices in this country, reliable information as to the number originally missing is not available.

In the Royal Navy the total casualties, apart from the losses of the Royal Naval Division, included above, amounted to 39,766; in the mercantile marine to 17,956. Grand total for army, navy, and mercantile marine, 3,215,930.

## WAR HONOURS

*British Forces*

Honours for services in the field ... ..	228,864
Promotions for services in the field ... ..	3,810
Honours for services in connection with the war ...	13,299
Promotions for services in connection with the war	1,597

*Indian Forces*

Honours for services in the field ... ..	6,452
Honours for services in connection with the war ...	136
Total ... ..	<u>254,158</u>

The above total includes 579 V.C.'s, and 2 V.C. bars; 8991 D.S.O.'s, as well as 784 bars, including 7 with 3 bars; 37,041 M.C.'s, as well as 3125 M.C. bars, including 4 with 3 bars; 24,571 D.C.M.'s, with 478 bars; 115,459 Military Medals, besides 5965 bars, including 1 with 3 bars; and 24,503 M.S.M.'s.

# INDEX

- "A" Beach, Gallipoli, iv 149-50.  
*Abbas*, Egyptian cruiser, v 282.  
*Abbas Hilmi*, ex-Khedive of Egypt, i 217, 327, 328, 329-330, 334, 339.  
*Abbott*, Captain F. B., D.S.O., iii 315.  
*Abdul Hamid*, Sultan of Turkey, i 212, 218; fall of (1908), iv 175.  
*Abercorn*, Rhodesia, ii 98; vi 251, 252; ix 129.  
*Ablain*, iii 111.  
*Aboukir*, Egypt, iii 140.  
*Aboukir*, H.M.S., i 170; iv 11.  
*Achi Baba*, iii 147, 159, 161, 164, 166, 168-9, 292, 298, 311, 318, 324; iv 114, 119; v 46-7.  
*Achiet-le-Grand*, vii 62.  
*Acre*, occupation of, viii 307.  
*Adamson*, Captain J. E., D.S.O., iv 218.  
*Addison*, Rev. W. R. F., V.C., v *Adenwen*, S.S., ii 330. [252.  
*Adigi Valley*, iii 278.  
*Adjutant-General*, ii 183.  
*Admiralty*, changes in, 1915, iii 184-5.  
— history of, ii 168-178.  
*Adrianople*, Treaty of, iv 170; siege of, iv 177, 185.  
*Adriatic*, Austrian Navy confined to, i 64, 189; French fleet dominates, ii 51; naval war in, iv 59; Italy's triumph in, ix 151.  
*Adye*, Lieutenant-Colonel D. R., vi 272. [135, 137.  
*A.E.2*, Australian submarine, iii  
*Ægean Islands*, in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287.  
*Ægean Sea*, iii 126, 139, 298, 300; iv 115, 228, 234; submarine activity in, iv 278-9.  
*Aerschoot*, i 148-253; German White Book and, vi 101.  
*Afghanistan*, and the war, v 196-7; ix 182.  
*Africa*, German colonization, i 191-195; outbreak of war, i 195-202; the navy and, i 65, 67; colonial campaigns in, ii 88-102. See also *East Africa*, *South Africa*, *South-West Africa*, &c.  
*Africa*, H.M.S., ix 47.  
*African Rifles, King's*, ix 114, 118, 124, 125.  
*Agadir*, i 69, 194.  
*Aga Khan*, i 108, 109, 220; v 194, 196.  
*Agamemnon*, H.M.S., iii 6, 8, 10.  
*Agar-Robartes*, T. C., M.P., iv 262.  
*Agdenes Fort*, ii 37.  
*Aghyl Dere Ravine*, iv 131, 134-5.  
*Agincourt*, H.M.S., ix 8.  
*Ahmed Bey*, viii 286-7.  
*Ahwaz*, iii 113-6, 119, 120.  
*Air-craft Clauses*, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix, 220.  
— *Insurance, State*, iv 33.  
*Air-raids, British*, on Belgium, ii 309; Dusseldorf, i 154; Friedrichshafen, i 288-289; closing operations, ix 135-40.  
— *French* (alleged), at Nuremberg, i 21; Belgium, ii 308.  
— *German*, on Paris, i 146; Warsaw, ii 77; Dunkirk, ii 309.  
— on England, iii 282-291; ix 135-40. See also *Zeppelins*, &c.  
*Air-Service*, early developments of warfare, v, 51-58; later developments, ix 135-50.  
— *British*, conditions and comparative numbers at beginning of war, i 75-92; in Western Campaign (Sept.-Nov., 1914), i 148-164, 295; stories of air-craft service, ii 113-125; development of aeroplane attack, ii 304-310; at Sinai Peninsula, i 332; ii, 201; in East Africa, ii 94; special branch created, ii 185; Royal Flying Corps, i 91; King George visits headquarters (in France), ii 22; intrepid work of, iv 60-75, 200; in Mesopotamia, iv 287; vii 48; section reviewed by King, iv 324; round Arras, vii 71-2, 136-7; in 1915-6, v 160-5; Royal Naval Air-Service, iii 305; iv 164; v 33-4; vii 107; closing phases of aerial war, ix 135-40; official synopsis of British air effort, ix 140-50.  
*Air-Service, French*, iv 68, 104.  
— *German*, development in, v 55-7.  
— *Italy*, aeroplanes, vii 145.  
*Air-ship*, see *Air-Service*, also *Zeppelins*, *Parsevals*, &c.  
*Aisne River*, operations on, i 121, 126-128; battle of the (1914), i 140-145; French on the, i 146, 148; transfer of British from the, i 263-267; German trenches on, ii 1; flooding of, ii 268, 269, 270; advance on the (1918), viii 138-144.  
*Aitken*, Sir W. Max, M.P. See *Beaverbrook*, *Lord*.  
*Aix-les-Bains*, ii 279.  
*Aixy*, i 142.  
*Ajax*, H.M.S., ix 8.  
*Akaba*, i 216, 222, 231; ii 201.  
*Akalkot*, iv 8.  
*Albania*, iii 276; iv 170, 173-4, 233.  
*Albany*, Duke of, vi 200.  
*Albatross*, German mine-layer, iv 62.  
*Albatross machine*, German, v 56.  
*Albert*, iii 111; vi 119; viii 192-3.  
— King of the Belgians, i 28; iii 12; appeal to Great Britain, i 11; to France, i 28; before Louvain, i 27; retires to Antwerp, i 252; retreat from Antwerp, i 148, 260; called King of Fumes, ii 2; receives Order of the Garter, ii 21; strength of his army in spring, 1915, ii 271; message from King George, Aug., 1916, vi 98; his reorganized army in Flanders, viii 251; entry into Bruges, viii 268-9; signatory to Peace Treaty, ix 186; message from George V on Belgian co-operation in East African Campaign, ix 115. See also under *Belgium*.  
— *Prince*, ii 15.  
*Alberta*, ii 147.  
*Alberts*, Colonel, i 315; iii 81.  
*Albion*, H.M.S., iii 6, 7, 8, 10.  
*Albrecht*, Duke of Württemberg, i 43, 124.

- Alcantara*, British S.S., v 311; ix 44-5.
- Alda*, German S.S., ii 312.
- Alderson**, Lieutenant-General Sir E. A. H., iii 200, 247; v 250, 253; assumes command of Canadian Army Corps, v 131; succeeded by General Currie, vii 189. See also *Canadian Army*.
- Aleppo**, i 217; "Agricultural Colony" at, iv 320, 322; capture of, viii 310.
- Alexander**, Crown Prince of Serbia, ii 68.
- Lieutenant C. K., M.C., v 158.
- Lieutenant D. C., M.C., iv 254.
- of **Battenberg**, Prince, iv 171.
- of **Russia**, Tsar, iv 37; vi 25.
- Alexandra**, Queen, visits Indian wounded, v 204; serving soldiers at free buffet, vi 94.
- Alexandretta**, i 330; v 118.
- Alexandria**, iii 140, 141; v 118.
- Alexieff**, General, vi 25; vii 3, 5, 10, 13-14, 19, 21; congratulates Haig on British achievements at Arras, vii 124; resigns, vii 160.
- Algeria**, i 328.
- Algerian troops**, ii 228, 274, 275; in Gallipoli, iii 168; on Western Front, iv 102.
- Ali Dinar**, v 297-8.
- Ali-Gherbi**, iv 288.
- Alix**, ex-Empress of Russia, ii 112.
- Allanson**, Major C. G. L., iv 139.
- Allen**, Captain John D., ii 161, 312.
- Lieutenant-Colonel S. L., iii 207.
- Allenby**, General Sir E. H. H., K.C.B., commands 1st Cavalry Division, B.E.F., i 37; Mons retreat, i 49, 120; in Flanders, vii 128; Palestine campaign, 1917, viii 1-29; receives G.C.M.G., viii 27; Palestine operations, 1917-8, viii 297-310.
- Allenstein**, i 228.
- Allied Council of War**, iv 329, 331.
- **Maritime Transport Control**, ix 71-2.
- **Military Council**, meeting of, iv 331.
- Alost**, i 253.
- Alsace**, opening operations in, i 21, 31, 32, 34; spies in, i 292; operations in 1914, ii 294, 296, 298; campaign in 1915, iv 106-12, 193; later operations, v 99.
- Alsace - Lorraine**, in Peace Treaty of 1919, ix 227, 235. See also under *Lorraine*.
- Alsation**, H.M.S., ix 38.
- Alsip**, Lieutenant-Commander C. F., i 249.
- Altham**, Commander E., R.N., iv 276.
- Altham**, Lieutenant-General E. A., v 35.
- Altkirch**, i 32; ii 298; iii 100.
- Amade**, General d'. See *D'Amade*.
- Amalfi**, Italian cruiser, iv 11, 59.
- Amanullah**, Ameer of Afghanistan, ix 162.
- Amara**, iii 120-22; iv 280-1.
- America**, and the war. See *United States*.
- American Women's War Relief Fund**, ii 105.
- Amerongen**, refuge of the ex-Kaiser in Holland, ix 176.
- Amethyst**, H.M.S., iii 9, 131, 150.
- Amiens**, i 126, 147, 148; viii 567; battle of, 1918, viii 176-88.
- Amiral Ganteaume**, ii 42, 317, 318.
- Amphion**, H.M.S., i 59, 237; iv 11.
- Anafarta Valley**, iv 131, 135; v 12.
- Anatolia**, iv 320.
- Ancre**, R., ii 282; battles of the, Oct., 1916-Feb., 1917, vi 293-336.
- Andalusian**, British S.S., ii 330.
- Anderslus**, i 43, 44.
- Anderson**, Captain S. J., D.S.O., iii 251.
- Lieutenant J. G., M.C., v 136.
- Andes**, British merchant cruiser, v 311; ix 44-5.
- Andrassy**, Count, ix 174.
- Anglia**, hospital ship, iv 326-7.
- Anglo - German Agreement** (1890), i 195.
- Anglo-Persian Oil Company**, iii 113, 120.
- Angola**, v 220, 224.
- Angora**, v 186.
- Angra Pequena** (Lüderitzbucht), i 104, 192-3, 202; ii 101; iii 73, 75, 79.
- Angres**, iv 271.
- Angus**, Corporal, V.C., iii 265-66.
- Anley**, Lieutenant-Colonel, ii 5.
- Annequin**, i 268; ii 31.
- "Anson" Battalion, R.N.V.R.**, in Gallipoli, iii 158, 299, 302. See also *Royal Naval Division*.
- Anthoine**, General, in Moronvilliers operations, 1917, vii 113-23; operations with First French Army, vii 190, 257-8, 262-4. [124.]
- Antivari**, ii 71; iv 170, 174; v 148.
- Antwerp**, as a post of war, i 148, 240, 273; Belgian withdrawal to, i 27, 35, 40, 148; air raid on, i 83; fall of, i 252-62.
- Anzac Cove**, iii 143-292; official photograph, v 26. See under *Gallipoli* for Anzac campaign.
- "Anzacs."** See *Australian Army and New Zealand Army*.
- Aosta**, Duke of, v 10; enters Gorizia, vi 60.
- Apia**, i 65.
- Appam**, British S.S., v 308-9.
- Arabia**, re-birth of, viii 5-6.
- Arabia*, S.S., torpedoed, viii 104.
- Arabic*, S.S., iv 58.
- Arabs**, dissatisfaction with Turks, i 221; to be released from Turkish domination, i 331; share in Palestine campaign, viii 4-5, 299, 300, 307, 310. See also *Hejaz*.
- Arbital Tribunal Clauses**, in Peace Treaty, ix 250-1.
- Arbuthnot**, Commander E. K., vii 52.
- Rear-Admiral, K.C.B., ix 30.
- Archangel**, iii 1; v 113; British expedition to, ix 161.
- Arche**, Colonel d', i 114.
- Archibald**, J. J., arrested, vii 26-7.
- Ardahan**, ii 193, 194.
- Arden**, Captain John H. G., D.S.O., iii 32.
- Ardennes**, i 32, 41, 43.
- Arethusa**, H.M.S., i 70-72; ii 126, 133; sunk, v 307.
- Argenteau**, i 23.
- Argentine**, i, 66; ii 311, 313, 314.
- Argonne**, German advance into, i 146; winter 1914-5 in, ii 285, 286; later operations, iii 103, 104, 105; iv 101; 1918 campaign, viii 243, 313, 330.
- Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders**, at Mons, i 48; at La Croix Maréchal, ii 6; near Lens, vii 127, 250-1, 280; in Gallipoli, iii 323-4; at Loos, iv 255; in Bulgaria, viii 219.
- Argyll Mountain Battery**, in Gallipoli, iv 164.
- Argyll Territorials, 7th**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 210, 213, 220.
- Ariadne**, German cruiser, i 71, 72, 73; iv 11.
- Ariel**, H.M. destroyer, ii 331.
- Armenia**, Turkish massacres, i 212; Russia invades, i 219; reception of Russians in, i 324; ii 190; Turkish atrocities, i 325; Turks advance from Mosul, ii 197; Turkish massacres in 1915, iv 319-23; in peace terms with Turkey, ix 286-7.
- Armentières**, Germans levy tribute on, i 147; operations at, i 268, 272; iii 225-6; iv 197-8; viii 64-5; final capture of, viii 257-9.
- Armistice**, terms and summary of, with Germany, viii 333-6.
- Armitage**, Captain C. L., D.S.O., iii 239.
- Armour**, Lieutenant-Colonel Donald, ii 148.
- Armoured cars**, in Gallipoli, iii 304-5; v 34; in Egypt, v 293-6; in Russia, vii 170-1.
- Army, British**. See *British Army*.



- Army chaplains**, Lord French's tribute to, iii 223.
- **Council**, constituted, ii 182; at outbreak of war, ii 185.
- **Medical Corps, Royal**. See *Royal Army Medical Corps*.
- **Pay Department**, ii 183.
- **Service Corps**. See *Royal Army Service Corps*.
- Arnim**, General Sixtus von, ii 245; vi 134; vii 241.
- Arras**, movements of French troops at, ii 122, 263; destruction at, ii 279; French line at, ii 280; iii 260; v 246-8, 263; German withdrawal east of, 1917, vi 332-4; later operations, vii, 70-2, 77; viii 36.
- Artillery**. See *Royal Field Artillery*, &c.
- Artists' Rifles**, ii 33.
- Artois**, operations in, Sept., 1915, iv 192, 204, 208, 224; advance in, vi 66.
- Arz**, General von, iii 330; viii 129-31.
- Ashmead-Bartlett**, Mr., quoted, iii 145, 153, 173, 311, 321, 323; iv 144; v 31.
- Asiago**, vi 53-7; viii 125, 132, 134.
- Aspach**, ii 298.
- Asphyxiating gas**. See *Gas*.
- Asquith**, Mr. H. H., on Germany's bid for British neutrality, i 7; on Turkey, i 215-20; offices held at beginning of war, ii 185; resigns War Secretaryship, ii 187; and Committee of Imperial Defence, ii 184; visits to Western Front, 1915, iii, 224; iv 7, 69; forms Coalition Government, iii 184; declaration at the London Guildhall, iv 3-4; invites Mr. Bonar Law to join Coalition Government, iv 29; on cost of the war, iv 27; on failure of Dardanelles operations, 1915, iv 113; attends Allied Council of War, iv 329; Franco-British Conference at Calais, iv 331; on British Naval heroism, v 30; on Gallipoli withdrawal, v 43, 50; Ladybank speech (June, 1916), vi 35; on Kitcheners's death, vi 65; on obligations of married men (Nov., 1915), vi 74; speech at Secret Session, April, 25-6, 1916, vi 78; on Captain Fryatt, vi 113; on our financial obligations, 1916-7, vii 211; resignation, vii 212; on Allies fight for freedom, vii 224.
- Astico Valley**, operations, vi 53-5.
- Astor**, Mr. and Mrs., war hospital at Cliveden, ii 148.
- Asturias**, hospital ship, ii 320.
- Atkinson**, Captain E. W., D.S.O., iii 160.
- Atlantic**, commerce-destroying in, i 66, 181, 182, 300; ii 160-8, 313-6. See also under *Navy*, *Royal*.
- Atrocities, German**, in France and Belgium, i 23, 34, 42, 45, 92-7, 128, 134, 146, 275; ii 279, 292; in South Africa, i 315, 320; naval, i 72, 259; ii 137, 318; in Poland, ii 75, 79; iii 186-7; Captain Fryatt's death, vi 112. See also *Cavell*, *Nurse*; *Aerschot*, — **Turkish**, i 325; ii 198. [*&c.* *Attack*, British destroyer, ii 137.
- Aubers Ridge**, i 271; iii 25, 26.
- Auchy**, iv 253. [28, 226; iv 199.
- Auckland Mounted Rifles**, Gallipoli, iv 132, 137-8.
- Aud**, iv 83.
- Audacious**, H.M.S., ix 46-8.
- Auffenberg**, General, i 232.
- Augagner**, M., ii 50, 51.
- Augustovo**, i 233; ii 73, 212.
- Aurora**, ii 133.
- Austen**, Major, New Zealand Rifle Brigade, v 286.
- Australia**, loyalty and support, i 100, 101, 204; ii 111, 151-3; and Belgian Relief Fund, i 100; and German New Guinea (1884), i 202-4; failure in wheat yield, ii 258; military contributions first 15 months, iv 7; message on fall of Kut, vi 18.
- Australian Army**, arrival of troops in Egypt, i 332, 334; ii 153, 157; of first contingent, ii 183; landing in Gallipoli, iii 130; campaign in Gallipoli, iii 143-6, 168-74; v 20, 23 4, 31; on Western Front, arrival, 1916, v 271-5; round Arras, vii 78, 129-33; at Messines, vii 177-9; viii 54; at Hollebeke, vii 198; in Flanders, vii 244-6, 251-4, 259; near Albert, viii 77-9, 81-3, 85; at Amiens and Bapaume, viii 180-3, 185, 191-2, 195-9, 201; near St. Quentin, viii 240-1, 248.
- **Army Medical Corps**, iii 310.
- **Flying Corps**, ix 147.
- **Light Horse**, in Gallipoli, iii 296, 317; iv 128, 131; v 25, 128, 131; in Egypt, v 283-4, 287; in Palestine, vi 313-34; viii 9-10, 19-20, 23, 298-301, 306, 308.
- **Navy**, i 65, 100, 101; ii 152.
- Austria**, relations with Germany under revolutionary government, ix 174; new frontier with Germany, ix 188; independence recognized by Germany in Peace Treaty, ix 201; terms of Peace Treaty with Allied Powers, ix 272-9.
- **Hungary**, war preliminaries, i 4, 8, 9; declares war on Serbia, i 16; relations with Italy, iii 272-80; war loans, iv 26; share in partition of Poland, iv 36-7; collapse of empire, ix 168, 174-7.
- Austro-Hungarian Army**, peace and war footing, i 17; composition, ii 57; operations in Serbia (Aug.-Dec., 1914), i 225-6; ii 58, 59, 64, 68; operations in Poland and Galicia, ii 73-88; attack on Serbia, iv 188; campaign on Italian Front, May-Dec., 1915, v 1-10; Trentino offensive, spring 1916, vi 45; decisive operations in 1918, viii 113-37, 270-81.
- Auten**, Lieutenant - Commander, V.C., ix 50.
- Avesnes**, i 118.
- Avion**, vii 186-7.
- Avocourt** (Verdun) operations, v 230, 243 5; vi 227-8.
- Avro biplane**, i 293.
- Ayesha**, S.S., i 308.
- Aylmer**, Major-General, V.C., v 317-25, 327, 329-33, 335; vi 2, 4.
- Aymerich**, General, v 63, 73-4.
- Ayres-Ritchie**, Lieutenant A. T., M.C., iv 258, 261.
- Azerbaijan**, ii 192, 198.
- Azibert**, General, i 31.
- Azizi**, v 314; vii 54.
- Azores**, v 219-20.
- "B" Beach**, Gallipoli, iv 147-9.
- B 11**, British submarine, ii 55; in Dardanelles, iii 4, 5.
- Babington**, Flight - Commander J. T., i 293-4, 299; ii 298.
- Lieutenant-General Sir J. M., viii 273.
- Backus**, Lieutenant A. R., M.C., v 155.
- Bacon**, Vice-Admiral, iv 190, 193; naval operations under, Aug.-Dec., 1915, iv 275-7.
- Baden**, German super - Dreadnought at Scapa Flow, ix 99.
- Badger**, British destroyer, i 250.
- Badgley**, Second-Lieutenant J. M. C., M.C., v 150.
- Bagatelle**, ii 286; iii 100.
- Bagdad**, iii 122; iv 293-5, 298; v 216-7; advance on, Aug., 1916-March, 1917, vii 41-59. See also *Mesopotamian Campaign*.
- **railway**, i 212-3, 221, 330, 331.
- Bahawalpur**, iv 8.
- Bailey**, Private (Royal Irish Rifles), vi 83.
- Bailleul**, i 268, 272; viii 68-70.
- Baillood**, General, iii 319-20.
- Bainbridge**, Major-General Sir E. G., viii 139.
- Bainsizza Plateau**, operations, vii 141-3, 153-5; viii 113, 116-8.
- Baird**, Lieutenant J. B., M.C., iv 250.
- Major A. W. F., D.S.O., ii 29.
- Baker**, Lieutenant-Colonel G. H., vi, 39.
- Mr. H. T., M.P., ii 186.
- N. D., viii 99.

- Baku**, viii 293, 395-7, 311.  
**Baldwin**, Brigadier-General A. H., iv 138-9, 143, 145.  
 — Lieutenant - Colonel G. M., D.S.O., v 198.  
**Balfervier**, General, v 238.  
**Balfour**, A. J., i 208; creates Imperial General Staff, ii 184; First Lord of the Admiralty, iii 183, 184; iv 31-2; on achievement of British fleet, iv 10; on Zeppelin raids, iii 291; attends Allied Council of War, iv 329; attends Franco - British Conference at Calais, iv 331; on increase of British fleet, v 313; visit to America, vii 33-4; on naval operations, 1916-7, vii 105-7, 109; signatory to Peace Treaty, ix 185.  
 — Captain F. C. C., M.C., viii 290.  
**Balkan Campaigns**, in Great War, iv 113-29, 178-88, 225-40; vi 207-24; viii 208-24. See also *Bulgaria, Serbia, Salonika, &c.*  
 — **League**, 1912, iv 171-6.  
 — **States**, iii 274-6; iv 175-9; war strength of, iv 189.  
 — **War**, 1912-3, iv 176-7.  
**Balkans**, Turkey and, i 218; Russia and, i 212; Serbia and, i 18. See also *Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, &c.*  
**Ball**, Captain, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., vii 136.  
**Ballard**, Commander C. P., ii 128.  
**Ballon de Guebwiller**, iii 107.  
**Baltic**, the opposing fleets in, i 56, 57, 71; entrances to, i 58; mines in, i 62; closed by ice, i 189; German superiority in, ii 51; naval operations, i 188, 189; iv 56, 61-4, 277-8. See also *Navy, Royal, &c.*  
**Baltin**, General, in Russia, 1915, iii 330.  
**Baluchis Regiment, 129th**, iii 205-6.  
**Ban de Sapt**, iv 106, 109.  
**Bank of England**, services, ii 260.  
**Bantam Division**, formation of, vi 45; at Neuve Chapelle, vi 45, 46.  
**Banyo**, v 68-9.  
**Bapaume**, ii 281; in 1916 battles, vi 119, 187; capture of, vii 61-3; 1918 battles of, viii 40, 187-202.  
**Baratoff**, General, v 214; viii 282-4.  
*Barbados*, H.M.S., iii 183.  
**Bare**, fall of, iii 95.  
*Barham*, H.M.S., ix 8-9, 14.  
**Bark**, M., Russian Minister of Finance, ii 265.  
**Barker-Mill**, Second-Lieutenant J. H. V., M.C., iii 263.  
**Barnes**, G. N., M.P., ix 185.  
**Baroda**, Maharajah Galkwar of, i 108; v 192.  
**Barr**, Captain James, R.N.R., i 183.  
**Barrett**, Lieutenant-General Sir A., i 220; invalidated to India, iv 288.  
**Barrow**, Commander B. W., iii 183.  
**Barter**, Company Sergeant-Major, V.C., iii 240.  
**Bartfeld**, iii 50, 56, 60.  
**Barton**, Captain M. H., M.C., iv 309.  
 — Colonel, King's African Rifles, ix 124.  
 — Temporary Second-Lieutenant G. S., M.C., iii 240.  
**Barwani**, iv 8.  
**Basra**, occupation of, i 220-2, 331; iii 122; iv 280, 283.  
*Basra*, Turkish S.S., vii 54.  
**Bassett**, Corporal, V.C., iv 136-7.  
**Bastard**, Captain R., D.S.O., iii 23.  
*Batavier V*, ii 333.  
**Bateman**, Sir A., ix 36.  
**Bates**, Second-Lieutenant B. A., M.C., iv 266.  
**Batoum**, v 176, 180.  
**Battenberg**, Alexander, Prince of. See *Alexander*.  
 — **Prince Louis of**. See *Milford Haven, Marquess of*.  
 — **"Battleship Hill"**, iv 129, 136.  
 — **"Bauchop's Hill"**, iv 132-3, 135.  
**Bavai**, British retreat on, i 49, 51, 113, 114.  
**Bavaria**, contribution to German army, i 16; revolution in, ix 172, 182.  
 — **Crown Prince of**. See *Rupprecht, Crown Prince of*.  
 — **King of**. See *Ludwig III*.  
 — **Prince Leopold of**. See *Leopold of Bavaria, Prince*.  
**Baxendale**, Lieutenant-Colonel, ii 285.  
*Bayan*, Russian cruiser, iv 62.  
**Bayazid**, v 175; Russians occupy, ii 199.  
**Bazeley**, Second-Lieutenant E. T., M.C., v 38.  
**Beall**, Major E. M., D.S.O., iii 207.  
**Beamish**, Captain Percy T. H., ii 161.  
**Bean**, Captain C. E. W., quoted, iv 123, 128-9, 132; v 20-1, 24, 26; vii 131-2, 252, 254; viii 83.  
**Beattie**, Lieutenant-Commander K. A., ix 13.  
**Beatty**, Admiral Sir David, his command, i 57; at Heligoland, i 70, 71; Dogger Bank, ii 133; created G.C.B., vii 102; ix 30; and Jutland Battle, ix 6-31; at surrender of German fleet, ix 91-2; in Peace celebration in London, ix 166.  
**Beauchamp**, Colonel Sir H., C.B., iv 162.  
**Beauchamp**, Lord, iv 30.  
**Beauchamp**, Second-Lieutenant, M. B. G., iv 162.  
**Beaucourt - sur - Ancre**, operations leading to capture of, vi 296-310.  
**Beauman**, Captain A. B., D.S.O., iii 244.  
**Beaumont**, Verdun, v 233, 235, 239; vii 229-31.  
 — **Hamel**, operations leading to capture of, vi 296-306; positions improved, vi 323.  
**Beauséjour**, ii 283, 284; iii 100, 102; v 91.  
**Beaverbrook**, Lord (Sir W. Max Aitken), iii 192, 196, 200, 270-1; v 132, 134, 138, 253, 255, 257.  
**Becelaere**, i 281.  
**Becher**, Miss, ii 109.  
**Bechuanaland**, i 319.  
**Beck**, Captain F. R., M.V.O., iv 162.  
 — J. M., v 104, 107.  
 — Lieutenant A. E. A., iv 162.  
**Beckwith**, Major A. T., D.S.O., iii 154.  
**Bedfordshire Regiment**, near Ypres; Second Battle of Ypres, iii 210; vii 202; at Festubert, iii 243; at Loos, iv 251; near Ypres, vii 202.  
**Beech**, Company-Quartermaster-Sergeant, D.C.M., vi 47.  
**Beersheba**, ii 210; vii 326-7, 332; viii 3-4, 6, 8-10, 12-13.  
**Beilby**, Sir G. T., iv 33.  
**Beirut**, capture of, viii 309.  
**Beit Aiessa**, v 329; vi 7-9.  
**Beith**, Captain. See *Hay, Ian*.  
**Bela Kun**, ix 176.  
**Belashitza Mountains**, v 114.  
**Belcher**, Lance-Sergeant, V.C., iii 217-9.  
**Belgian Army**, its numbers, i 19-20; early operations, i 23-5, 27-8, 33, 148, 252, 258, 260, 261, 264, 273-5, 277; winter operations 1914-5; ii 267-76; summer campaign, 1915, iv 97-8; 1917 operations, vii 190, 194, 264; operations in 1918, viii 251-4, 256, 259, 262-9. See also *Congo, Cameroons, and East African Campaigns*.  
 — **Civic Guards**, i 19, 25.  
 — **Commission**, vi 104.  
 — **Relief Fund**, i 100, 105; ii 263.  
**Belgians, King of the**. See *Albert, King*.  
**Belgium**, neutrality and war preliminaries, i 8-11; devastation of, i 92-7; German exactions, i 147; appeal to Britain *re* Antwerp, i 254; German annexation planned, i 297; naval operations off coast of, i 327; von Bissing appointed Governor, i 327; under German rule, ii 243-50; v 102-12; commission for relief in, ii 248; in Peace

- Treaty, ix 185; new boundary with Germany, ix 188; political clauses with Germany, ix 189; reparations from Germany, ix 224, 231, 233; treasures restored in peace terms with Austria, ix 279.
- Belgrade**, bombardment, i 16; 225; ii 60; Serbians evacuate, ii 62; Austrians advance on, i, 64; Serbians re-enter, ii 68; iv 188; German-Austrian advance on, iv 230-1; defences of, iv 230; fall of, iv 232, 275; recaptured by Serbians, vii 224.
- Bell**, Captain J. W., ii 333.
- Captain W. T. E., D.S.O., iv 260.
- Dr., German Minister of Railways, ix 183.
- Second-Lieutenant F., M.C., iv 317-8.
- Bellerophon*, H.M.S., ix 8.
- Bellewaarde Lake**, Farm and Ridge, iii 221, 260; iv 85, 193-5.
- Bell-Irving**, Captain, M. M. B., D.S.O., v 162.
- Below**, General von, viii 118, 127, 162, 189, 197.
- Ben Cruachan*, ii 318.
- Benbow*, H.M.S., ix 8.
- Benckendorff**, Count, iv 5.
- Bengali**, hospital ship, vi 92.
- Bengrove**, ii 326.
- Bentinck**, Count, ex-Kaiser's host in Holland, ix 176.
- Benue River**, iii 95, 96.
- Berar Infantry**, 96th, v 208.
- Beresford**, Lord, ii 128.
- Berkshire Regiment**, Royal, iv 197-8; viii 143; 1st Battalion in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 210; at Richebourg, iii 239; at Loos, iv 264; near Cambrai, vii 284; 2nd Battalion at Neuve Chapelle, iii 23; at Rougebanc, iii 230; 8th Battalion at Hulleuch, iv 219-20.
- Yeomanry, in Gallipoli, v 15-6; in Palestine, viii 21.
- Berlin**, during the revolution, 1918, ix 178-81; Treaty of, iv 169, 174.
- (Ontario), ii 146.
- Berlin*, German steamer, ii 37-8.
- Bermericourt**, vii 90-1.
- Bermuda**, ii 144.
- Bernard**, Captain J. H. G., i 244.
- Bernhardi**, General von, i 2, 3, 14, 99, 100, 106, 194, 331; ii 190.
- Bernstorff**, Count, vii 26-8, 31; viii 98.
- Berrangé**, Brigadier-General C. A. L., as Colonel in South-West African campaign, iii 73; in East African campaign, vi 265-91.
- Berry-au-Bac**, ii 283; vii 85-7, 90-1, 94, 96; viii 142.
- Berryman**, Second-Lieutenant W. O., M.C., iv 260.
- Bersaglieri**, in action, iii 273; v 8; vi 1; viii 118, 120.
- Berthelot**, General, viii 173-4.
- Bertie**, Lord, i 12. [227.]
- Berwick*, H.M.S., ii 316.
- Besançon**, i 125.
- Beseler**, General von, i 257, 262.
- Bessarabia**, retrocession of, iv 173.
- Bessarabian Front**, operations on, v 80.
- Bessell**, Second-Lieutenant J., M.C., iv 266.
- Bethany**, iii 78.
- Bethell**, Major-General H. K., viii 315.
- Bethincourt**, v 239, 241-2, 244.
- Bethlehem**, viii 26.
- Bethmann-Hollweg**, Herr von, Sir Edward Grey's appeal to, i 6; the "infamous bid", i 7; "scrap of paper", i 12-3; iii 274; vii 223-4.
- Béthune**, i 264, 267; ii 234; iv 267, 279-81; ix 113.
- Beves**, Brigadier-General P. S., in East African campaign, vi 269, 279-81; ix 113.
- "Bexhill"**, ii 250, 251, 253, 256.
- Beyers**, General, i 103, 311-4, 316, 320-1, 323.
- Beyts**, Lieutenant C. F., M.C., iv 244.
- Bézonvaux**, v 234, 236.
- Bharatpur**, i 108.
- Bhaunagar**, iv 8.
- Bhopal**, i 107; iv 8.
- Begum of, v 192.
- Infantry (9th), ii 31.
- Bhutan**, Maharajah of, v 199.
- Biala River**, iii 47, 62, 63, 64.
- Bicharathor**, General, viii 289, 295.
- Bidon**, General, i 265.
- Bidwell**, Captain, Canadian army, v 255.
- Bielostok**, iv 44-5.
- Bigsworth**, Squadron-Commander, D.S.O., iii 286-7; iv 99.
- Bijuk Anafarta Valley**, iv 152.
- Bikaner**, Maharajah of, i 107; ii 21; v 193; ix 185.
- Camel Corps, i 107, 332.
- Binche**, i 43, 44, 49.
- Bingham**, Commander, V.C., ix 13, 30.
- Bingley**, General, v 328.
- Bir el Abd**, vii 311, 314, 316.
- Birchall**, Lieutenant-Colonel, A. P., iii 196, 202.
- Bird**, Major J. W., D.S.O., iv 243.
- Birdwood**, General Sir W. R., commands Anzacs, ii 153, 157; iii 143, 145-6, 166, 173, 297; iv 115, 121-2, 136, 144-6, 163; v 10; appointed temporary Command of "Dardanelles Army", v 33, 43, 48, 50; Command of Fifth Army, viii 263-4; enters Lille, viii 264, 266-8.
- Birmingham*, H.M.S., i 63, 175; ii 133.
- Birrell**, Augustine, iv 32; and Irish rebellion, vi 81, 85.
- Biscoe**, Brigadier-General J. D. T. T., v 283, 285-7.
- Bishop**, Lieutenant-Colonel B. F., viii 218.
- Major, Lancashire Fusiliers, iii 155.
- Major W. A., V.C., D.S.O., M.C., ix 139, 147.
- Bismarck Archipelago**, i 102.
- Prince, i 10, 15, 35, 193, 195, 202, 212.
- Bismarckburg**, vi 273.
- Bissing**, General Baron von, i 327; ii 244, 245, 249; v 107, 109.
- Bitlis**, iv 323; v 176, 179, 186, 188.
- Bixchoote**, i 280; iv 193.
- Black Prince*, H.M.S., ix 8, 25.
- Black Sea**, i 189, 216, 328; ii 53, 55; iii 124. See also *Turkey*, *Royal Navy*, &c.
- Black Watch**. See *Royal Highlanders*.
- Blackheath and Woolwich Battalion**. See *London Regiment*, 20th Battalion.
- Blaksley**, Second-Lieutenant J. H., M.C., v 291-3.
- Blamant**, i 34.
- Blanche*, H.M.S., ix 44.
- Blangy**, ii 280; v 247.
- Blankenberghe**, ii 309; iv 276.
- Bliss**, General Tasker H., U.S.A., ix 185.
- Lieutenant-Colonel, Scottish Rifles, iii 23.
- Blockade, British**, of Germany, i 168, 169; vi 98; ix 32-48.
- German, of Britain, ii 316-36; vi 110; result of, vii 99. See also *Submarines*.
- Blögg**, Major E. B., D.S.O., iv 213.
- Blonie**, ii 77.
- Blount**, Commander G. R. B., R.N., iv 276.
- Blücher*, German cruiser, ii 45, 135, 137, 140; iv 11.
- "Bluff"**, The, v 170, 172.
- Blunt**, Captain W. J., i 70.
- Blyde**, Second-Lieutenant H. C., v 17.
- Blyth**, air raid on, iii 283.
- Bohr River**, ii 212.
- Bochnia**, ii 84.
- Bodajeff**, General, iv 233-4, 237.
- Boddam-Whetham**, Captain C., ii 28.
- Boehm - Ermolli**, General, iii 329-31; v 80; vi 23, 31-2.
- Boelke**, Captain, v 163.
- Boers**, general attitude, i 98, 104; ii 93, 101, 102; German plots, i 103, 322.



- Boesinghe**, iv 102; v 151; vii 104.  
*Bogatyy*, Russian cruiser, iv 62.
- Bohemia**, contribution to Austrian army, i 17; boundary in new Czecho-Slovak Republic, ix 178.
- Böhm**, General von, viii 140-1, 150, 156, 162, 167, 189.
- Bois de Riez**, iii 26-8.
- Bois Grenier**, iii 226; iv 197, 201. — **Hugo**, iv 201.
- Boisragon**, Lieutenant-Colonel, V.C., v 276.
- Bolivia**, Republic of, and the War, vii 40; in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Bols**, Major-General Sir L. J., viii 27.
- Bolshevik movement**, origin of, vii 159-60; reign of terror in Russia, ix 159-61; intrigues in Egypt and Afghanistan, ix 162.
- Bombay Volunteer Rifles**, ii 92.
- Bonaberi**, i 197; ii 98, 99, 100; iii 97.
- Bonhomme Pass**, iii 100.
- Bonner**, Captain S., D.S.O., iii 244.
- "Boomerang Redoubt"**, iii 312.
- Booth**, Lieutenant J. L. C., iii 144. — Lieutenant L. G., M.C., iv 86.
- Bordeaux**, i 128.
- Borden**, Sir Robert, i 103; ii 143, 145, 148, 151; attends Cabinet Council in London, iv 8; on response of Dominion Government, v 142; on Canadians at Ypres, vi 39.
- Border Regiment**, at Neuve Chapelle, iii 32; in Gallipoli, iii 306, 312, 315; iv 152, 159; v 18, 19; at Hooge, iv 195; near St. Elie, Sept., 1915, iv 218-9.
- Bornu**, Emir of, v 68.
- Boroviec**, General, vi 58.
- Borton**, Captain A. E., D.S.O., iii 263-4.
- Borzynow**, ii 210.
- Bosnia**, annexation of, i 4; Serbians anticipate attack from, i 225; Austrians reinforced in, ii 58; Serbians invade, ii 72; iv 170.
- Botha**, Commandant Piet, iii 74, 75.  
 — General, loyalty of, i 98, 310, 311; to command forces, i 104, 201, 317; suspicions regarding Maritz, i 313; proclamation to rebels, i 323; sweeping operations round Reitz, i 323; announces end of rebellion, i 324; grasp of military requirements, ii 100-102; in South-west African campaign, iii 67-87; visit to East African Front, vi 274; signatory to Peace Treaty, ix 185.  
 — General Manie, i 323; iii 85, 86; in East African campaign, vi 255, 271.
- Botha**, Lieutenant Gantjie, iii 74.
- Bothmer**, General, v 79-80; vi 23, 27, 30 3.
- Bottomley**, Lieutenant-Colonel H. R., iii 242, 243.
- Boulogne**, i 39, 126, 277; British hospitals in, ii 105, 106.
- Bourg**, i 139.
- Bourlon**, vii 269, 278-81, 284-6.
- Bowel**, French battleship, iii 8, 10, 124, 137; iv 11.
- Bouwer**, Major Ben, i 314.
- Boverig**, General, i 232.
- Bowley**, Dr. A. L., ii 256-8.
- Bowyer-Smith**, Captain C. G., v 71.
- Boyd**, Major-General G. F., viii 246.
- **Rochfort**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., iv 96.
- Boy-Ed**, Captain, vii 27.
- Boyle**, Lieutenant-Colonel R. L., iii 194, 202.  
 — Lieutenant-Commander, V.C., iii 135, 138.
- Boy Scouts**, French, vi 71.
- Brabant**, Prince Leopold, Duke of. See *Leopold, Prince*.
- Brace**, Mr. W., iii 290; iv 32.
- Brade**, Sir R. H., ii 186.
- Bradford**, Vice-Admiral G. E., i 57.
- Braemar**, S.S., sinking of, vii 104.
- Braila**, fall of, vii 7.
- Braisne**, i 138.
- Braithwaite**, Major-General W. P., C.B., iii 165, 166, 316; iv 156; viii 167, 314, 329.
- Brand**, Colonel, i 318.
- Brandenburgers**, at Verdun, vi 229.
- Bratiano**, J., iv 173; ix 187.
- Braun**, M., v 105.
- Braunkopf**, iv 106-7, 110-11.
- Brazil**, and the war, i 244; ii 313; in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Bread**, price of, ii 258.
- Bremen**, German cruiser, loss of, iv 278.
- Bremerhaven**, i 66.
- Brenner Pass**, vi 51.
- Brenta Valley**, operations, vi 51-53.
- Breslau**, German cruiser, i 64, 189, 211, 213, 214; ii 53, 55; iv 11; v 180, 188.
- Brest-Litovsk**, iii 332; iv 44-5; Treaty of, vii 301-5; abrogation of treaty in Peace Terms, 1914, ix 209.
- Brialmont**, General, i 15, 24, 254.
- Briand**, M., iv 329, 331.
- Bridge**, Sir Frederick, vi 47.
- Bridges**, Brigadier-General W. T., C.M.G., ii 153; iii 172-3.
- Briggs**, Lieutenant-General C. J., i 126; viii 217, 221.  
 — Second-Lieutenant L. S., M.C., iv 80.  
 — Squadron-Commander, i 292, 294, 295; ii 298.
- Brighton**, Indian wounded at, ii 111.
- Brighton Queen*, H.M.S., iv 276.
- Brisco**, Second-Lieutenant R. B., M.C., iv 317.
- Brisset**, Lieutenant-Colonel, v 64-5.
- Bristol*, H.M.S., i 185; ii 161, 164, 165, 167, 316.
- Britannic*, S.S., sinking of, vii 104.
- British Army**, First Expeditionary Force, i 14; its numbers, i 19; ii 186, 190; concentration, &c., i 35, 39, 40; position at Mons, i 42-3; retreat from Mons, i 113-30; transference to north-east France, i 264; line of Western Front, winter, 1914, ii 3, 4; line of front, Feb., 1915, ii 276; daily cost (April, 1915), ii 264; clothing, food, health, &c., ii 228-9; growth of, ii 189; inadequate strength, ii 178-80; total enlistments, ix 295. See also under *Air-craft*, *names of regiments*, *campaigns in different theatres of war*, &c.
- **Columbia**, i 177.
- **Dominions**, loyalty, &c., i 98-109, 205, ii 141-58, 226; Germans and, i 2, 100; ii 190; iii 94; constitutional problems, ii 145. See also under *Canada*, *Australia*, *New Zealand*, *South Africa*, *India*, &c.
- **Navy**. See *Royal Navy*.
- Brits**, Colonel Conraad, i 314, 315, 318.
- Major General Coen, in South-West Africa, iii 86; in East Africa, vi 264, 269, 275-6, 279-82, 289, 291.
- Britten**, Lieutenant-Colonel T. X., iii 119.
- Briux*, French cruiser, ii 100.
- Brock**, Vice-Admiral, ix 91.
- Wing-Commander F. A., i x57, 62.
- Brodie**, Lieutenant-Commander T. S., iii 127, 128.
- Brody**, vi 27, 30-32.
- Broke*, British destroyer, vii 111-2.
- Broodseinde**, battle of, vii 252-6, 258-9.
- Brook**, Lieutenant-Colonel A., iii 242.
- Brooke**, Lieutenant A. B., iii 128.  
 — Lieutenant-Commander E., vii 108.
- Brooking**, Brigadier-General H. T., v 208; viii 291.
- Brooks**, Lance-Sergeant, V.C., iv 302.
- Broqueville**, Baron de, ii 21, 245.
- Brown**, Captain A. T., vi 107, and Note.  
 — Captain H. B., D.S.O., iv 85.  
 — Lieutenant-Colonel Walter H., C.B., vi 19.

- Browne**, Lieutenant, French Canadians, v 254.  
— Miss Sydney, ii 109.
- Browning**, Vice-Admiral, ix 91, 157.
- Bruce**, Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. C. G., M.V.O., iii 301.
- Brugères**, General, i 263.
- Bruges**, i 97, 241, 242, 273, 278; liberation of, viii 263, 268-9; in Zeebrugge operations, ix 55.
- Bruland**, General, v 47; vii 122.
- Bruneau**, General, i 125.
- Brusati**, General, v 10; vi 53.
- Brussels**, Belgian Government withdraws from, i 27; German occupation of, i 35; ii 245; German levy on, ii 246; effect on industry at, ii 249, 256.
- Brussels*, S.S., vi 110-3; vii 103.
- Brussiloff**, General, in Galicia, i 229, 230, 232; in Carpathians (1914-5), ii 218, 219; v 79; vi 25-7, 33, 57, 66-7; vii 1-22; appointed Commander-in-Chief, vii 160-3, 172.
- Bryant**, Captain (temporary Lieutenant-Colonel) F. C., i 195.
- Bryon**, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding 5th South Africans, vi 256-8, 270.
- Brzezina**, ii 83.
- Bucacz**, vi 23.
- Buchan**, Captain T. J., D.S.O., iv 199.
- Buchanan**, Sir G., vii 15.
- Bucharest**, Treaty of, iv 178.
- Buckingham**, Private, V.C., iii 31.
- Buckinghamshire Light Infantry**. See *Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry*.
- **Yeomanry**, in Gallipoli, v 15; in Egypt, v 291; in Palestine, viii 21.
- Buckmaster**, Lord, iv 30.
- Bucy**, ii 269-70.
- Buda-Pest**, i 233.
- Buea**, ii 100.
- Buenos Ayres**, i 185.
- Bufs**. See *East Kent Regiment*.
- Bug River**, ii 75.
- Buk-i-Salvet*, Turkish cruiser, iv 11, 61.
- Bukovina**, Russian operations, 1914-1915, ii 84, 88, 211, 218, 220, 222, 223; iii 47, 50; iv 186; vi 31.
- Bulair**, iii 142.
- Bulfin**, General E. S., on the Western Front, i 141, 280; viii 7, 15-6; in Palestine, viii 303-4; receives K.C.B., viii 27.
- Bulgakov**, General, ii 213.
- Bulgaria**, Austro-German loan to, ii 222; position and history of, iv 170-1; attack on Serbia and Greece, iv 177-8; attitude of, Aug., 1914-Oct., 1915, iv 182-8; forces in Serbia, iv 233-40; relations with Austro-German Powers, iv 225-7; collapse of, July-Oct., 1918, viii 208-24; in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 212; terms of Peace Treaty with Allied Powers, ix 280-4.
- Bullecourt**, vii 131-3, 138, 277; viii 34, 37, 41.
- Buller**, Captain H. T., i 69.  
— Lieutenant-Colonel H. C., D.S.O., vi 38, 39.
- Bülów**, General von, in Belgium, i 122; at the Marne, i 130, 132, 135; iii 334-5; iv 40.  
— Prince von, special mission to Rome, iii 275-6; efforts to save Hohenzollerns, ix 169.
- Bulwark*, H.M.S., ii 44; iv 11.
- Bunder Abbas**, v 218.
- Bunsen**, Sir Maurice de, i 5, 9.
- Buole Pass**, operations in, vi 54.
- Buresk**, i 307-8. [50.]
- Burian**, Baron, iii 276; ix 174.
- Burney**, Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil, i 56.
- Burstall**, Brigadier-General H. E., C.B., iii 202.
- Burt**, Corporal, V.C., iv 255.
- Burton**, Corporal, V.C., iv 127.
- Bushire**, v 206-8.
- Bustard*, H.M.S., iv 276.
- Butler**, Captain A. G., D.S.O., iii 146.  
— Captain J. F. P., V.C., v 73.  
— Lieutenant-General Sir R. H. K., viii 37, 180, 183.
- Butte de Mesnil**, v 94, 98.  
— **Tahure**, v 90, 97.
- Butterfly*, H.M.S., vii 52.
- Buxton**, Lord, iii 70, 83.
- Byng**, Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir J. H. G., commands 3rd Cavalry Division, i 260, 275, 276, 268, 281, 282, 285, 288; succeeds to command of the 9th Army Corps at Suvla, v 23; takes command of Canadian Corps, vi 37; in First Battles of Cambria, vii 271-2, 279; viii 30; in 1918 campaign, viii 36, 188-9.
- Bzura River**, operations, ii 77, 83, 87, 208, 209, 210.
- "C" Beach**, Gallipoli, iv 148-50.
- C 1*, submarine, ix 58, 60, 63-4.
- C 3*, submarine, ix 58, 60, 63-4.
- Cables**, submarine, German renunciation regarding, ix 232.
- Cadet system**, in Australia, ii 151-2; in New Zealand, ii 154.
- Cadorna**, General Count L., iii 277, 279; v 10, 124; and Trentino operations (May, 1916), vi 53-60; and Italian operations, 1917, vii 139-55; viii 113-25.
- Caffrey**, Private, V.C., v 156.
- Caillaux**, M., i 130.
- Caillette Wood**, Verdun, operations in 1916, vi 233-40.
- Cairo**, German intrigues, i 216; new Sultan enters, i 334.
- Calabar**, i 196; iii 95.
- Calais**, landing of British troops at, i 39; the German objective, i 273-88; ii 4, 12, 14, 15; iii 103, 186.  
*Caledonia*, S.S., sunk, vii 104.  
*Calliope*, H.M.S., ix 44-5.  
*Cambank*, British S.S., ii 328.
- Cambon**, M. Jules, i 12; ix 185.  
— M. Paul, i 6, 11.
- Cambrai**, i 114; operations at (1914), i 114, 122; First Battles of, vii 267-86; operations round, 1918, viii 240, 248, 239, 316.
- Cambria*, H.M.S., ix 48.
- Cambridgeshire Regiment**, 1st Battalion at St. Eloi, iii 38.
- Cameron Highlanders**, at the Marne, i 137; at Pilkem, i 280; at Givenchy, ii 235; 1st Battalion at Rougebanc, iii 231; at Hulleuch, iv 220; at Loos, iv 312; on the Sambre, viii 329; 2nd Battalion in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214; 5th Battalion at Fosse 8, iv 223; 6th Battalion at Loos, iv 246-7.  
— Major-General H. J. G., viii 326.
- Cameronians**. See *Scottish Rifles*.
- Cameron River**, i 197; ii 99.
- Cameroons**, i 192, 193, 196-8; ii 98-100; iii 94-7; conquest of, v 59-76; in Peace Treaty, ix 210.
- Cammell**, Lieutenant Gerald A., D.S.O., iii 21.
- Campbell**, Captain G., V.C., R.N., ix 50-2.  
— Colonel J. V., Coldstreams, V.C., vi 334.  
— Lieutenant F. W., V.C., iii 269-70.  
— Lieutenant K. T., M.C., v 133, 136-7.  
— Major-General Carter, viii 166.  
— Major-General D. G. M., viii 139.  
— Major-General J., viii 80.
- Canada**, loyalty and aid, i 102, 103; ii 111, 144-48; German plots, ii 147; military contributions first 15 months, iv 7; munitions, v 143.
- Canada*, H.M.S., ix 8.
- Canadian Army**, ii 142-4; in France, ii 254; at Ypres, iii 189-212; at La Quinke Rue, iii 247-50; at "Bexhill", iii 250-3; at Givenchy, iii 268-71; in operations from Oct., 1916-Jan., 1917, v 130-143; at St. Eloi, v 252-7; in Ypres Salient, June, 1916, vi 36-42; operations on the Ancre, winter of 1916-7; vi 295-6, 311, 318; round Arras, vii 75-6, 128-30, 133-4; round Ypres, vii 186-7,

- 202 4, 241, 253, 264-5; at Amiens, viii 180-3, 185-6; on Scarpe, viii 204 7; near Cambrai, viii 244 6, 248; capture Mons, viii 333; record of Canadian airmen, ix 147.
- Canadian Army Medical Corps**, hospital at Hampstead, ii 148.
- **Scottish**, at La Quinque Rue, iii 194, 248-9; at Ypres (June, 1916), vi 41.
- **War Contingent Association**, ii 148.
- Canadians**, French, ii 146.
- German, ii 146.
- Candler**, E., quoted, v 320, 324-6; vi 7, 8, 12-3; vii 52, 59; viii 286.
- Canopus**, H.M.S., i 302, 303, 305; ii 160, 161; iii 7.
- Cap Trafalgar**, German commerce-destroyer, i 182.
- Cape Corps**, in East Africa, vi 120, 276.
- **Helles**, operations, iii 4, 147, 292, 305; iv 114-9, 164-5.
- **Verde Islands**, v 220.
- Caporetto**, battle of, viii 113-57.
- Capper**, Major-General Sir T., i 261; iv 217, 251-2.
- Carden**, Lieutenant-Colonel J., iv 144-5.
- Vice-Admiral Sir S. H., iii 6, 10.
- Carancy**, ii, 279; iii 111-112; iv 271.
- Carey**, Lieutenant J. Pitt, iii 137.
- Major-General G. S., viii 257.
- Carl Francis Joseph**. See *Karl Franz Josef*.
- Carmania**, British commerce-protector, i 182, 183-5.
- Carmichael**, Captain D., iv 194.
- Carnarvon**, H.M.S., ii 161, 164-7.
- Carnegy**, General, ii 31.
- Carnic Alps**, operations in, iii 278-80; v 1, 5.
- Carnoy**, v 150-1.
- Caroline Islands**, i 102, 203.
- Carpathians**, Austrian forces driven back (1914), i 233; ii 87, 88; operations (winter 1915), ii 207, 208, 217-20, 223-4; Russian campaign in (March-June), iii 47-52, 55-66. See also under *Russian Army*.
- Carr**, Commander H. C., ii 333.
- Lieutenant E. N., M.C., iv 210.
- Carrigan**, Second-Lieutenant C. H., M.C., ii 239.
- Carso**, operations on the, iii 279-80; v 6-9; vi 48, 58-9, 61, 65; vii 140-1; viii 120-1.
- Carson**, Sir Edward, iv 31; objects to Military Bill, April, 1916, vi 79.
- Carspach**, ii 298.
- Carter**, Commander H. N., R.N., iv 275.
- Major R. M., vii 42.
- **Campbell**, Major G. T. C., D.S.O., iii 32.
- Cartwright**, Lieutenant - Commander C. H. A., vii 53.
- Casement**, Sir Roger, vi 82-5.
- Cassels**, Second-Lieutenant G. R., M.C., iv 80.
- Casson**, Lieutenant - Colonel, South Wales Borderers, iii 149.
- Castelnau**, General de, i 30, 144, 263; ii 291, 295; iv 192, 204, 224, 336; v 88-95.
- Casualties**, in Crimean Campaign, iv 13; in Franco-Prussian War, iv 14.
- **British Army**, first 50 weeks of Great War, iv 13; Sept. 25-Oct. 8, 1915, iv 304-5; total to Dec. 9, 1915, vi 77; to Jan. 9, 1916, v 168; total to end of the war, ix 159, 296.
- **British Dominions**, vii 249-50.
- **Royal Navy**, first 50 weeks, iv 13; total losses in ships, ix 100; total in killed, wounded, and missing, ix 102.
- Cattaro**, iv 175; v 126.
- Caucasus**, Russian contingents from, i 18; Russian operations, i 218, 223, 324; ii 88, 190, 197. See also under *Russian Army*.
- Caudry**, i 116.
- Caurières**, v 236.
- Cavalry**. See *Army, British, French, German, &c.*
- Cavan**, Lord, i 288; ii 242; order to the Guards, 1915, iv 256; in Italy, viii 127, 132, 271-81.
- Cavell**, Miss, trial and execution of, v 102-12; body brought to England, ix 166.
- Cavour**, iii 272-3.
- Cawley**, Captain H. T., M.P., v 41.
- Cayley**, Lieutenant-Colonel D. E., iii 164.
- Major-General D. E., iii 164; v 40, 143; viii 79.
- Major-General Sir W. de S., viii 293.
- Cecil**, Lord Robert, iv 32; and Nurse Cavell, v 112; on Russian advance, v 211; on Persian rebels, v 213; on British blockade, ix 32; as Minister of Blockade, ix 35; on Germany and League of Nations, ix 165.
- Celliers**, Colonel-Commandant, i 315, 320.
- Cenotaph** by Lutyens, in Whitehall, ix 166-7.
- Central Control Board**, vi 96.
- Centurion**, H.M.S., ix 8.
- Cerna River**, v 113-4.
- Cernay**, ii 295, 298.
- Cettinge**, v 124, 126-8.
- Ceylon**, ii 153, 157; military contingents, iv 8; Planters' Corps, i 334.
- Chailak Dere Ravine**, iv 130-5; 138.
- Chalmers**, Sergeant-Major, M.C., ii 32; iii 32.
- Châlons**, i 186; ii 284, 285.
- Chamberlain**, Mr. Austen, Secretary for India, iv 31; on supplies to troops in Mesopotamia, iv 281.
- Champagne**, Germans in, i 133, 134; French battle front (1915), ii 283; Germans threaten from St. Mihiel, ii 288; operations in, iii 102, 103, 110; iv 192, 204, 224; v 86-7; vi 66.
- Champer**, H.M.S., ix 8, 27.
- Chanak**, iii 4, 10, 127.
- Chantilly**, i 16, 128.
- Chapman**, Captain, i 201.
- Lieutenant-Colonel E. H., iv 149.
- Charlemagne**, French Dreadnought, iii 6-8, 10.
- Charleroi**, i 41; French operations at, i 29, 40-4, 118; trade stoppage at, ii 249, 250.
- Charles**, Major-General J. R. E., vii 315.
- Charlton**, Rear-Admiral E. F. B., vi 283.
- Chasseurs Alpins**, ii 295, 296; iii 107.
- Chateau-Salins**, i 32, 35, 124; ii 294.
- **Thierry**, i 134; viii 146, 150, 153-4, 162-3, 166, 168 9.
- Chatfield**, Captain Alfred E. M., C.V.O., R.N., ii 133.
- Chatham**, H.M.S., ii 93.
- Chaulnes**, vii 62; viii 52.
- Chauny**, i 122; ii 268.
- Chauvel**, Major-General H. G., vii 318, 323-4, 329, 336; viii 304.
- Chauvoncourt**, iii 109.
- Chavonne**, i 139, 141; vii 89-90, 93-4.
- Chaytor**, Major-General E. W. T., vii 336.
- Cheape**, Colonel L., vii 313.
- Cheetham**, Lieutenant G., M.C., iv 268.
- Chelembwe**, "Rev." John, iii 94.
- Chelmsford**, Lord, v 202; message to Kut, vi 18.
- Chemin-des-Dames**, i 140, 141; vii 68, 85, 87-8, 90, 93-7, 232-5; viii 84, 140-1, 237, 244.
- Cheshire Regiment**, near Givenchy, iv 201-2; at Le Touquet, v 149; near Carnoy, v 150; at Messines, vii 181; in Mesopotamia, vii 48; viii 283; at Clery, viii 48; near Rheims, viii 143, 147; in Bulgaria, viii 217-8.
- Chester**, H.M.S., ix 18.
- Chester and Bantam Division**, vi 45.
- Chetwode**, Lieutenant-General Sir Philip W., i 38; iii 28; vii 320, 323-4, 336; viii 2-3, 7, 304; receives K.C.B., viii 27.



- Chile**, i 302-5; ii 160, 168, 312.  
**Chimay, Gap of**, i 16, 41.  
**China**, and the war, i 65; in Peace Treaty, ix 165, and Note, 185, 186 and Note, 210.  
 — **Sea**, i 189.  
*Chirsit*, H.M.S., iii 183.  
**Chivres**, i 142.  
**"Chocolate Hill"**, Gallipoli, iv 147, 152, 156, 160; v 13.  
**Cholm**, iii 332-3; iv 37.  
**Christian**, Captain H., i 244.  
 — **Private**, V.C., v 268-9.  
**Christie**, Major G. J., D.S.O., iii 221.  
**Christmas**, on the Western Front, vi 319.  
**Chunuk Bair**, iv 115, 122, 131, 133, 135, 136-9, 141 2, 144.  
**Churcher**, Major A. E., iii 95, 96.  
**Churchill**, Winston, First Lord of the Admiralty, ii 70; Antwerp Expedition, i 242, 254, 256; on Prince Louis of Battenberg's resignation, ii 176; Dogger Bank action, ii 139; on Navy's readiness, ii 178, 254; on loss of *Lusitania*, iii 182; resigns as First Lord of the Admiralty, iii 184; becomes Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, iv 31; on War expenditure, viii 104.  
**Cirey**, i 34.  
**Cité St. Auguste**, iv 212, 214, 243.  
 — **Elie**, iv 218, 224, 304, 313.  
**Citizen Defence Corps** (New Zealand), ii 155.  
 — **Force** (Australia), ii 151.  
**City of London Field Ambulance**, at Givenchy, iii 56.  
 — **Regiment**. See *Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment)*.  
*City of Winchester*, S.S., i 177.  
**Civil Service Rifles**, 15th Battalion, at Givenchy, iii 257.  
*Clan McNaughton*, ii 150; ix 41.  
 — *MacTavish*, British S.S., v 309.  
**Clark**, Colonel Sir J. M., iii 323.  
 — **Kennedy**, Lieutenant-Colonel, V.C., viii 205.  
**Clarkson**, Lieutenant-Colonel B. St. John, iii 119.  
**Classens**, Colonel, iii 74.  
**Clausewitz**, "frightfulness" according to, vi 99.  
*Clematis*, H.M.S., v 285.  
**Clemenceau**, M., visit to London, ix 153; in Peace preliminaries, ix 157, 158, 163; attempt on life of, ix 166; at signing of Peace Treaty, ix 183, 185.  
**Clermont-en-Argonne**, i 134; ii 285.  
**Climo**, Lieutenant-Colonel S. H., D.S.O., iii 119.  
**Clinton**, Lieutenant L. S., M.C., iii 254.  
**"Coal-boxes"**, i 142.  
**Coal Trade** and the War, iv 17-18.  
**Coalition Government**, formed, iv 28, 33; changes in, vi 85.  
**Coast-guard**, i 55.  
**Cobbe**, Lieutenant-General Sir A. S., vii 47, 49-50, 56.  
**Coblentz**, i 22; ix 154.  
**Coburg-Gotha**, revolution in, ix 173.  
*Cochrane*, H.M.S., ix 8.  
**Cochrane**, Lieutenant-Commander, D.S.O., iv 60.  
**Cocos (Keeling) Islands**, i 306, 309; ii 152.  
**Coetzee**, Major Ben, i 315.  
**Coffin**, Major-General C., viii 254.  
**Coldstream Guards**, at Mons, i 48, 115-6, 117, 127; Aisne battle, i 141; Givenchy, ii 234; Cuinchy, ii 240-2, 243; iii 12; Le Quinque Rue, iii 248; Loos, iv 258, 261-2, 300-3. See also *Guards Brigade*.  
**Collet**, Flight-Lieutenant C. H., D.S.O., i 54.  
**Collier**, Brigadier-General J. J., vi 291.  
*Collingwood*, H.M.S., ix 8.  
**Collingwood Battalion**, Royal Naval Division, in Gallipoli, iii 302.  
**Collins**, Captain H. G., iii 92.  
 — **Colonel**, South West Africa, iii 74, 75.  
*Colne*, H.M.S., iv 132.  
**Cologne**, i 22, 157; ix 153, 154.  
*Colossus*, H.M.S., ix 8.  
**Colquhoun**, Lieutenant W. G., M.C., iii 15.  
*Columbella*, H.M.S., ix 44.  
*Columbia*, H.M.S., iii 183.  
**Colville**, Major J. R., D.S.O., iii 236.  
**Combles**, captured in 1916, vi 187-9; evacuated in 1917, viii 199; recaptured, viii 199.  
**Combres**, iii 110.  
*Comet*, H.M.S., iii 122; iv 291; v 315.  
**Comines**, ii 277; iii 40; viii 261.  
**Commerce**. See *Trade*.  
**Commerce-destroyers**, i 176-82, 299-309; ii 160-8, 310-6.  
**Compensation Clauses**, in Peace Treaty with Germany. See under *Reparation*.  
**Compiègne**, i 126, 142, 267; viii 148, 228.  
*Comus*, H.M.S., ix 44-5.  
**Conde (Aisne)**, i 140.  
 — **(Nord)**, i 42.  
**Congo, Belgian**, i 201; iii 97.  
 — **French**, i 194.  
**Congreve**, Lieutenant-General Sir W. N., V.C., vi 164-5; viii 37.  
 — **Major W. La T.**, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., vi 164.  
**Connaught**, Duchess of, ii 148; Duke of, i 102; ii 143; Prince Arthur of, ii 11; Princess Patricia of, ii 143.  
**Connaught Rangers, 1st**, at La Bassée Canal, ii 31; Second Battle of Ypres, iii 205-6; in Gallipoli, v 21, 23-4; at Salonika, v 115; at Beit Aiessa, vi 9.  
**Conneau**, General, i 131, 271; ii 8.  
*Conqueror*, H.M.S., ix 8.  
**Conrad**, Herr, v 110.  
**Conscientious Objectors**, vi, 78.  
**Consenvoye**, i 16; iii 104.  
**Constance, Lake**, i 292, 294; ii 299.  
**Constantine**, King of Greece, iv 180-2, 187-8; Kitchener visits, 1915, vi 66; attitude in 1916, vi 207-11; forced to leave Greece, viii 210.  
**Constantinople**, iii 2, 124, 168; strategic value of, iv 167; Allied troops at, ix 151; in peace terms with Turkey, ix 285.  
**Constanza**, iv 170, 173.  
**Contraband of War**, ii 53; iv 16-7.  
**Contracts**, special clauses in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 247 9.  
**Conybeare**, Lieutenant E. B., M.C., iii 32.  
**Cooch Behar**, Maharajah of, i 107.  
**Cook**, Sir Joseph, ix 185.  
**Cookson**, Lieutenant-Commander, V.C., iv 291.  
**Cooper**, Brigadier-General R. J., iv 143.  
 — **Lieutenant W.**, D.C.M., iv 76.  
**Copeman**, Colonel, Cambridge-shire Regiment, iii 38.  
**Copyright Clauses** in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 252.  
*Coquet*, British S.S., sunk, v 307.  
**Cordon**, Second-Lieutenant C. J., M.C., v 147-9.  
*Coriander*, L. T., trawler, i 175.  
**Corlett**, Lieutenant-Commander G., ix 13.  
*Cormoran*, gunboat, i 209.  
**Cornish troops**, round Ypres, vii 208. [164-7.  
*Cornwall*, H.M.S., i 184; ii 161.  
**Cornwall, J. T.**, V.C., ix, 29.  
*Cornwallis*, H.M.S., iii 6, 7, 134; vii 104.  
**Coronel**, battle of, i 302; ii 139, 159, 161.  
**Corry**, Lieutenant A. V. L., M.C., iii 244.  
**Cossacks**, i 18, 233; ii 74, 79, 197.  
**Cost of the Great War**, total Allied, ix 159.  
**Costeker**, Captain, killed in Gallipoli landing, iii 153.  
**Costigan**, Captain C. T., D.S.O., v 133.  
**Cotter**, Corporal, V.C., v 269.  
**Cotton trade**, and the war, iv 16-7.

- Coulommiers**, i 131, 137.  
**Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in Russia**, vii 20.  
**Courcelette**, operations leading to capture of, vi 287.  
**Courcy**, vii 91, 93-4.  
**Courland coast**, Russian activity on, iv 41, 277; ceded to Germany, vii 304.  
**Courtney's Post**, iii 172.  
**Courtrai**, i 276; ii 308; iii 34, 207; liberation of, 1918, viii 261-2, 264-5.  
**Courts martial**, i 175; ii 178.  
**Cousin**, General, v 99.  
**Coutaneau**, General, i 32.  
**Couvrelle**, i 138.  
**Coventry**, Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. C. J., vii 312.  
**Cowans**, Major-General Sir J. S., ii 186.  
**Cowley**, Lieutenant-Commander C. H., R.N.V.R., vi 14, 15.  
**Cox**, Colonel Sir Percy, iii 121.  
 — Major-General H. V., iii 171, 299; iv 131, 134, 137-9; v 19-20, 23, 27.  
**Crabbe**, Lieutenant, iii 14.  
**Cracow**, i 230; war contribution, i 228; Russian advance upon, ii 81, 83, 84, 87, 88, 217, 218; iii 47, 48; iv 35, 37.  
**Cradock**, Admiral Sir Christopher, i 302; ii 100.  
**Cramb**, Professor, i 98, 106.  
**Craonne**, battle of, April, 1917, vii 79-97; viii 141-2.  
**Creagh**, Lieutenant-Commander J. V., i 244; ii 331.  
**Crefeld**, vi 102, 103.  
**Cressy**, H.M.S., i 170-5; iv 11.  
**Crewe**, Brigadier-General Sir C. P., in East African campaign, vi 272, 287, 291.  
 — Lord, i 199, 221; ii 198; iii 113, 114, 116, 120.  
**Crichton**, Major C., D.S.O., iii 217.  
 — **Stuart**, Colonel Lord N., M.P., iv 262-3.  
**Crimean War**, cost of, ii 265.  
**Crispi**, Signor, ii 274.  
**Croats**, iv 170; new kingdom of, with Serbs and Slovenes, ix 178.  
**Croiselles**, vii 125.  
**Croix Barbée**, i 271.  
**Cromarty Firth**, ix 38.  
**Cromer**, Lord, i 329; ii 336.  
**Cronje**, Commandant F. R., i 317.  
**Crosby**, Captain R. D., M.C., iv 92.  
**Cross River**, iii 95.  
 — Second-Lieutenant A. G., M.C., v 263.  
**Crouy, Dent du**, ii 268. [5.  
**Crow's Wood**, v 239, 241-2, 244.  
**Crozier**, Captain H. C., M.C., iii 154.  
**Cruikshank**, Lieutenant G. L., M.C., v 101.  
*Crusader*, H.M.S., iii 183.  
**Ctesiphon**, iv 294-5, 298; v 314-5, 317; vii 52.  
**Cuba**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.  
**Cubitt**, Lieutenant V. M., iv 162.  
 — Major-General T. A., viii 199.  
**Cuffley**, Zeppelin brought down at, ix 135.  
**Cuinchy**, ii 234-7; 240-3; iii 12; iv 223, 255.  
**Cuirrassiers**, French, ii 226.  
**Cumberland**, H.M.S., i 197.  
**Cumières Wood**, Verdun, v 239, 244-5; vi 231.  
**Cunliffe**, Brigadier-General F. H. G., v 62-4, 68, 71, 73, 75-6; vi 287.  
 — Lord, ii 260.  
**Cunninghame**, Major Boyd, iii 98.  
**Currie**, Captain P. J. R., M.C., iv 217.  
 — Major-General Sir A. W., iii 210-2; assumes command of Canadian 1st Division, v 131; succeeds to command of Canadian forces and receives K.C.B., vii 189; congratulated on Canadian valour, vii 204; viii 182, 204.  
**Curzon**, Lord, ii 100, 102, 286; becomes Lord Privy Seal, iv 31.  
**Cuthbert**, Captain, D.S.O., Scots Guards, iv 258.  
**Cyprus**, i 220, 223; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287.  
**Czecho-Slovaks**, viii 270-1; newly-created republic of, ix 178; frontier defined in Peace Treaty, ix 188; political clauses in Peace Treaty, ix 201; Peace Terms with Austria, ix 272, 274.  
**Czernowitz**, Austrians expelled from, ii 84; importance of, ii 219, 221; v 80-1; vi 25, 28.  
*D5*, mined off Yarmouth, i 250.  
*Dacia*, S.S., sunk, vii 104.  
*Daffodil*, H.M.S., ix 56-7, 60, 62.  
**Daggy**, British line at, i 131.  
**Dallas**, Major-General A. G., vii 325.  
**Dalmahoy**, Captain J. F., iii 204.  
**Dalmeny**, Lord, i 39.  
**Daly**, Major, Canadian Battalion, v 255.  
 — Major-General A. C., viii 328.  
**D'Amade**, General, i 31; iii 140, 141, 104-6, 310.  
**Damascus**, i 330, 332; viii 308-10.  
**Dane**, Lieutenant-Commander C. R., i 249.  
**Daniels**, J., and United States navy, vii 38-9; viii 99.  
 — Sergeant-Major H., V.C., iii 31.  
**Dankl**, General, i 230, 232; ii 75.  
**D'Annunzio**, Gabriele, v 58.  
**Danube**, operations, i 225; ii 68; iv 59, 227, 229-33; navigation clauses in Peace Treaty, ix 256-8.  
**Danzig**, i 229; iv 36; in Peace Treaty, ix 206.  
**Dardanelles**, Turks close the, i 189; ii 55; campaign, first phase of, iii 1-12; Allied naval operations, March, 1915, iii 124, 38; summer naval operations in, 1915, iv 60; Allied fleet pass through, ix 151; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 285-6. See also *Gallipoli campaign*.  
**Dar-es-Salaam**, i 178; bombardments of, ii 93, 98; iii 91; abandoned by the Germans, vi 283.  
**Darfur campaign**, v 297-300.  
**Darmstadt**, vi 103.  
**Darroch**, Lieutenant-Colonel D., iii 323.  
**Davidson**, Major L. N., viii 68.  
**Davies**, Lieutenant-General Sir F. J., iv 118; v 11, 50.  
 — Major-General H. R., viii 246.  
 — Second-Lieutenant C. G., M.C., iii 255.  
 — Squadron-Commander, V.C., D.S.O., v 33-4.  
**Davy**, Major P. C. T., vi 107, and Note.  
**Dawnay**, Colonel, i 288.  
**Dawson**, Corporal, V.C., iv 314.  
 — Major James, D.S.O., iv 219.  
**Deacon**, Colonel, Essex Yeomanry Regiment, iii 217.  
 — Major, Connaught Rangers, iii 206.  
**Dean**, Captain J. H. E., M.C., v 149.  
**Debeney**, General, viii 180, 182, 185, 228-30, 232-3, 235-49.  
**Debts**, special clauses in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 241.  
**De Cary**, General Langle, v 86.  
**Chair**, Admiral, vii 100; ix 35.  
**Dedeagatch**, iv 170, 177, 278.  
*Defence*, H.M.S., ix 8, 20.  
*Defender*, British destroyer, i 72; ix 25.  
**Dégoutte**, General, vii 121; viii 163, 165-8, 171, 175, 227, 235-49.  
**Degouy**, Admiral, ii 50.  
**De Guise**, General, i 257.  
**Dehra Dun Brigade**, at Bas de Biez, iii 26. [i 32, 282.  
**Deimling**, General Berthold von.  
**Delamain**, Major-General W. S., i 220; iv 289-90, 296-7.  
**Delamere**, Captain, Canadian Regiment, iii 269.  
 — Lord, ii 90.  
**De la Rey**, General, i 313.  
**Delatyn Pass**, ii 210; iii 329; Russians capture, vi 31.  
**De Leval**, M., v 105-11.  
 — **Lisle**, Major-General Sir Henry de Beauvoir, C.B., commands 2nd Cavalry Brigade, i 38; during Mons retreat, i 49; at Ourcq, i 132; commanding

- cavalry force in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 216; in Gallipoli, iii 305, 308, 316; iv 164-5; temporarily succeeds Lord Stopford in command of 9th Corps, v 10.
- Delm**, i 35; ii 204.
- Denain**, liberation of, viii 322-3.
- Denmark**, and the war, i 62; German violation of her neutrality, iv 64.
- frontier with Germany in Peace Treaty, ix 189.
- Dennis**, Captain M. F. B., D.S.O., iv 212.
- Dennistoun**, Lieutenant - Commander G. H., iii 92.
- Dent**, Captain D. L., R.N., v 47.
- Deport**, Colonel, ii 281.
- Derbend Heights**, v 121.
- Derby**, Lord, iv 25; vi 72-3, 77; tribute to Kitchener, vi 69; Under-Secretary for War, vi 85.
- Derbyshire Yeomanry**, in Bulgaria, viii 221.
- Derfflinger*, German battle-cruiser, ii 45; at Dogger Bank, ii 137; scuttled, ix 99.
- Dernburg**, Dr., vii 27.
- De Robeck**, Vice-Admiral Sir Y. H., iii 130, 133, 139-41; iv 56; v 48-50.
- **Sailly**, General, iv 213.
- D'Esperey**, General F., i 31, 126, 131, 132, 135, 263; receives G.C.M.G., vii 189; viii 212-3, 215-24.
- Deudart**, vii 311-3.
- Deutschland*, German submarine, vii 103.
- Deventer**, General van, in South-West Africa campaign, iii 73, 79; in German East Africa, vi 254-91; ix 116-20.
- Deverell**, Major-General C. J., viii 190.
- Deville**, General Sainte-Claire, ii 281.
- Devonport**, Lord, and food campaign, vii 221.
- Devonshire Regiment**, at Hulloch, iv 219; in Mesopotamia, vii 48; at Proyart, viii 56.
- De Wet**, i 103, 312, 315, 317; iii 84.
- **Wolf**, Captain H. F., M.C., v 38.
- Dholpur**, Chief of, i 107.
- Dialah River**, iv 298; vii 54-5, 57; viii 282-4, 289.
- Diaz**, General, on Italian Front, iv 18, viii 125-37, 270-81.
- Dickens**, Second-Lieutenant J., M.C., iii 299-300.
- "**Die-Hards**", See *Middlesex Regiment*.
- Dieppe**, ii 105.
- Diest**, i 27.
- Dieuze**, i 35; ii 294.
- Dimitrieff**, General Radko, i 232; ii 87; iii 47, 48; vi 25; vii 13.
- Dinant**, operations at, i 27, 32, 33, 34; destruction at, i 93; and German White Book, vi 101.
- Dinard**, ii 148.
- Dinwiddie**, Captain M., M.C., iv 78.
- Diplomat*, H.M.S., i 179.
- Ditfurth**, General von, iv 191.
- Dixmude**, operations at, i 273, 278; ii 271, 272; viii 34.
- Djema Pasha**, ii 202, 203; v 275, 278.
- Djevet Bey**, iv 322.
- Doniester River**, iii 53, 55, 56, 58, 64, 327-30; operations on, Aug., 1916, vi, 25, 27, 29, 32.
- Dobbs**, Lieutenant-Colonel E. C., viii 22.
- Dobell**, Lieutenant-General Sir C., iii 97; v 59-76; vii 320, 324-5, 327, 330-1, 335-6.
- Major-General Sir C. M., i 197; ii 98, 99.
- Dobie**, Lieutenant W. F. R., ii 28.
- Dobrudja**, iv 173; vii 6-7.
- Dobson**, Corporal, V.C., iv 302.
- Major J. H., in East African campaign, vi 291.
- Dodds**, Second-Lieutenant A. K., M.C., iv 318.
- Dodoma**, German East Africa, vi 267, 271.
- Doerberitz**, i 260.
- Dogras**, i 109.
- Doherty**, C. J., ix 185.
- Doiran**, Lake, v 114-5, 122; viii 211-4, 216-21.
- D'Oissel**, General H., iv 193; vii 115, 118.
- "**Dominion Day**", at the Front, iii 271.
- Dominion*, H.M.S., ix 56.
- Domville**, Lieutenant Sir J., iii 183.
- Donaldson**, Sir Frederick, vi 67.
- Donneghan**, Gunner, i 120.
- Donnelly**, Lieutenant J. J., M.C., v 39.
- Donop**, General von, iv 22-3.
- Donop**, von, Major-General Sir S. B., ii 186.
- Dorrell**, Sergeant-Major, V.C., i 127.
- Dorset Regiment**, near La Bassee, i 269; Second Battle of Ypres, iii 119, 210; in Mesopotamia, iv 292, 296; viii 286.
- **Yeomanry**, in Gallipoli, vi 15; in Egypt, v 291; in Palestine, viii 21.
- Douai**, ii 308; iii 226; occupied by British, viii 263, 317.
- Douaumont**, v 236, 238-9, 241; operations leading to recapture of, by the French, vi 226-40.
- "**Double Crassier**" slag-heaps, iv 210, 224, 302.
- Doughty - Wylie**, Lieutenant-Colonel, V.C., iii 153, 154.
- Douglas**, General Sir C. W. H., ii 185, 186.
- Major-General W., iii 299; iv 117-8.
- **Hamilton**, Lieutenant-Colonel, V.C., iv 246-7.
- D'Oyly-Hughes**, Lieutenant G., D.S.O., D.S.C., v 29-30.
- Dragoon Guards**, at Braisne, i 138 (see also *Scots Greys*); at Mons, i 51; at Givenchy, ii 32; at Second Battle of Ypres, iii 216; at Hooge, iii 260; at Loos, iv 260.
- Drake**, Corporal, V.C., v 155.
- Dresden*, German cruiser, i 301; ii 163, 165-8, 310-1; iv 11, 12.
- Drewry**, Midshipman, V.C., iii 133, 134.
- Driant**, Lieutenant-Colonel, v 233.
- Drina**, River, operations in, i 225; ii 57-8, 66-8; iv 227-9.
- Drucourt-Quéant Switch-Line**, vii 125; viii 204-7.
- Drugs**, chemical, clauses in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 232.
- Drum**, Colonel Lorne, ii 148.
- Drummond**, John E., R.N., i 170, 175.
- Drury-Lowe**, Captain Sidney R., ii 93.
- Duala**, i 197; ii 98, 99; iii 97; v 59-62.
- Dubail**, General, i 263, 264; ii 295.
- "**Dublin Castle**", Gallipoli, v 37, 8.
- Dublin Fusiliers**, Royal, at Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214; in Gallipoli, iv 152, 164; iii 147, 151-4, 308; v 37-8; in Salonika, v 115.
- Dublin*, H.M.S., iii 131, 150.
- Dubno**, operations, vi 23.
- Dubois**, General, iii 105.
- Du Cane**, Lieutenant-General Sir J. P., viii 62.
- **Cros**, Captain George, ii 105.
- Duff**, Captain Arthur A. M., ii 133.
- Dug-outs**, German, ii 77.
- Dujailah Redoubt**, v 329-32.
- Duke**, H. E., K.C., Chief Secretary for Ireland, vi 85.
- Duke of Albany*, British S.S., loss of, vii 104.
- Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry**, at St. Eloi, iii 38.
- Duke of Edinburgh*, H.M.S., i 222; ix 8.
- Dukhonin**, M., vii 293, 299, 301.
- Dukla Pass**, operations in, ii 218-20; ii 223, 224; iii 48, 51, 52, 56, 63.
- Dulwich*, British steamship, ii 325.
- Duma**, Russian, vii 10-2.
- Dumas**, General J. B., vii 115, 118.
- Dumba**, Dr., vii 26-7.
- Dumbartonshire Battalion**, at Second Battle of Ypres, iii 210.



- Dunajec River**, operations, ii 207; i 218, 220, 224; iii 47, 51, 62-3, 327.
- Duncan**, Major F. J., D.S.O., ii 28.
- Major-General G. F., viii 326.
- Major-General J., viii 216.
- Dunkirk**, i 274, 277; ii 309; iii 284, 290; ix 81.
- Dunkowicki**, iii 53.
- Dunn**, Lieutenant-Colonel S. R., iii 313.
- Dunsire**, Private, V.C., iv 247.
- Dunstan**, Corporal, V.C., iv 127.
- Dunsterville**, Major-General L. C., viii 295.
- Duparge**, General, iii 105.
- Durazzo**, iv, 170, 234; v 129.
- D'Urbal**, General, iii 258; iv 192, 270; v 41.
- Durham Light Infantry**, Casualties in raid on Hartlepool, ii 46; at Hooge, iv 88; at La Haussoie, v 155; near Armentières, v 156; monument to, on Butte de Warlencourt, vi 315; near Cambrai, vii 274; at Proyart, viii 56; in Italy, viii 275.
- **miners**, in action, iv 88.
- **Territorials**, at Second Battle of Ypres, iii 210.
- Durward**, S.S., ii 317.
- Dusseldorf**, Zeppelin air-sheds at, i 154; air-raids on, i 155, 157.
- Du Toit**, Commandant, i 318, 323.
- Dutton**, Major T. H., D.S.O., iv 254.
- Dvina**, operations, vi 22.
- Dvinsk**, iv 43, 49-50; v 84-5; vi 22.
- Dwarf**, British gunboat, i 197; ii 99.
- Dwyer**, Private, V.C., iii 42.
- Dye-stuffs**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 232.
- Dykes**, Colonel, King's Own Royal Lancasters i 119.
- E 3**, British submarine, i 248.
- 7, iv 60.
- 9, i 168, 247, 248.
- 11, iii 138.
- 13, iv 63-4.
- 14, iii 138; ix 85.
- 15, iii 127, 128.
- East Africa**, German, beginnings of, i 194.
- **Portuguese**, operations in, ix 117, 122-6.
- East African campaign**, naval operations, i 177, 178; the natives and the war, i 201; military operations, ii 89-98; iii 88-98; operations under General Smuts, vi 245-92; closing phases of, under Hoskins and Van Deventer, ix 113-29; King George the Fifth's tribute to Belgian co-operation, ix 115.
- **Mounted Rifles**, i 199-201.
- East Kent Regiment, 1st**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 195; at Hooge, iv 90; 8th, at Loos, iv 250, 264; near Souchez, v 269; in Mesopotamia, vii 48; viii 283.
- **Lancashire Division**, in Gallipoli, iii 168, 299, 323; iv 118, 140.
- **Regiment**, at Neuve Chapelle and near Messines, ii 8; iii 24; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 213; in Mesopotamia, vi 9; vii 56; near Ypres, vii 201; at Passchendaele, vii 259; near Cambrai, vii 278; at Bapaume, viii 196.
- **Territorials**, i 334.
- **Prussia**, campaign of 1914, i 227, 231-4; ii 73, 81, 86, 207, 211-2; iii 44-6; political clauses in Peace Treaty, 1919, ix 204-5.
- **Surrey Regiment**, at Hill 60, iii 42; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214; at Loos, iv 205, 250; at Bourlon, vii 280.
- **Yorkshire Regiment**, at Givenchy, iii 268; at Hooge, iv 92; in Gallipoli, iv 158; at Loos, iv 268; at Neuville, viii 319.
- Ebermaier**, ex-Governor, v 75.
- Ebert**, Herr Friedrich, ix 177; first president of German Republic, ix 180-1; ratifies Peace Treaty, ix 184 (Note).
- Ecuador**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Ecurie**, ii 280.
- Edea**, ii 99; v 62.
- Eden**, Garden of, iii 123.
- Edgar**, H.M.S., v 42.
- Edgar**, Major, 5th Canadian Battalion, iii 251.
- Edinburgh Territorials**, in Gallipoli, iii 163.
- Edlmann**, Major E. E., D.S.O., iii 119.
- Edwall**, Colonel, Chief of Gen-darmerie, v 213.
- Edwards**, Brigadier-General W. F. S., vi 283, 291; ix 125, 129.
- Lieutenant W. H. C., M.C., ii 239.
- Second-Lieutenant A. S., M.C., iv 92.
- Egerton**, Commander W. de M., i 249.
- General Sir R., viii 289, 293-4.
- Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. S., iv 261-2.
- Major-General E., iii 313, 323.
- Eghezée**, i 27.
- Egypt**, loyalty of, i 105; ii 336; Turco-German designs to invade, i 211, 216, 327, 328, 330; ii 157, 192, 199, 200-6; Indian troops in, i 222, 332; arrival of Territorials and Australian and Newfoundland troops in, i 332; ii 153, 156; constituted a British Protectorate, i 333, 334; campaign in, Feb., 1915-May, 1916, v 275-96; riots in, ix 181; political clauses in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 211-2; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287.
- Egyptian Coast-guard Camel Corps**, v 282, 298.
- **Labour Corps and Desert Railway**, vii 309.
- Eichorn**, General von, v 77; vi 23.
- Einem**, General von, viii 154-7.
- Eisner**, Herr, assassinated, ix 181.
- Ejelm Bay**, iv 150.
- El Afule**, viii 303-6.
- **Arish**, vii 308, 310, 314-5, 319-22, 326-7.
- Elbing**, German cruiser, ix 19.
- Elcho**, Lord, vii 313.
- El Fasher**, v 298.
- Elgood**, Second-Lieutenant L. A., M.C., iii 232.
- Ellershaw**, Brigadier-General Wilfred, iv 67.
- Emden**, German cruiser, iv 11-2; v 197.
- Emigration**, and the war, ii 263.
- Emma**, French S.S., iii 175.
- Emmich**, General von, i 22, 23.
- Emmott**, Lord, iv 31.
- Empire Day**, on Western Front, 1916; v 271-3.
- Endymion**, H.M.S., iv 148.
- Engadine**, H.M.S., ix 20.
- Engineers, Royal**. See *Royal Engineers*.
- Enslin**, Brigadier-General B., in East African campaign, vi 269, 275-6, 279-82, 289, 291.
- Enslin's Horse**, i 314, 321.
- Enteric fever**, ii 108, 229.
- Enver Pasha**, i 214, 215, 216, 327; ii 192; iii 124, 317-8, 320, 324; v 275; ix 182.
- Eon**, General, vii 120.
- Éparges, Les**, iii 100, 102, 106, 110.
- Épernay**, i 133, 134.
- Épinal**, ii 291, 292.
- Erin**, H.M.S., ix 8.
- Ermenonville**, i 131.
- Erne**, H.M.S., ix 41.
- Erquinghem**, i 272.
- Erzeberger**, Herr, ix 134, 181.
- Erzerum**, i 324, 325; ii 192, 193, 196, 197; v 174-6, 180, 182-8.
- Erzingan**, v 186, 188.
- Escombe**, Captain W. M. L., D.S.O., iii 256-7.
- Esher**, Lord, ii 179, 180, 182, 184.
- Eshref Bey**, ii 201. [185.]
- Es Salt**, occupation of, viii 300-1, 307.
- Essen**, Admiral von, i 189; ii 52.
- Essex Regiment**, i 121; in Gallipoli, iii 163; iv 116; Second Battle of Ypres, iii 217; at Passchendaele, vii 262; near Cambrai, vii 284.
- **Yeomanry**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 217.
- Es Sinn**, operations, v 327, 329-30; vi 1-4, 8, 15; vii 43.

- Estaires**, iii 28, 247; viii 64-6.  
**Esthonia**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 269.  
**Eupen**, ix 188.  
**Euphrates**, operations on the, iii 120; iv 280-5; v 170-7, 179-80.  
**Euryalus**, H.M.S., iii 132.  
**Evans**, Captain, 1st Gurkha Regiment, iii 207.  
 — Captain L. P., D.S.O., iii 263.  
 — Major, Sikhs, v 286.  
**Evan-Thomas**, Admiral, created K.C.B., vii 102; ix 8-9.  
**Everts**, General, v 77, 82, 84; vi 25.  
**Ewart**, Brigadier-General R. H., vi 291.  
*Excellent*, H.M.S., v 276.  
**Exports**, British. See *Trade, British*.  
**"Eye-Witnesses"** Official, on Western Front, extracts from, ii 21, 23, 226, 231, 232, 234, 237, 239, 242, 253, 271, 275, 277; iii 14, 18, 20, 24, 30, 40, 41.  
**Ezra's Tomb**, iii 121.  
**Fabeck**, General von, vi 23.  
**Fairbank**, Captain H. N., iv 312.  
**Fairweather**, Lieutenant-Colonel J. M., vi 285.  
**Falaba**, S.S., ii 335; sinking of, iii 175; vi 111.  
**Falcon**, British destroyer, i 244, 246.  
**Falkenhayn**, General von, ii 5; and Verdun, and Trentino offensive, 1916, vi 50; vii 6-10; viii 4; and Mesopotamian operations, viii 284.  
**Falkland Islands**, i 105; importance as naval base, ii 162; battle of the, ii 159-168, 311, 255.  
**Fane**, Brigadier-General V. B., v 198.  
**Fank**, General, ii 62.  
**Fanning Island**, i 177.  
**Fanshawe**, Captain B. H., ii 161.  
 — Lieutenant-General Sir E. A., iv 205; vii 189; viii 36.  
**Fao**, i 220, 222.  
**Farman aeroplane**, i 161.  
**Farquhar**, Lieutenant-Colonel C. D., D.S.O., iii 15.  
**Farrar**, Colonel Sir G., D.S.O., iii 83-4.  
**Fashoda**, vi 66.  
**Faulknor**, Lieutenant R. S. J., ii 92.  
**Faussett**, Lieutenant-Colonel G., D.S.O., iii 163.  
**Favereau**, Vice-Admiral, ii 272; iv 275.  
**Fay**, Lieutenant, vii 27.  
**Fayelle**, General, vii 226.  
*Feeless*, British light cruiser, i 70.  
**Febzi**, Pasha, v 186.  
**Feisul**, Prince, viii 5-6, 300.  
**Felahieh**, v 329; operations, April 1916, vi 3-4.  
**Fénelon**, Colonel Salignac de, iii 105.  
**Ferdinand of Bulgaria**, Tsar, iv 171; viii 223-4. See also under *Bulgaria, Balkans, &c.*  
**Fergusson**, Lieutenant-General Sir Charles, Bart., i 49, 140, 142; viii 36; ix 153.  
**Ferozepore Brigade**, ii 31; iii 206.  
**Ferreira**, rebel leader, i 319.  
**Festubert**, battle of, 1915, iii 225, 237-57; operations, Sept., 1915, iv 201, 203, 223.  
**Fielman**, Lieutenant-Commander F. E. B., iv 60.  
**Fierstenburg**, Commandant, i 323.  
**Fife and Forfar Yeomanry, 1st**, in Gallipoli, v 39.  
 — Rhodesia, iii 98; vi 252.  
**Fifth British Army**, its role during battle of Somme, 1916, vi 293; in 1917, vii 70, 78, 82, 128, 192; in Ludendorff's offensive of 1918, viii 36-61.  
**Figg**, Captain D. W., D.S.O., iii 255.  
**"Fighting Fifth"**. See *Northumbreland Fusiliers, 5th*.  
**Fiji Islands**, contingent from, ii 158; iv 8.  
**Filley**, Second-Lieutenant D. D., D.S.O., iv 69.  
**Filmer**, Captain Sir R. M., M.C., v 153.  
**Finance**, clauses in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 233-6.  
**Finch**, Captain (of the *Arabic*), iv 58.  
 — Sergeant, V.C., ix 68.  
**Findlater**, Captain A., M.D., D.S.O., v 28.  
 — Second-Lieutenant L., iv 201.  
**Findlay**, Major J. M., iii 313.  
**Finlay**, Lance-Corporal, V.C., iii 231.  
**Finn**, Captain B. S., D.S.O., iv 141.  
**Fire-boats**, use of, ii 282.  
*Firefly*, British gunboat, v 315.  
**Firman**, Lieutenant H. O. B., R.N., vi 14, 15.  
 — **Firma**, Prince, v 212.  
**Fish**, supplies, ii 259.  
**Fisher**, Lance-Corporal F., V.C., iii 198.  
 — Lord, i 53, 187; becomes First Lord of Admiralty, ii 177; iii 184-5; resigns as First Sea Lord, iv 32; becomes President of Inventions Board, iv 33; responsible for new British monitors, iv 61, 275; v 30.  
 — Mr., Prime Minister of Australia, i 100; ii 152.  
 — Mr. W. Hayes, iv 32.  
**"Fisherman's Hut"**, iii 145.  
**Fisher - Rowe**, Lieutenant-Colonel, V.C., iii 31.  
**Fismes**, viii 227.  
**Fitchett**, General, iv 184, 187.  
**Fitzgerald**, Lieutenant-Colonel, King's African Rifles, vi 269.  
**FitzGerald**, Lieutenant-Colonel O. A., Lord Kitchener's Military Secretary, vi 67-9.  
**Fiume**, ix 151, 176.  
**Flammenwerfer**, German, iv 79-81; v 243.  
**Flanders**. See *Belgian Army, British Army, &c.*  
**Fleck**, General von, v 89.  
**Flemelle**, Capitaine Gabriel de, ii 274.  
**Fleming-Sandes**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., iv 265.  
**Flesquières**, vii 274, 277-8, 286; viii 42-3, 45.  
**Flêtre**, i 272.  
**Fleury**, Verdun, vi 237.  
*Flirt*, British destroyer, sunk, vii 109.  
**Flying Corps, Royal**. See *Air-Service, British*.  
**Foch**, Marshal, position of his army, Oct. 12, 1914, i 263; appointed to supervise "French army of Belgium", i 264; his work at the First Battle of the Marne, i 265; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 16; at St. Julien, iii 197; attack on Vimy Heights, Sept., 1915, iv 192, 269-70; appointed to Chief Command of French Armies, vii 95, 232; stems the German advance on the Marne, 1918, viii 84, 86; his counter-stroke on the Marne, viii 159-75; created Marshal of France and Generalissimo of Allied Armies, viii 176, 225; in last Flanders operations, 1918, viii 176-207, 250-69; at Cassel Conference, viii 251; last phase of the German retreat, 1918, viii 312-36; in armistice negotiations, viii 333-5; signs armistice with Germany, ix 134; in peace preliminaries, ix 157, 158; his reception in London, ix 165, 166.  
**Fokker monoplane**, v 55-7, 160, 163, 165, 231.  
**Fontaine-les-Croisilles**, vii 79.  
 — **-notre-Dame**, vii 279-85.  
**Fontenelle**, iv 109.  
**Fontenoy**, i 126.  
**Food**, effect of war on, ii 257; prices in Great Britain, first year of war, iv 18-9; second year, vi 95-6; third year, vii 217-8; fourth year, viii 111-2.  
**Ford**, Captain J. R. Minshall, ii 26.  
 — Lieutenant-Colonel S. F. L., C.M.G., iii 202.  
**Foreign Legion, French**, iii 168; in Gallipoli, iii 322.  
**Forestier-Walker**, Major-General G. T., viii 216.

- Forges**, v 232, 239, 241, 244.  
*Formidable*, H.M.S., ii 128; iv 11.  
**Forrest**, Major W. T., M.C., vii 334.  
**Forshaw**, Lieutenant, V.C., iv 119-20.  
**Fort**s, as defences, i 128.  
**Fortuin**, iii 199, 201.  
**"Fosse 8"**, iv 204, 207, 220-1, 223-4, 252-5, 264, 301, 308, 313.  
**Foster**, Colonel G. L., C.B., iii 202.  
**Fouché**, Colonel, i 321.  
**Fourie**, Captain, i 323.  
**Fowkes**, Lieutenant H. H., M.C., v 149.  
**Fowler**, Captain H. G. C., D.S.O., iii 309.  
 — Lieutenant-Colonel G. H., iv 308.  
**Fox**, Captain (of the *Amphion*), i 61.  
 — Captain Cecil H. (*Undaunted*), i 249.  
 — Lieutenant-Commander C. L., vii 108.  
 — Second-Lieutenant G. W., M.C., v 37.  
*Fox*, H.M.S., ii 95, 98.  
*Foxhound*, H.M.S., iv 163.  
**France**, German intentions towards, i 3; alliance with Russia, i 6; war preliminaries, i 9-11, 20-2; and Belgian neutrality, i 28; ministry reorganized for war, i 29; naval strength at beginning of war, i 52, 64; ministry leaves for Bordeaux (Sept. 3, 1914), i 128; gains in Morocco after Agadir incident, i 194; assurances as to Holy Place of Moslem, i 219; war spirit in, iv 4; co-operation in Cameroons campaign, v 62-3. See also *French Army*, *Peace Treaty*, &c.  
**Francis Joseph**, Emperor, i 12, 228, 233; ii 62; death of, vi 31. See also *Austria-Hungary*.  
**François**, General, ii 86.  
**Franco-Prussian War**, indemnity, i 147.  
 — *-Russian Alliance*, i 6.  
**Franiatte**, General, vii 227-8.  
**Franke**, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii 82.  
**Franz Ferdinand**, Archduke, murder of, i 3, 4.  
 — **Josef**, Emperor. See *Francis Joseph*.  
**Fraser**, Second-Lieutenant A., M.C., iv 312.  
**Frederick**, Archduke of Austria, i 230; vi 23.  
 — **the Great**, iv 36.  
**Freeman**, Captain F. P., M.C., iv 248.  
**Freemantle**, Commander C. A., i 250.  
**Freeth**, Colonel, commanding 7th South Africans, vi 256-8.  
**Frelingheim**, i 272.  
**French Army**, strength, i 18, 19, 20; mobilization, i 29; opening campaign, i 321-35, 40-4, 113-30, 146; battles of the Marne and the Aisne, i 130-48; operations from the Aisne to the Lys, i 263-72; share in the struggle for the Channel coast, i 273-88; winter 1914-5, ii 267-303; casualties to May, 1915, iv 14; strength and spirit in 1915, iv 112; new "tricolour grey" uniforms, iv 105. See also under *Verdun*, *Gallipoli*, *Salonika*, &c.  
 — *-Canadian Regiment*, ii 144.  
 — *Navy*, concentrated in Mediterranean, i 11; strength at beginning of war, i 52, 64; in Adriatic, ii 51; at Suez Canal battle, ii 206. See also under *Dardanelles*, &c.  
**French**, Second-Lieutenant J. E., M.C., iv 266.  
 — Sir John (afterwards Field-Marshal Lord), receives command of Expeditionary Force, i 36; flying visit to Paris, i 40; at Mons and in Mons retreat, i 43-4, 48, 49, 51, 52, 78, 116, 118, 122, 130; confers with Joffre and plans for Marne, i 125-7, 130; Aisne operations, i 141, 142, 144; the German push for Calais, i 464; early operations near La Bassée, i 272; meets Joffre (Oct. 21, 1914), i 280; at Haig's head-quarters at Hooge, i 284; on gallantry of 7th Division, i 285; thanks Kavanagh for work before Ypres, i 288; on services of Indian troops, ii 10, 32, 234; congratulates London Scottish, ii 10-1; congratulates 1st Army Corps, ii 13; special Army Order, ii 14; receives King George, ii 18; receives Order of Merit, ii 21; on Wytschaete attack, ii 28; on Territorials, ii 32; establishes Artists' Rifles as a training corps, ii 33; and appointment of Colonel Seely, ii 150; tributes to troops in first winter campaign, ii 233; quotation from dispatch on Givenchy, ii 236; on barbarous German methods, iii 188; visited by General Joffre, iii 223; on work of Royal Flying Corps, iv 70-4; on Canadian contingent, iv 131; autumn offensive, 1915, iv 192, 203-4, 208, 224; strength of army in Aug., 1915, iv 5; Special Order, 1915, iv 269; letter to the King, Oct. 1, 1915, iv 270; attends Allied Military Council, iv 331; resignation of command in France and Flanders, iv 332-3; issues Order of the Day on his retirement, iv 333.  
**French Yellow Book** (Dec., 1914), i 328.  
**Fresnes**, v 239.  
**Fresnoy**, vii 128-30, 133-5.  
**Freyberg**, Brigadier-General B. C., wins the V.C. at Beaucourt, vi 306-10.  
**Frezenberg**, iii 212; vii 200.  
*Friedrich der Grösse*, German battleship, scuttled, ix 98.  
*Friedrich Karl*, German cruiser, iv 11.  
**Friedrich III**, Grand Duke of Baden, ix 172.  
 — **Wilhelm** (German Crown Prince), commanding an army against French (Aug., 1914), i 124; forced to retire (Sept., 1914), i 146; Verdun operations, iv 101; vi 36; German troops on, viii 262; renounces rights to the Prussian and Imperial crowns, ix 174. See also *Verdun campaign*, &c.  
**Friedrichshafen**, raids on, i 157, 288-99; ii 299.  
**"Frightfulness"**, German doctrine of, i 35. See also *Atrocities*, *German*.  
**Frise**, v 150-1, 248.  
**Fromelles**, v 262.  
**Frugoni**, General, v 10.  
**Fry**, Major-General, i 332; iv 289.  
**Fryatt**, Captain C. A., vi 110-3; body brought to England, ix 166.  
**Fuad Pasha**, ix 162.  
**Fuller**, Commander Cyril, i 197.  
 — Lance-Corporal W. D., V.C., iii 31.  
**Fullerton**, Commander E. J. A., i 244.  
**Furnes**, head-quarters of King Albert, ii 21, 111, 271.  
**Gaafa Pasha**, v 280, 284-6, 289, 291-2.  
**Gaba Tepe**, iii 129-30, 142-3, 166, 172, 296-7.  
*Gadfly*, H.M.S., vii 52.  
**Gagna Singh**, Havildar, V.C., ii 9.  
**Gahan**, Rev. H. S. T., v 110-1.  
**Galicia**, contribution to Austrian army, i 17; loyalty to Austria, i 228; operations in, i 232; ii 74, 80, 87, 88, 221; iii 44, 50, 58, 66; iv 35-7, 40-53; 1915 6, v 79.  
**Gallieni**, General, i 31, 128, 129; iv 329; vi 71.  
**Gallipoli campaign**, naval side of landing, iii 129-38; military side of landing, iii 139-59; operations, March-May, 1915, iii 139-224; Anzac operations in, May-July, 1915, iii 291-8; the great attack in Aug., 1915, iv 113-46; last phase, Aug., 1915-



- Jan., 1916, v 10-50; total losses, v 45; Kitchener visits, vi 60. See also *Anzac, Suwla Bay, &c.*
- Gallwitz**, General von, iii 334; iv 44, 229, 232-4; vii 226-32; viii 243-4.
- Galt**, Lieutenant J., v 136.
- Galtzell**, Second-Lieutenant R. J. H., M.C., iv 268.
- Gamble**, Vice-Admiral Sir Douglas, i 57.
- Garda, Lake**, iii 278.
- Garhwal Brigade**, ii 31; iii 20.
- Garia**, i 196.
- Garibaldi**, and the Liberation of Italy, iii 273-4.
- Colonel Teppino, ii 286.
- Constante, ii 287.
- General Ricciotti, ii 287.
- Lieutenant Bruno, ii 287.
- Garibaldians**, in France, ii 286.
- Garros**, M., v 54.
- Garry**, H.M.S., ii 41.
- Garton**, Lieutenant J. A., M.C., iii 216-7.
- Garua**, v 63-7.
- Garub**, iii 75.
- Gas attacks**, introduction of, iii 188; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 186, 194, 197, 205-7, 210; warning in British trenches, iii 218; Allies first use of gas, Sept., 1915, iv 206-7; clauses in Peace Treaty, ix 214-5. See also *Poison Gas*.
- Gas masks**, iv 77.
- Gates**, Second-Lieutenant A. W., M.C., iv 195.
- Gaub**, iii 86.
- Gaulois**, French Dreadnought, iii 6, 7, 8, 10, 11.
- Gauchevo**, ii 58, 60.
- Gault**, Major A. H., D.S.O., iii 15, 212; vi 173.
- Gaunt**, Rear-Admiral, vii 102.
- Gavrelle**, vii 125-6, 135.
- Gay**, Major-General A. W., viii 216.
- Gaza**, First and Second Battles of, vii 326-36; in General Allenby's campaign, viii 3-4, 6-8, 10-8.
- Gazi**, ii 92, 94.
- Geddes**, Colonel, Buffs, iii 195.
- Sir E., becomes First Lord of the Admiralty, vii 108; message to Royal Navy on surrender of German fleet, ix 91.
- Gellibrand**, Major-General J., viii 248.
- General Crauford*, H.M.S., iv 276.
- Geneva Convention**, ix 115.
- George V**, appeal to Tsar, i 8, message to the Dominions, i 100; tribute to Indian loyalty, i 100; telegrams to Hussein I of Egypt, i 335; first visit to France, ii 17-23; special Order of the Day (Dec. 5, 1914), ii 22; congratulations on early successes in Mesopotamia, iii 120; congratulations on Canadian gallantry in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 201-2; congratulations to Viscount French, Sept. 30, 1915, iv 269; visit to Western Front, Oct., 1915, iv 324; accident to, iv 326; issues Special Order of the Day, iv 327; message to Dominions on evacuation of Gallipoli, v 45; telegram to M. Poincaré on Champagne battle, v 95; visits and decorates Indian wounded, v 203; telegram to Sir D. Haig, Empire Day, 1916, v 272; message to General Townshend, Feb., 1916, v 333; \*Army Order on Kitchener's death, vi 65; Kitchener says good-bye to, vi 69; appeal for the Derby Scheme, vi 73; message to his people, 1916, vi 81; message to Allied States, vi 98; congratulations to General Smuts on East African success, vi 274; congratulations to Sir Douglas Haig on Ancre advance, vi 310, 332; message to Parliament on Dec. 22, 1916, vi 317; New Year messages to French President, 1917, vi 319-20; visit to Grand Fleet, June, 1917, vii 101-2; visit to the Front, July, 1917, vii 187-9; issues Order to troops, July 14, 1917, vii 187; receives President Poincaré, vii 189; receives King and Queen of the Belgians, vii 189; meets General Pétain and confers G.C.B., vii 189; and the Portuguese at the Front, vii 189; fourth visit to the Front, vii 205; telegram to Haig, Oct., 1917, vii 256; visits Grand Fleet after Jutland battle, ix 30; reviews Grand Fleet before surrender of German ships, ix 191; telegram to King of the Belgians, ix 115; reception on Armistice Day in London, ix 133; speech on League of Nations, ix 163; reception of Mr. Lloyd George after signing of Peace Treaty, ix 166; victory message to the Empire, ix 184.
- George**, David Lloyd, war speech, i 10; on cost of war, ii 264; at Paris conference (Feb., 1915), ii 265; and munition shortage, iv 23-4; becomes Minister of Munitions, iv 24-31; attends Allied Council of War, iv 329; becomes War Minister, vi 71, 85; on compulsory service, vi 80; proposals for Ireland fail, 1916, vi 85; on munitions weakness in May, 1915, vi 86; and War Cabinet, vii 212-3; thanks the Services, viii 108-9; on Sir Stanley Maude, viii 282; in Peace preliminaries, ix 157; on negotiations with Bolsheviks, ix 159-60; on League of Nations, ix 163; reception by King George after signing of Peace Treaty, ix 166; signatory to Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- George**, Prince, of Serbia, ii 68.
- George Pobjédonosetz*, Russian battleship, ii 54.
- Gerard**, Mr., United States Ambassador to Germany, helps to remove prisoners' abuses, vi 99; helps British subjects in Germany, vii 35.
- Gerbéville**, atrocities at, ii 292, 293; returns to French hands, ii 291.
- German Air-Service**. See *Air-Service, German*.
- **Army**, organization, i 16, 17; mobilization, i 20; commanders, i 22, 122; invasion of Luxembourg, i 21; reductions under Peace Treaty, ix 213-7. See also *Belgium, Ypres, Verdun, Russian Army, &c.*
- **Atrocities**. See *Atrocities, German*.
- **Colonies**, in Peace Treaty, ix 209-10.
- **Crown Prince**. See *Friedrich Wilhelm*.
- **East Africa**. See *East Africa, German*.
- **Emperor**. See *Wilhelm II*.
- **Navy**, French coast at mercy of, i 11; strength of, at beginning of war, i 52, 54-8; opening incidents of naval war, i 59-73; submarines and commerce-destroyers (Sept., 1914), i 165; losses at Tsingtau, i 206-9; operations in the North Sea (Oct. - Nov., 1914), i 234-52; cruiser war in distant seas (Nov., 1914), i 200; minor operations and raids (Nov. - Dec., 1914), ii 37-49, 50-5; first winter campaign in home waters, ii 126-40; Falkland Islands battle, ii 159-68; end of German commerce-destroyers (Dec., 1914-April, 1915), ii 310; submarine "blockade", iii 135, 175-85; first year's losses, iv 11; summer operations, 1915, iv 54-9; in the Ægean, 1915, iv 61; operations in 1916, v 301-13; in 1917, vii 102-6; Jutland battle and last year of the war, ix 1-112; effect of Peace Treaty, ix 94-5; total losses in ships, ix 99; Peace Terms, ix 218-9.
- **South-West Africa**. See *South-West Africa, German*.
- **War Loans**. See *War Loans*.
- Germany**, events leading up to outbreak of war, i 1-22; violation of Belgian neutrality, i 28;

- hopes as to British Colonies, i 98, 103, 105, 106, 109, 205; her conception of England, i 98; relations with Japan, i 110; early intrigues in Persia, ii 198; position at end of six months, ii 253; submarine policy, ii 321-5; her readiness for war, iv 5; aims in the East, iv 165-6; Irish rebellion, vi 81; armistice with, ix 130; revolution in, ix 168-84. See also under *Peace Treaty*, &c.
- Gerok**, General, vii 9.
- Geyser**, Commandant, i 323.
- Ghadr party**, v 191, 193.
- Gheluvelt**, i 276, 282-4; vii 253, 203; viii 257.
- Ghent**, i 40, 273, 278.
- Ghevgeli**, v 117, 122-3.
- Gibbs**, Philip, quoted, iv 324-5; v 266; vi 42, 45; vii 127, 134, 177, 185, 201, 239.
- Gifford**, Colonel, ix 126.
- Lady, ii 110.
- W. S., viii 99.
- Gil**, General, vi 264.
- Gillespie**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 4th South Wales Borderers, iv 135, 144.
- Giolitti**, Signor, iii 276.
- Giudicario Pass**, iii 279.
- Givenchy**, ii 29-32; German attempt on (Jan., 1915), ii 234; operations, 1915, iii 26, 225, 226, 237, 253, 257, 265, 268; iv 201, 223.
- Givenchy-en-Cohelle**, iv 273; v 205.
- Givet**, i 21, 93.
- Givry**, i 43.
- Glamorgan Territorials**. See *Welsh Regiment*.
- Glanton**, British ship, i 300.
- Glasgow**, British armoured cruiser, i 302, 304-5; at Falklands battle, ii 161, 164-8, 312.
- Glasgow Highland Battalion**, 9th. See *Highland Light Infantry*.
- Major-General T. W., viii 195.
- Glazebrook**, Lieutenant A. R., M.C., iv 77.
- Glenart Castle**, H.M.S., ix 79.
- Glitra**, S.S., i 251; ii 43, 317.
- "Glory Hole"**, La Quinque Rue, iii 245, 246.
- Glossop**, Captain John C. T., R.N., i 307-8.
- Gloucester Regiment**, ii 32, 238, 239; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214; in Gallipoli, iv 137-8; at Gommecourt, v 150; in Houthulst Forest, vii 262; in Bulgaria, viii 213.
- Gloucestershire Yeomanry**, in Palestine, vii 311, 328.
- Glyn**, Lieutenant-Colonel G., iii 216.
- Gneisenau**, German cruiser, i 65, 301, 304; at Falklands battle, ii 102-5, 168; iv 11.
- Gobar Sing Negi**, Rifleman, V.C., iii 21.
- Godfrey**, Dr. H., viii 99.
- Godley**, Major-General Sir A. J., iii 317; iv 129, 145-6; viii 62, 152.
- Godsal**, Commander H. E., ix 58.
- Godwin**, Lieutenant C., iii 128.
- Lieutenant E. T. H., M.C., iv 255.
- Goeben**, German super-Dreadnought, i 64, 189, 211, 213; ii 53, 54; iii 305; iv 11; ix 83-5.
- Goldbach**, General, vii 9.
- Gold Coast Regiment**, i 195.
- Goliath**, H.M.S., ii 98; iii 91, 131, 135, 137, 150; iv 11.
- Goltz**, Field-Marshal von der, i 327; Turkish First Army, iii 162; v 214-6; determines to take Kut, vi 1; death, April 19, 1916, vi 13, 71.
- General, ix 161.
- Gommecourt**, vi 331-2.
- Gooch**, Major E. S., v 16.
- Goodenough**, Commodore W. E., i 70, 71; ii 133.
- Good Hope**, H.M.S., i 302, 304; ii 159; iv 11.
- "Goose's Crest"**, v 239-42.
- Gordon**, Major A. C., D.S.O., iv 245.
- Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. R., v 283-7.
- Gordon Highlanders**, at Mons, i 46-8; near Le Cateau, i 121; on the Lys, i 271; at Wytschaete, Nov., 1914; ii 28, 29; 1st Battalion at Hooze, iv 78, 195; 2nd and 6th at Aubers Ridge, iii 29; 2nd at Festubert, iii 242; 2nd and 1/6th at Hulluch, iv 219; 4th at Loos, iv 316; 8th at Haisnes and Loos, iv 218, 221, 223, 254; 9th (Pioneer) Battalion at Loos, iv 247; 10th at Loos, iv 214, 248.
- Gorell**, Major C. A., M.C., ii 148.
- Barnes, Lieutenant C. R., D.S.O., v 155.
- Gorges**, Colonel E. H., D.S.O., i 198; v 74.
- Gorizia**, iii 276, 279-80; v 5-9; vi 52-3, 56-7, 60; vii 140-2, 148-9.
- Gorringe**, Major-General Sir G. F., in Mesopotamia, iii 120, 122; iv 212, 284, 286; succeeds General Aylmer, v 333; vi 2; Russians effect junction with, vi 1; at Hannah (April 5, 1916), vi 3; on Sanna-i-Yat attack (April 6, 1916), vi 4; at Wadi, vi 7; operations on April 22, 1916, vi 11, 12; viii 108.
- Goschen**, Sir Edward, i 7.
- Gothland**, Island of, iv 62.
- Gough**, Brigadier-General G. E., V.C., iii 16, 28, 223.
- Gough**, Major-General Hubert, i 125; iii 223; iv 204, 217; and Fifth Army, vii 64, 128, 190; viii 36; mission to Baltic provinces, ix 161. See also *Fifth Army*.
- Calthorpe, Rear-Admiral the Hon. S. A., i 57.
- Goumiers**, iii 168.
- Gounaris**, M., iv 182.
- Gouraud**, General, in Gallipoli, iii 165-6, 303, 310-1, 319-20; in Champagne theatre, v 98; commanding Fourth French Army, vii 190-1; viii 227, 243-4.
- Graaff**, Sir David de Villiers, iii 78.
- Grafenstafel Ridge**, iii 200.
- Graham**, Captain J., iii 262-3.
- Lieutenant-Colonel B. R., vi 256.
- Second-Lieutenant F. F., ii 241.
- Grampus**, H.M.S., iv 163.
- Grand Couronné** (of Nancy), ii 291, 294.
- Grandcourt**, operations in region of, winter of 1916-7, vi 298-311; capture of, vi 325.
- Grant**, Captain H. S., ii 161.
- Captain Noel, i 183, 185.
- Grappa sector**, Monte, viii 271-3, 279.
- Graves**, treatment of, under Peace Treaty, ix 222-3.
- Gray**, Major T., iii 313.
- Second-Lieutenant W. E., M.C., iii 230-1.
- Great Britain**, events leading up to the war with the Central Powers, i 1-14; mobilization begun (Aug., 1914), i 35; naval power, i 54; military organization, i 223; declares war on Turkey, i 219; chief object of Germany's hatred, ii 252. See also under *Army*, *Navy*, *Blockade*, &c.
- Great Heart**, H.M.S., iv 276.
- Greece**, and Entente Powers, iv 169, 179-82, 187-8; and Germany, iv 181; and Serbia, iv 184, 226-7; and the Gallipoli campaign, v 37; represented in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 185; new frontier with Bulgaria, v 280; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 286. See also under *Balkans*, *Constantine*, *King*, &c.
- Green Hill**, Gallipoli, iv 159.
- Lieutenant G. H. W., M.C., iv 252.
- Greene**, Sir W. G., ii 170.
- Greif**, German commerce-destroyer, v 310-1; ix 44-5.
- Grenadier Guards**, at Landrecies, i 116; at Villers-Cotterets, i 127; at Aubers Ridge, iii 29; at Festubert, iii 243; at Loos, iv 25-78, 261, 303-4; at Le Tilleloy, v 153-4; at Mory, viii 198.
- Grenay**, iv 192, 204, 210, 302.

- Grenfell**, Captain Francis, V.C., i 49, 51; iv 221-2.  
 — Captain R. N., iii 222.  
 — Lieutenant E., M.C., v 163.
- Gretna Green railway disaster**, iii 312.
- Grey**, Lieutenant, ii 91.
- **of Falloden**, Viscount, i 4-7, 19; ii 323, 324; assisted at Foreign Office by Lord Lansdowne, iv 31; first anniversary message to France, iv 33; attempt to reconcile Balkan States iv 177; warning to Bulgaria and pledge to Serbia, iv 187; attends Allied Council of War, iv 329; and Nurse Cavell, v 105, 108, 111-2; on Persian situation, v 211; on Angola raids, v 224; becomes Earl, vi 85.
- Grierson**, Sir James, i 37.
- Griggs**, Lieutenant W., v 295.
- Grodno**, i 233; ii 212, 214; iii 334; iv 41, 45.
- Grodsko**, iv 236, 238.
- Groom**, Captain A. C. B., v 307.
- Grootfontein**, iii 81, 85.
- Grosser Kurfürst*, German battleship, scuttled, ix 198.
- Grossetti**, General, i 273, 279.
- Guards Brigade, British**, at Villers-Cotterets, i 127; Aisne operations, i 140-1; at Givenchy, ii 236, 238; Sept.-Oct., 1915, iv 204, 242, 255-61, 302, 312; in Flanders, v 258; vii 258, 261, 281, 283, 285; on the Scarpe, viii 60, 69. See also *Coldstream*, *Grenadier*, *Scots*, and *Welsh Guards*.
- Guatemala**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Guémappe**, vii 126.
- Guépratte**, Rear-Admiral, iii 6, 7, 140, 106.
- Guernsey Light Infantry, Royal**, at Le Becque, viii 68.
- Gueshoff**, M., iv 176-7.
- Guillaumat**, General, vii 226, 228-31.
- Guise**, i 118, 122, 146, 228; ii 212.
- Giuseppe Garibaldi*, Italian cruiser, iv 11, 60.
- Gulflight*, American S.S., iii 177.
- "**Gully Ravine**", iii 168, 310-1, 320, 322; v 47.
- Gunn**, Second-Lieutenant M. S., M.C., iv 219.
- Gunnis**, Lieutenant G. G., M.C., iv 304.
- Gurkha*, British destroyer, ii 331.
- "**Gurkha Bluff**" (Gallipoli), iii 301.
- Gurkha Rifles**, on Western Front, ii 9, 30, 32, 108, 200-7; iii 26; iv 199; v 133; in Gallipoli, iii 168, 171, 300-1, 315; iv 134, 139-40, 146; in Egypt, v 276, 283; in Mesopotamia, iv 284-5; vii 47-50; viii 283, 286.
- Guy**, Lieutenant-Commander R. A. F., ii 333.
- Guynemère**, Captain, ix 139.
- Guyot de Salins**, General, at Verdun, vi 238, 239-44.
- Gwalior**, Maharajah Sindhia of, i 107.
- Gwyce**, Lieutenant G. L., M.C., v 140.
- Gwynn**, Captain G. T., v 254.
- Captain K. D. H., D.S.O., iv 219.
- Rev. J., S. J., iv 303.
- Haase**, Herr, ix 170.
- Habibullah Khan**, Ameer of Afghanistan, assassinated, ix 162.
- Haesler**, Major-General von, v 109.
- Haggard**, Lieutenant G. A. G., iii 137.
- Hague Convention**, iii 188; German violation of, i 23-5, 117; ii 48, 95, 107, 320.
- Haifa**, occupation of, viii 307.
- Haig**, Sir Douglas, commands First Army Corps, i 37; at Mons, i 42, 44; Mons retreat, i 51, 116, 122; at the Marne, i 132, 134; Aisne operations, i 138-42, 144; transferred to Ypres, i 264, 277, 279, 280, 285; position in Nov., 1914, ii 3, 4, 5; desperate fighting, ii 12, 13; at Givenchy, ii 31, 32; at La Bassée, Feb.-April, 1915, iii 26-9; with First British Army, May-June, 1915, iii 225-71; autumn offensive, 1915, iv 203, 205, 243, 255-6; Lord French's congratulations to, iv 269; succeeds Lord French, iv 333; New Year's message to Joffre, 1916, v 168; telegram to the King on Empire Day, 1916, v 271-2; appeal to the workers (July, 1916), vi 92; winter campaign, 1916-7, vi 293-336; congratulations from King George on Ancre advance, vi 310, 332; opening offensive of 1917, vii 60-78; Flanders operations, Sept.-Nov., 1917, vii 239-67; Special Order of the Day, 1918, viii 207; congratulates Foch on his appointment as Marshal of France, viii 225; advance to the Rhine, ix 151-2; "a date for ever memorable", ix 153; in Victory Procession in London, ix 164, 166.
- Haisnes**, iv 218.
- Haking**, Lieutenant-General Sir R. C. R., ii 242; iv 243; viii 62.
- Halcyon*, British gunboat, i 250.
- Haldane**, Lieutenant-Colonel, Gurkha Rifles, v 276.
- Lieutenant-General Sir J. A. L., iv 30; viii 36, 189.
- Halicz**, i 230; iii 330-1; iv 29-30, 33.
- Halim Bey**, iii 122.
- Hall**, Captain, East Africa, ix 118.
- Colour-Sergeant, V.C., iii 198.
- Second-Lieutenant L. E., M.C., iv 252.
- Hallamshires, 4th Territorial Battalion**, round Ypres, iv 77.
- Hallowes**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., M.C., iv 78, 196.
- Halsey**, Captain Lionel, ii 133, 154.
- Ham**, i 125; vii 66; viii 37, 40, 46, 49, 51.
- Hamadan**, v 209, 213-5.
- Haman's Kraal**, i 321.
- Hamburg**, iv 12; ix 173.
- **-Amerika Line**, vi 82.
- Hamelius**, Professor, on fall of Liège, i 24-6.
- Hamidieh*, Turkish cruiser, ii 55.
- Hamilton**, Captain A. P., M.C., iv 209.
- Captain C. S. P., D.S.O., iv 265.
- Vice-Admiral Sir F. T., ii 170.
- Lord G., v 328; vii 41-2.
- Major-General Hubert Ion W., i 45, 142, 269.
- General Sir Ian S. M., iii 139-41, 145, 159; Special Order, Gallipoli, iii 315-6; Gallipoli, Aug., 1915, iv 113-65; still confident of winning Gallipoli, v 10; last phase of Gallipoli campaign, v 10 50. See also *Gallipoli campaign*.
- Lieutenant L. H. K., R.N., D.S.O., v 64.
- Private, V.C., iv 125-6.
- **-Gordon**, Lieutenant-General Sir A., vii 62, 138.
- Hammersley**, Major-General F., iv 148-50, 152, 156-8.
- Hamrick**, Lieutenant H. A., M.C., iii 303.
- Hammond**, Second-Lieutenant W. F., M.C., iv 196.
- Hampshire*, H.M.S., vi 65, 67.
- Hampshire Regiment**, in Gallipoli, iii 147, 151, 153, 154, 300, 306; iv 140-2; v 37; in Mesopotamia, iv 284-5; in Bulgaria, viii 213; in Persia, viii 295; 1st, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 217.
- Handeni** captured, vi 270.
- Handford**, Captain H. B. S., iv 308.
- Second-Lieutenant E. F. S., iv 308.
- Hankey**, Colonel, iv 329.
- Hankow**, in Peace Treaty, ix 210.
- Hannah**, Mesopotamia, vi 2.
- Hannan**, Lieutenant-Colonel H. M., iii 313.
- Hannynghton**, Brigadier-General, in East African campaign, vi 269, 275-6, 288, 291; ix 116.
- Hanover**, ix 155.
- Hansen**, Captain, V.C., iv 159; v 28.



- Harcourt**, Lewis (Viscount Harcourt), Secretary of State for Colonies, ii 90, 94, 98; iv 31.
- Hardaumont**, v 230, 239, 244.
- Harden**, Maximilian, iv 33.
- Hardie**, Keir, iv 20.
- Harding**, Second-Lieutenant G. P., M.C., vi 51.
- Hardinge**, H.M.S., ii 205.
- Hardinge**, Lady, war hospital in Bombay, v 203.
- Lord, iii 114, 122; v 189-91, 197, 199, 202.
- Hare**, Major-General S. W., iii 156; iv 325.
- Hargreaves**, Flight - Sergeant, D.C.M., iv 73.
- "Haricot" Redoubt**, iii 299, 301, 311.
- Harmignies**, i 49.
- Harpalycce**, S.S., iii 177.
- Harper**, Lieutenant-General Sir G. M., viii 36, 189.
- Harpur**, Second-Lieutenant H. de la M., v 166-7.
- Harrismith**, i 317.
- Harrison**, Captain H. E., v 309.
- Hartdale**, S.S., ii 328.
- Hartennes**, viii 175.
- Hartlepool**, ii 46, 48, 49.
- Hartmannsweilerkopf**, ii 298; iii 38; iv 106; v 98-9; peaks, iii 107, 108.
- Harvey**, Lieutenant-Colonel J., D.S.O., iii 257.
- Private, V.C., iv 265-6.
- Harwich Naval Force**, and Zeebrugge operations, ix 53.
- Hassana**, vii 309-10.
- Hasuur**, iii 73, 77, 79.
- Hatt**, Lieutenant A. B., M.C., iv 245.
- Hatzfeld**, Prince H., iv 225.
- Haucourt**, v 243-4.
- Haudremont**, v 236, 241.
- Hausen**, General Baron Max von, i 122.
- Haute-Savoie**, neutralized zone of, ix 270.
- Hautvesnes**, ii 107.
- Havre**, i 39, 40; ii 105, 126.
- Hawke**, H.M.S., i 248; iv 11.
- Hawker**, Captain, V.C., D.S.O., iv 71.
- Hawkes**, Second-Lieutenant H., M.C., iv 310.
- Haworth**, Captain R., D.S.O., iii 156.
- Hawthorn**, Lieutenant-Colonel, in East African campaign, vi 286; ix 121, 122.
- Lieutenant-Commander W. H., iii 183.
- Major G. M. P., ii 92.
- Hay**, Ian, quoted, iv 205, 220-1, 255.
- Hayti**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Haywood**, Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. W., R.A., v 63, 72, 74.
- Hazebrouck**, i 267, 268.
- Headlands**, S.S., ii 330.
- Hebburn**, bombs dropped on, iii
- Hébuterne**, v 246; vi 298. [283.]
- Heeringen**, General von, i 124.
- Heilbron**, i 316, 317.
- Hejaz**, viii 4-6, 299, 300; in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 185, 233; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287.
- **Railway**, viii 299-300.
- Hela**, German cruiser, iv 11.
- Heligoland**, i 56, 195; ix 7, 11, 209.
- **Bight**, action in, i 70-3.
- Helles**, Cape. See *Cape Helles*.
- Hellespont**. See *Dardanelles*.
- "Hell-Fire Corner"**, v 159.
- Helmets**, steel, iv 100.
- Hemisphere**, S.S., ii 313.
- Henderson**, Lieutenant, Manchester Regiment, iii 206.
- Lieutenant G. L. P., M.C., v 162.
- Lieutenant M., D.S.O., v 163.
- Major-General Sir David, i 38, 191; iv 75.
- Major J. W., iii 313.
- Mr. Arthur, iv 30.
- Heneker**, Major-General W. C. G., viii 138.
- Henry of Prussia**, Prince, i 206; ix 171.
- **Reuss**, Prince, v 206, 212-4.
- Hepburn**, Captain W. C., D.S.O., iv 76.
- Hepper**, Captain J., vi 103.
- Herbebois**, v 233.
- Herbert**, Lieutenant the Hon. Aubrey, i 116.
- Herbertshöhe**, i 102.
- Herefordshire Regiment**, in Gallipoli, iv 159; in Palestine, vii 317.
- Herevia**, viii 6-7, 10, 13-4.
- Herlies**, i 271.
- Hermada Heights**, vii 143, 148, 150-1, 154.
- Herman von Wissmann**, German S.S., iii 92.
- Hermes**, H.M.S., i 244, 246; ii 42; iv 11.
- Hersing**, Captain (*U 21*), ii 320.
- Hertfordshire Regiment**, engaged Oct.-Nov., 1914, ii 10; at Cuinchy, iv 255; at St. Julien, viii 196.
- Hertha**, German cruiser, ii 52.
- Hertzog**, General, i 310, 314, 316.
- Herzegovina**, i 4, 225, 226; ii 72; iv 174.
- Hesketh**, Major J. A., D.S.O., iv
- Hesperian**, S.S., iv 50. [96 7.]
- Hesse**, ix 172.
- Het Sast**, v 169.
- Hewlett**, Flight-Commander, ii 124, 125.
- Heywood**, Temporary Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. W., i 198.
- Hibbert**, Second-Lieutenant A., M.C., iv 317.
- Highflyer**, British light cruiser, i 68, 69.
- Highland Brae**, S.S., ii 313.
- Highland Light Infantry**, at Givenchy, ii 30; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 207; near Richebourg, iii 242-3; in Gallipoli, iii 323-4; at "Glory Hole", iii 246; at Loos, iv 246; at Cuinchy, v 167.
- **Mounted Brigade**, 4th, in Gallipoli, iii 316.
- Highlanders, Royal**. See *Royal Highlanders*.
- Hill 2**, Gallipoli, iv 135.
- **10**, Gallipoli, iv 147, 149-50, 152.
- **35**, Flanders, vii 206-7.
- **60**, Flanders, iii 38-43, 189, 210; v 170; vi 37-8, 42-3; vii 173-4, 177.
- **60**, Gallipoli, v 12, 19-23, 26.
- **70**, Flanders, iv 212, 214-5, 242-7, 256-61, 264, 273, 301, 303, 313; vii 202-4.
- **70**, Gallipoli, iv 159; v 13-5.
- **100**, Gallipoli, iv 147, 152, 156, 159; v 12 3, 15.
- **112**, Gallipoli, v 13.
- **114**, Gallipoli, iii 156, 158.
- **119**, Flanders, iv 271, 273.
- **125**, Flanders, iii 112.
- **132**, Soissons, ii 268.
- **138**, Gallipoli, iii 157, 158.
- **140**, Flanders, iv 271.
- **145**, Flanders, vii 74-6.
- **160**, Flanders, viii 229.
- **200**, near Perthes, ii 284.
- **240**, France, vii 229.
- **265**, France, v 239, 242, 244; vii 227-8.
- **287**, Verdun, ix 226-7.
- **295**, France, vii 227-8.
- **304**, Verdun, v 239-40, 243-4; 1916, vi 226-31; vii 226-9, 231.
- **305**, Gallipoli, iv 131, 134-7.
- **321**, Verdun, operations, 1916, vi 235-6.
- **344**, France, vii 229-30, 232.
- **383**, Italy, vii 141.
- **425**, Alsace, ii 298.
- **607**, Flanders, iii 100.
- **627**, Alsace, iv 109.
- **652**, Italy, vii 142.
- **830**, Alsace, iv 107.
- **909**, Galicia, iii 58, 59.
- **992**, capture by Austrians of, iii 58.
- **Q**, Gallipoli, iv 138-9.
- Brigadier-General, 10th Irish Division, iv 150.
- Lieutenant-Colonel A. R. C., viii 218.
- Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Canadian Ontario Regiment, iii 268, 270-1.
- Hincks**, Lieutenant A. C., M.C., iii 33.
- Hindenburg**, General von, battle of Tannenburg, i 231-2; Polish

- campaign, ii 77-8, 81, 85, 86, 87; attempt on Warsaw, ii 209; in Russia, 1915, iii 44, 334-5; iv 40-53; winter campaign of 1915-6, v 77-84; on Eastern Front (March-June, 1916), vi 22, 31; criticism of Trentino offensive (1916), vi 50; Order of the Day on signing armistice, ix 154. See also under *German Army*, &c.
- Hindenburg**, German battle-cruiser, scuttled, ix 97-8.
- Hindenburg Line**, and its attachments, vii 67-8, 79, 81; British battles on, April-May, 1917, vii 123-38; Nov.-Dec., 1917, vii 271-86; 1918 campaign, viii 177, 205-6, 240-9.
- Hipper**, Admiral von, ix 11.
- Hirzenstein**, iii 108.
- Hit**, British advance beyond, viii 291 2.
- Hobbs**, Major-General Sir J. J. T., viii 248.
- Hobhouse**, C. E., iv 30.
- Hodges**, Second-Lieutenant W. H., M.C., ii 239.
- Hodgetts**, Colonel Charles, ii 148.
- Hodgson**, Major-General H. W., vii 325.
- Hoetendorff**, Count von, i 230; vi 33, 50.
- Hoghton**, General, iv 289.
- Hogue**, H.M.S., i 71, 170; iv 11.
- Hohenborn**, Lieutenant-General, ii 5.
- Hohenzollern**, Prince Franz Josef, i 309.
- “**Hohenzollern Redoubt**”, iv 204, 207, 217-8, 220-1, 223-4, 242, 252-3, 255, 264, 268-9, 300, 302, 304, 306, 308-9, 311-4, 318; v 151, 258, 261.
- Holbrook**, Lieutenant Norman D., V.C., ii 55-6; iii 4.
- Holland**, Canon Scott, iv 83.
- Germany's intentions regarding, i 7; part of naval brigade driven into, i 244, 258; bar to Germany at Antwerp, i 273; escape of ex-Kaiser to, ix 173.
- Lieutenant-General Sir A., viii 62, 331.
- **Pryor**, Brigadier-General P., viii 293.
- Hollebeke**, ii 6, 8, 10, 276; vii 243; viii 65-6.
- Holmes**, Lieutenant W. D., D.S.O., v 132.
- Rev. C. F. J., v 32.
- Holy Land**, campaign in. See *Palestine campaign*.
- **War**, plots and propaganda, i 211, 216, 217, 219; iii 113, 100.
- Hömann**, General, vi 31.
- Homer**, Chief Petty-Officer R. C.G.M., iii 302.
- Honduras**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Honourable Artillery Company**, in Flanders, ii 10; iii 260, 262; iv 196; vii 259, 333; in Egypt, v 284, 287; in Italy, viii 273, 275.
- Hood**, Rear-Admiral the Hon. H. L. A., i 244-5; ii 272, 333; iv 275; ix 18.
- Hood Battalion**, in Gallipoli, iii 299-302. See also *Royal Naval Division*.
- Hooge**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214, 220-1; summer campaign, 1915, iii 259, 260, 262, 264, 266; operations at, July-Aug., 1915, iv 78-95; Sept., 1915, iv 193; operations in 1916, v 151, 170; vi 37, 38, 40, 42; operations in 1917, vii 194, 196, 200. See also under *Ypres*.
- Hoover**, Mr., viii 100-1.
- Hopwood**, Sir F. J. S., ii 170.
- Horn Reef battle**. See *Julland battle*.
- Horne**, General Sir H. S., and the First Army, vii 128, 186; viii 62.
- Horrocks**, Colonel W. H., ii 108.
- Horse Guards, Royal**, near Menin, i 281; before Ypres, i 287, 288.
- Horseburgh**, i 306.
- Horton**, Commander Max Kennedy, D.S.O., i 168, 169, 247.
- Hoskins**, Major-General A. R., in East Africa, vi 264, 268-70, 288, 290-1; ix 113-6.
- Hospitals, military**, ii 104, 105, 106.
- House**, E. M., ix 185.
- **of Commons**, Secret Session, April, 25-26, vi 78.
- Houthem**, ii 6.
- Houthulst Forest**, i 276; vii 258, 262-3; viii 34, 253.
- Howard**, Lieutenant-Colonel L. C., D.S.O., v 144-6.
- Howe**, Second-Lieutenant T., M.C., v 164.
- Howe Battalion**, in Gallipoli, iii 299, 302. See also *Royal Naval Division*.
- Hudson**, Second-Lieutenant F., M.C., v 162-3.
- Hughes**, Major G. W. G., D.S.O., iv 260.
- Mr., Australian Prime Minister, v 45.
- Sir Sam, i 102; iii 203; iv 8.
- Hull**, Brigadier-General, at St. Julien, iii 200.
- Major-General C. P. A., i 271.
- Hulluch**, iv 204, 208, 212, 214-5, 220, 244, 248, 250, 256, 301, 304, 306, 312-3; v 258-9, 261.
- Hulse**, Lieutenant Sir E. H. W., ii 26.
- Humbar**, British monitor, i 244; iv 61.
- Humbert**, General, viii 227-36.
- Hume-Gore**, Lieutenant G. R. V., ii 29.
- Hungary**, dissolves partnership with Austria, ix 174-5; new frontier with Austria, ix 272. See also *Austria-Hungary*.
- Hunter-Weston**, Lieutenant-General Sir A. G., ii 5; in Gallipoli campaign, iii 164, 166, 299, 308, 316; iv 118; commanding 8th Corps, Western Front, viii 263.
- Huntington**, Captain R. H., D.S.O., v 145.
- Huntriss**, Second-Lieutenant C. J., M.C., iv 92.
- Hurndall**, Captain F. B., v 17.
- Hurstdale**, S.S., i 300.
- Hussain I**, King of Hejaz, viii 5.
- Hussakon**, iii 327-9.
- Hussars**, at Landrecies, i 117; in Mons retreat, i 49, 51; at Ourcq, i 132; in Egypt, v 285, 287, 289; in Mesopotamia, vii 54.
- Hussein**, Sultan of Egypt, i 334.
- Hutchinson**, Lieutenant W. M., M.C., iii 244.
- Ibi**, iii 96.
- Idar**, iv 8.
- Igel**, Herr Wolf von, viii 98.
- Ignatieff**, General, iv 171.
- Iharia**, S.S., ii 318, 320, 325.
- Ikom**, iii 95.
- Illis**, German gunboat, i 209.
- Imam Ali Gherbi**, v 317, 320, 328, 335.
- Imbros Island**, iv 115, 147-8, 150; v 33.
- Immelmann**, Lieutenant, v 163.
- Imperatritsa Maria**, Russian battleship, ii 53.
- Imperial Light Horse**, i 314.
- **Munitions Board**, v 143.
- **Service Troops**, East Africa, ii 92, 95.
- Impey**, Lieutenant E. H., ii 26.
- Implacable**, H.M.S., iii 130, 132, 158. [*British*]
- Imports**, British. See *Trade*.
- Income-tax**, growth of, iv 26. See also *War, cost of*.
- Indefatigable**, H.M.S., ix 9, 12.
- India**, H.M. auxiliary cruiser, iv 57.
- India**, share in East African campaign, i 199; ii 94, 95; loyalty and help of, i 98, 100, 106, 108, 109, 219-20; in Mesopotamian campaign, ii 331; war services, iii 114; iv 8-9; v 189-205.
- Indian Army**, work of, i 222; ii 9, 26; arrival in France, i 332; Lord Roberts greets, ii 15, 16; in Flanders, ii 25, 29, 228, 254; to be eligible for V.C., ii 9; Lord French on, ii 32; in Suez Canal battle, ii 202-6; in Mesopotamia, i 220, 222, 232; in East Africa, ii 91; on Western Front,

- iii 16, 20, 26, 116; advance on La Bassée iii 226, 235, 241, 245, 253, 260; operations near Neuve Chapelle, iv 190-203 (see also *Neuve Chapelle, battle of*; *Ypres, Second Battle of*, &c.); in Gallipoli, iii 143, 161, 168, 172, 299, 305; iv 122, 131, 134, 135, 137-8; in East Africa, General Smuts's tribute to, vi 292; in Palestine, viii 283 (see also *Mesopotamia*, &c.)
- Indian City*, S.S., ii 330.
- Indian Medical Service**, inquiry concerning, vii 41-2.
- Indian Prince*, liner, i 182
- Indomitable*, H.M.S., ii 133, 134, 137, 140; ix 127.
- Indus*, S.S., i 179.
- Inflexible*, H.M.S., ii 161, 165, 167; iii 8, 11.
- Ing**, Major G. A., D.S.O., iii 216.
- Inglis**, Captain John, i 178.
- Lieutenant R. C., iii 306.
- Second-Lieutenant H. J., M.C., iii 306.
- Ingram**, Lieutenant T. L., M.C., iv 89.
- Innes**, Second-Lieutenant A. C. W., M.C., ii 243.
- **-Ker**, Captain Low Alastair, D.S.O., i 281.
- Inniskilling Fusiliers**, at Hulluch, v 259; near Fromelles, v 262; at Fontaine-les-Clères, viii 44; in Gallipoli, iii 160, 309, 318; iv 152, 164; v 18.
- Insall**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., v 160-1.
- Insterbург**, i 228.
- Insurance clauses**, in Peace Treaty, ix 249-50, 253-4.
- International Justice**, permanent court of, ix 266-7.
- "International Trench"**, v 171-2.
- Inventions Board**, Admiralty, iv 33.
- Invincible*, H.M.S., ii 161-7; ix 18-9.
- Ionian Islands**, iv 169.
- Iphigenia*, H.M.S., ix 57, 64.
- Iranga**, German East Africa, vi 273, 385.
- Ireland**, Germany's hopes from, i 6; excluded from Military Service Bill (Jan., 1916), vi 77, 81; rebellion, 1916, vi 81, 85; troubles in, ix 166.
- Iris*, H.M.S., ix 56-7, 60.
- Irish Canadians**, i 102.
- **Fusiliers, Royal**, at St. Eloi, iii 38; in Gallipoli, iv 152, 164.
- **Guards**, at Landreies, i 110; at the Marne, i 136; at Villers-Cotterets, i 127; at Givenchy, ii 241-2; at Cuinchy, ii 243; iii 12; at Festubert, iii 243; summer campaign, 1915, iv 97; at Loos, iv 258; at Hill 70, iv 303; at Hulluch, v 259.
- Irish Regiment, Royal**, at Mons, i 46-7; at Le Pilly, i 271; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 220.
- **Regiments**, Lord Kitchener on, vi 85.
- **Rifles, Royal**, at Neuve Chapelle, iii 23, 24; near Beaumont Hamel, v 166; at Messines, vii 181.
- Irlles**, vii 61.
- Iron Duke*, H.M.S., vi 67 (Note); ix 8.
- "Iron Ration"**, ii 228.
- Ironside**, General, ix 161.
- Lieutenant W. S., M.C., iv 95.
- Irresistible*, H.M.S., ii 128; iii 6, 10, 11, 124, 137; iv 11.
- Irvine**, Lieutenant, iii 98.
- Irwin**, Lieutenant N. M. S., M.C., iii 217.
- Iskhan Pasha**, ii 195.
- Isle of Wight Rifles**. See *Hampshire Regiment*, 1/8th.
- Islington**, Lord, iv 32.
- Ismailia**, ii 201.
- Isonzo Front**, campaign, 1915, v 1-10; summer operations, 1916, vi 57-63; Kitchener visits, 1915, vi 66; operations on, 1918, viii 113-9.
- **River**, iii 276, 278-9.
- Ispahan**, v 209, 212.
- Istria**, iii 279.
- Italy**, remains neutral, i 16; aircraft in the war, v 57-8; army and organization, iii 277-8, 281; events leading up to the war, iii 272-80; joins Entente Alliance, iii 276; iv 2-3; and the Balkans, iv 174-6; v 124; campaign on Italian Front, May-Dec., 1915, v 1-10; campaigns, 1916, vi 48-63; offensive, May-Sept., 1917, vii 139-55; breach and recovery, Oct., 1917-June, 1918, viii 113-37; triumph of, Oct.-Nov., 1918, viii 270-81; in Peace Terms with Austria, ix 272, 273. See also *Isonzo*, *Carso*, &c.
- Ivangorod**, ii 74, 75, 76, 78, 80; fall of, iii 332, 336; iv 39.
- Ivanoff**, General, ii 217; iii 331; iv, 41, 51; v 78, 80; vi 25; vii 12-4.
- Ivan-Zlatoust*, Russian battleship, ii 53.
- Ivernia*, British transport, sunk, vii 105.
- Jabassi**, i 198.
- Jablonitza Pass**, iii 55.
- Jack**, Major F. C., viii 68.
- "Jack Johnsons"**, i 142.
- Jacka**, Lance-Corporal, V.C., iii 174.
- Jackson**, Admiral Sir H. B., First Sea Lord, iii 185; iv 33.
- Brigadier-General R. W. M., v 35.
- Jackson**, Major-General H. C., viii 139.
- Rear-Admiral T., viii 7.
- Jacob**, Lieutenant-General Sir C. W., viii 62, 260.
- Jaffa**, viii 21.
- Jagow**, Herr von, i 4.
- Jaguar*, German gunboat (at Tsingtau), i 209.
- Jakalswater**, fight at, iii 73, 79.
- Jaluit**, i 112.
- Jamaica**, loyalty and help, i 105.
- James**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., iii 318.
- Jamkhandi**, iv 8.
- Janjira**, iv 8.
- Janow**, iii 331.
- Jaora**, chief of, 107.
- Japan**, share in the war (Aug.-Oct., 1914), i 100-2, 202, 204; occupation of Marshall Islands, ii 52; Peace Treaty terms, ix 165 (Note); represented at Peace Treaty, ix 186; territorial gains under, ix 212.
- Japanese navy**, strength at beginning of war, i 53; operations in Pacific, i 112; ii 152; bombardment of Tsingtau, i 206-7.
- Jardine**, Lieutenant C. A., i 120.
- Jaroslav**, i 232; ii 217; iii 327-8.
- Jassin**, disaster at, iii 89.
- Jeddah**, i 219.
- Jeffreys**, Major-General G. D., viii 139.
- Jellicoe**, Sir John (afterwards Lord), i 56; ii 175; and Kitchener's death, vi 65, 67, 69; becomes First Sea Lord, ix 52-68; receives Order of Merit, ix 30. See also *Jutland battle*, *Royal Navy*, &c.
- Jemthug*, Russian cruiser, iv 11.
- Jenlain**, i 49, 51, 113.
- Jericho**, occupation of, viii 298-9.
- Jerram**, Vice-Admiral Sir M., ix 8.
- Jerusalem**, liberation of, viii 25-9.
- Jerwood**, Second-Lieutenant E. L., M.C., iii 239.
- Jeudwine**, Major-General Sir H. S., viii 257.
- Jewish Regiment**, in Palestine, viii 302.
- Jilinsky**, General, iv 331.
- Jind Infantry**, ii 92.
- "Jingling Johnnie"**, iii 336.
- Jodhpur**, Chief of, i 107.
- Joffre**, General, appointed French Commander-in-Chief, i 29-30; proclamation to Alsations, i 32; preliminaries of retreat from Mons, i 42-3, 48, 78; battles of the Marne and the Aisne, i 130-48; new plan of campaign, Oct., 1914, i 264; confers with Sir John French, i 280; meets King George and receives G.C.B. (Dec. 1, 1914), ii 19; policy of,



- ii 278, 279, 283, 286, 291; visits Alsace, ii 296; visit to the British Front, 1915, iii 223; and King Albert, iv 94; autumn offensive, 1915, iv 191, 203; visit to London, Oct. 12, 1915, iv 236; attends Allied Council of War, iv 329, 331; becomes Commander-in-Chief of French forces, iv 335; General Order of the Day, Sept. 25, 1915, v 88-9; congratulations to, on Champagne battle, v 96; visit to London, 1915, v 97; views on Salonika, v 117; New Year message to Haig, 1916, v 168; telegram to Sir D. Haig, v 248; on Kut resistance (April, 1916), vi 18; preparations for offensive, June, 1916, vi 34; visit to America, vii 33-4; viii 91.
- "Joffre's Wall"**, ii 283.
- John**, Temporary Second-Lieutenant S. S., M.C., iv 202-3.
- Johns**, Colonel Sir W., vi 262.
- Johnson**, Captain R. W., R.N., i 170, 175.
- Second-Lieutenant W. G., M.C., v 21.
- Temporary Second-Lieutenant F. H., V.C., iv 215.
- Johnston**, Brigadier-General F. E., iii 292; iv 131, 137-8.
- Jones**, Captain K. W., M.D., D.S.O., iv 90.
- Colonel Carleton, ii 148.
- Lieutenant, V.C., v 268.
- Major-General L. C., viii 289.
- Jonquil**, H.M.S., iv 156.
- Jordaan**, Colonel, i 319.
- Joseph Ferdinand**, Archduke, iii 333; vi 23, 27, 31.
- Jotham**, Captain, V.C., v 197.
- Juan Fernandez**, i 305; ii 168, 312.
- Jubaland**, ii 91.
- Judenich**, General, v 216.
- Jukes**, Captain A. H., D.S.O., v 133.
- Jullundur Brigade**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 206.
- Jumagadh**, iv 8.
- Jutland battle**, vi 66; ix 1-31.
- Kahe**, German East Africa, operations at, vi 259-61.
- Kairredin Barbarossa*, Turkish battleship, ii 54.
- Kaiser Wilhelm II.** See *Wilhelm II.*
- Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, i 66.
- Kaiser Wilhelm Land**, i 102.
- Kaiserin Elizabeth*, Austrian cruiser, i 64, 206.
- Kakamas**, i 314; German attack on, iii 73.
- Kaledine**, General, vi 25-9, 33.
- Kalisz**, i 233; iv 36.
- Kalkfeld**, iii 85.
- Kalkfontein**, capture of, iii 73.
- Kamio**, General, i 210.
- Kantara**, v 277; vii 308, 315.
- Kara Wigan**, ii 196.
- Karibib**, iii 80, 81.
- Karind**, v 215-0.
- Karl Franz Josef**, Emperor, succeeds to throne, vi 31; and operations in 1917, 123, 129; downfall of, ix 175-8. See also under *Austria-Hungary*.
- Karlsruhe*, German cruiser, i 300; ii 310-1, 316; iv 11, 12; ix 99.
- Karolyi**, Count, ix 176.
- Karonga**, i 200; ii 98.
- Kars**, ii 193, 194; v 174-7.
- Karungu**, iii 92.
- Kasama**, ix 128.
- Kashan**, v 214.
- Kashmir Imperial Service Infantry**, in East African campaign, iii 90; vi 270.
- Maharajah of, v 192.
- Rifles, ii 96.
- Kasvin**, v 11-3.
- Kataib-el-Kheil**, ii 200, 203, 204, 206.
- Katieh**, ii 200; vii 311-2, 314-8.
- Kato**, Viscount, i 111, 207.
- Kavala**, iv 185.
- Kavanagh**, Lieutenant-General Sir C. T. M., i 287, 288; viii 182.
- Kearsley**, Captain E. R., D.S.O., iv 250.
- Keary**, General H. D., iii 203, 206; v 331; vi 3, 5, 7, 8.
- Keeling (Cocos) Islands**, i 306-9; ii 152.
- Keetmanshoop**, iii 73, 77, 79.
- Keimos**, i 314.
- Kehl**, ix 197.
- Kelat**, Khan of, v 210.
- Kellen*, S.S., i 179.
- Keller**, M., Mayor of Lunéville, ii 292.
- Kellett**, Lieutenant-Commander P., vii 109.
- Kelly**, Colonel, in Egypt, v 297.
- Kemball**, Major-General G. V., v 320, 331.
- Kemp**, General, i 314, 319, 320.
- Keneally**, Private, V.C., iii 157.
- Kenna**, Brigadier-General, V.C., v 17-8.
- Kennedy**, Captain F. W., ii 133.
- Captain T. W. B., ii 133.
- Commander W. G. A., iv 57.
- Kenny**, Private, V.C., v 155, 268.
- Kensington Territorial Battalion**, 13th, at Rougebanc, iii 228, 232-4.
- Kent**, H.M.S., ii 161, 164-8; ii 312.
- Kent**, Lieutenant S. H., M.C., v 141.
- **Regiment, East.** See *East Kent Regiment*.
- **Royal West.** See *West Kent Regiment, Royal*.
- Keogh**, Surgeon-General Sir Alfred, ii 107.
- Kephalos Bay**, iv 148.
- Kephez**, iii 4, 7, 127.
- Kerbela**, v 195.
- Kerensky**, M., vii 11, 17-8, 157, 162, 287-93.
- Kereves Dere**, iii 160, 168, 298, 310-1; v 47.
- Kermanshah**, v 209, 213, 215.
- Kerr**, Lieutenant-Commander C. F., iv 59.
- Kersley**, Sub-Lieutenant, iii 183.
- Kestell-Cornish**, Lieutenant R. V., M.C., iii 210.
- Keyes**, Sir R., i 70; lands at Bruges, viii 268; and Zeebrugge and Ostend operations, ix 52-68.
- Keyew**, Germans occupy, i 274.
- Keyser**, Private, V.C., iv 125-6.
- Keyworth**, Lance-Corporal, V.C., iii 254-5.
- Khairpur**, iv 8.
- Mir Ghulam Ali Khan of, i 108.
- Khalil Pasha**, vi 16-8.
- Kharput**, v 186.
- Khartoum**, Bishop of, iii 224.
- Kheyr-ed-Din Barbarossa*, Turkish warship, iv 61.
- Khoja Chemen Dag**, iii 166.
- Kiamil Pasha**, v 184.
- Kiao-Chau**, i 109, 206; ix 212.
- Kieff**, ii 217.
- Kiel Canal**, i 56, 57, 189; ix 170; in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 212.
- German naval mutiny at, ix 87-9.
- Kielce**, iii 47.
- Kiev**, i 226.
- Kiggell**, Major-General L. E., iv 335.
- Kigoma**, occupied by Belgian troops, vi 274.
- Kilby**, Captain, V.C., v 270.
- Kilid Bahr**, iii 4, 10, 142; iv 114.
- Kilimanjaro**, operations in region of, vi 252.
- Kilossa**, British advance towards, vi 274-7.
- Kilwa**, German East Africa, vi 287-8; ix 115-6, 118, 120.
- Kimber**, Captain E. G. K., M.C., iii 233, 235.
- Kimberley**, iii 73, 79.
- King**, Captain Allen, i 321.
- King Edward VII*, H.M.S., sunk, v 307-8; ix 46-7.
- King Edward's Horse**, ii 149; at "Bexhill", iii 250.
- King George V*, H.M.S., ix 8.
- King's African Rifles**, i 200; ii 92; in East Africa, iii 92; vi 256, 289.
- **Liverpool Regiment.** See *Liverpool Regiment, King's*.
- **Lynn**, air-raids on, iii 283.
- **Own Rifle Brigade.** See *Rifle Brigade, King's Own*.
- **Own Royal Lancaster Regiment.** See *Lancaster Regiment, King's Own Royal*.

**King's Own Scottish Borderers.**

See *Scottish Borderers, King's Own*.

**Royal Rifles**, in Mons retreat, i 51; at the Aisne, i 143; bayonet attack to recover trenches, Oct. 23, 1914, i 280; at Givenchy, ii 235; in British East Africa, ii 91; ix 125.

**Kintyre, Mull of**, Admiralty regulations, ii 327.**Kirschen, M.**, v 105.**Kishangarh**, Chief of, i 107.**Kissaki**, German East Africa, operations at, vi 478-82.

**Kitchener**, Earl, appointed Secretary of State for War, i 35-6; on Antwerp expedition, i 260; and Khedive of Egypt, i 329; and Prince of Wales, ii 15; tribute to Lord Roberts, ii 16; on situation in the West (Dec., 1914), ii 49; on Yorkshire raid (Dec., 1914), ii 49; on General Botha, ii 100; his problem, ii 178; on health of troops, ii 229; on the supply of munitions, ii 252; iii 87; instructions to Sir Ian Hamilton, iii 137-40; telegram to Lord Provost Innes, iii 308; on Britain's needs, iv 5; on Britain's military efforts, iv 6-7; visit to Western Front, iv 7, 69; on National Registration, iv 25; War Minister in Coalition, iv 30; on Russian crisis in 1915, iv 39, 48; on French army in 1915, iv 99; congratulations on operations at Loos, 1915, iv 252; special mission of, iv 329; attends Franco-British Conference at Calais, iv 331; Sir Ian Hamilton's cable to, v 11; discusses evacuation of Gallipoli with Sir Ian Hamilton, v 32-3; visits Gallipoli, v 36-7; visits Indian wounded, v 204; on Townshend at Kut, vi 16, 17; object of his journey to Russia, vi 21; and formation of Bantam Division, vi 45; on duration of the war, vi 64; meeting with critics in House of Commons, vi 65; death, vi 65-6; hopes that voluntary effort would be enough, vi 73; reference to Guildhall speech, July 9, 1915, vi 74; as chief adviser to Army Council, vi 78; on advance in German East Africa, vi 252-62.

**"Kitchener's Army"**. See *"New Army"*, *Military Service Acts*, &c.**Klagenfurt area**, Austria, ix 272, 273.**Klein Zillebeke**, i 282, 283, 288; vii 244.**Kleis**, von, iii 86.**Klerkstroem**, i 323.**Klipdrift**, i 321.

**Gluck**, General von, opening campaign, i 122, 128, 130, 131, 132, 134, 140; iii 105, 110; v 89.

**Knocke**, bombarded, iv 276.

**Koe**, Brigadier-General F. W. B., services in Gallipoli, v 35.

— **Lieutenant-Colonel A. S.**, iii 149 50.

**Koëvess**, General, iv 229, 232-3; vi 31; vii 6, 8; ix 155.

**Koja Chemen Tepe** (Hill 305), iv 131, 134 7.

**Kolberg**, German cruiser, ii 137; iv 11.

**Kolchak**, Admiral, ix 159.

**Köln**, German cruiser, i 7, 72; iv 11; ix 90.

**Kolomea**, ii 219; iii 329, 330; vi 311.

**Kondoa Irangi**, vi 267-8, 271.

**Königin Luise**, German auxiliary, i 59, 237.

**Königsberg** (East Prussia), i 229.

**Königsberg**, German cruiser, i 177, 178; ii 91, 93-4; iv, 11-2; guns from, in East African campaign, vi 247, 250.

**Kopri Keui**, v 175-6, 180, 182.

**Köprükeui**, ii 190, 193.

**Korniloff**, General, vii 13, 163, 165-7, 169, 171-2; 289-91, 293.

**Kovel**, summer operations, 1916, vi 27-9, 33.

**Kovno**, ii 212, 214; iii 334-5; iv 40 5.

**Kozienice**, ii 75, 76, 77.

**Krasno**, iii 327.

**Kressenstein**, Baron von, in Egypt, v 276; and Palestine operations, vii 309, 314-5, 317, 320; viii 10, 12, 10, 18.

**Krithia**, iii 149, 159-60, 163, 168-9, 292, 303, 305-6, 309, 311-2, 315, 318; iv 114, 117-8, 122 3.

**Kronprinz Wilhelm**, German armed merchant ship, i 181; ii 310, 313.

**Krupanje**, ii 60, 62.

**Krupp**, "the master gunmaker", ii 139.

**Kruseik**, i 281.

**Kuchuk Anafarta Ova**, iv 152, 161.

**Kühlmann**, von, vii 302-3.

**Kühne**, General von, vii 230-2.

**Kum Kale**, iii 4, 6, 8, 129, 149, 159.

**Kun**, Bela. See *Bela Kun*.

**Kurds**, ii 197, 198.

**Kurdistan**, in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 286.

**Kurloff**, General, vii 20.

**Kurnah**, ii 332; iii 113, 116, 117, 119, 121-3; iv 280, 284.

**Kuropatkin**, General, vi 25.

**Kuruman**, i 319.

**Kusmanek**, General, iii 53, 54.

**Kut-el-Amara**, iv 288 05; v 215-6, 314-36.

— **-Hal Channel**, iv 283.

**Kutno**, ii 79.

**Kyaka Fort**, ii 98.

**"L" Battery, Royal Horse Artillery**, i 127.

**La Bassée**, in 1914-5 operations, i 267, 268 72; ii 3, 31, 37, 240, 277; iii 111; 1915 operations, iii 220, 234, 236, 260; iv 102.

German retreat from, viii 257.

— **Canal**, iv 204, 223; viii 62, 68, 257.

**La Boiselle**, ii 281.

**Labour Office**, International, ix 264.

**Labour Section**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 263-8.

**La Brique**, v 155.

**"Labyrinth, The"** (near Arras). iv 101, 271-2.

**La Correntina**, ii 316.

**Laertes**, S.S., ii 325.

**La Fère**, i 122, 124, 153; ii 308; viii 39-41, 49, 240.

**Ferté-sous-Jouarre**, i 134.

**Laffaux**, vii 85-6, 88, 93-5, 97.

**La Folie Farm**, iv 273; v 265.

**Lafontaine**, Captain A. E. C. C., M.C., iv 92.

**Lagny**, i 130.

**Lagos Bay**, v 219.

**La Grurie**, ii 286.

**Lahore Division**, Indian army, i 271; ii 9; attack at Givenchy, Dec., 19, 1914; ii 30; at Bois de Riez, iii, 26; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 203, 204-5, 207.

**Laidlaw**, Piper, V.C., iv 211-2.

**Lajj**, iv 295, 298; v 314; vii 54.

**Lake**, Lieutenant-General Sir P., v 314, 319, 322, 335-6; on Hannah attack, April 5, 1916, vi 2, 4-5, 7, 9, 15, 17.

**Lala Baba**, iv 147, 149, 152.

**Lambe**, Captain C. R., i 244, 246.

**Lambert**, George, M.P., ii 170.

**Lambton**, Major-General the Hon. W., i 38.

**Lancashire Fusiliers**, at Cambrai, i 121; near La Bassée, ii 5; in Gallipoli campaign, iii 147, 152, 155-8, 168, 303-4, 314; iv 117, 150; in "Plug Street", v 149; at Messines, vii 181; near Ypres, vii 201; at Passchendaele, vii 259.

— **Regiment, East**. See *East Lancashire Regiment*.

— **South**. See *South Lancashire Regiment*.

— **Territorial Division**, in Gallipoli, iii 171.

— **troops**, in Souchez sector, v 264-8; in Italy, viii 275; at Bermericourt, viii 143.

**Lancaster Regiment, King's Own Royal**, at Le Cateau, i 119; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 209, 214, 220; near Cambrai, vii 283.

**Lance**, British destroyer, i 249.

**Lancers, 9th** (Queen's Royal), during Mons retreat, i 40; at

- Oureq, i 132; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 221-2; in Cologne, ix 153.
- Lancers, 16th**, at Neuve Chapelle, iii 17.
- Lancken**, Baron von der, v 105, 108-9.
- Landen**, i 27.
- Landon**, General, i 283.
- Landrecies**, i 114, 117-20; viii 324.
- Landsturm**, German, i 17.
- Landwehr**, German, i 17.
- Lane**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 96th Berar Infantry, v 208.
- Langemarck**, i 275, 280, 281; iii 192, 247; vii 208 9, 239 67.
- Langle de Cary**, General de, i 134, 263.
- Langlois**, Captain, i 31.
- Lanrezac**, General, i 31, 263.
- Lansdowne**, Lord, iv 25; on Coalition Government, iv 29-30; Minister without Portfolio, iv 31.
- Lansing**, R., United States Secretary of State, vii 26, 35; viii 88; ix 185.
- Laon**, ii 270, 308; vii 66, 83, 85, 97; viii 236-7, 240, 314.
- La Quinque Rue**, ii 30; iii 237, 240, 241, 247, 248, 250, 253.
- Lardanelle**, General, vi 238-44.
- Lassigny**, viii 229-32.
- La Trétoire**, i 132.
- Latter**, Lieutenant E. H., v 136.
- Latvia**, ix 269.
- Lauder**, Captain, vi 109.
- Laurel**, British destroyer, i 72.
- Laurier**, Sir Wilfrid, ii 145.
- La Vocquerie**, vii 272, 274, 282-3, 285-6.
- Law**, Mr. Bonar, letter from Mr. Asquith suggesting Coalition Government, iv 29; his acceptance, iv 29-30; becomes Colonial Secretary, iv 31; visits Canadian Head-quarters, v 142; tribute to Kitchener, vi 71; on married men's obligations, vi 74; on situation in Nyasaland, vi 245; on growing efficiency of British army, vi 335; on fall of Bagdad, vii 59; on British losses, 1917-8, vii 270; and 1918 Budget, viii 106-7; and Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Lawford**, Major-General Sir S. T., viii 254.
- Lawrence**, Captain, G. A. K., M.C., v 161.
- Major-General Sir Herbert A., vii 312, 320; ix 152.
- Second-Lieutenant T. B., M.C., iv 220.
- Sir W. R., v 203.
- Lawrie**, Major-General C. E., viii 190.
- Layton**, Lieutenant-Commander E., iv 63-4.
- Lazarevatz**, ii 63, 64, 67.
- Leach**, Second-Lieutenant R. C., M.C., iii 220-1.
- League of Nations**, ix 162; German proposal for, ix 182. See also *Peace Treaty with Germany*.
- Leake**, Captain Francis Martin, R.N., i 167.
- Surgeon-Major Arthur Martin, V.C., ii 107.
- Le Cateau**, i 114-6, 118; battle of, viii 316-8.
- Lechitzky**, General, vi 25-8, 31, 32.
- Leckie**, Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. E., iii 194, 202, 248-9.
- Leeds Rifles, 7th Battalion**, round Ypres, iv 77; Territorial Battalion, on Yser Canal, v 158.
- Lees**, Major R. L., D.S.O., iv 118.
- Lee-Warner**, Captain H. G., D.S.O., iii 236.
- Le Gallais**, General, vii 118.
- Leggatt**, Second-Lieutenant E., M.C., v 164.
- Le Ghier**, i 272.
- Legion**, British destroyer, i 249.
- Leicestershire Regiment**, at Neuve Chapelle, iii 20, 21; iv 199-200; at Festubert, iii 243; round Ypres, iii 243; at Loos, iv 308-9.
- **Yeomanry**, ii 10.
- Leigh - Bennett**, Captain A., D.S.O., M.C., ii 241, 242; iv 300.
- Leinster Regiment, 1st**, at St. Eloi, iii 38.
- Leipzig**, German cruiser, i 65, 301; ii 163, 165-8; iv 11-2.
- Leman**, General, i 25, 26.
- Le Mans**, i 126.
- Lemberg**, ii 84, 217, 219, 223, 230; iii 52, 55, 61, 330-1; vi 29; vii 163, 165.
- Lemmer**, Colonel, i 320.
- Lemnos**, iii 141.
- Lempriere**, Lieutenant-Colonel H. A., D.S.O., ii 32.
- Lenin**, M., vii 156-60, 291-2, 299, 302, 304; ix 159.
- Lennox**, British destroyer, i 249.
- Lens**, i 147, 263; ii 279; iii 112, 226; iv 192, 204, 208, 212, 214-5, 243, 271, 273; vii 186, 202-4; viii 35; final capture of, viii 257-8.
- Leonetti**, Dr. Francis, vi 106.
- Léon Gambetta**, French cruiser, iv 11.
- Leopold of Bavaria, Prince**, iii 336; iv 40, 50-1; vi 23, 31.
- **Prince**, Duke of Brabant, iv 92.
- Le Pilly**, i 271.
- Lepper**, Second-Lieutenant H. M., M.C., iv 7, 8, 80.
- Le Quesnoy**, viii 53, 327-9.
- Lequio**, General, v 10.
- Le Rutoire**, iv 216.
- **Sars**, operations leading to capture of, vi 297.
- Les Épagres**, ii 290.
- Lesh**, General, vi 25, 29-31.
- Lethbridge**, Lieutenant-Colonel E. A. E., vi 19.
- Le Tilleloy**, v 153.
- **Touquet**, v 149.
- Canadian military hospital at, ii 148.
- Lettow-Vorbeck**, General von, early operations in German East Africa, vi 246-92; situation in 1915, vi 247; closing phases of campaign, ix 113-29. [8.]
- Leveson**, Rear-Admiral A. C., ix
- Levinge**, Lieutenant-Colonel H. G., iv 141, 144.
- Lewis**, Lieutenant-Colonel F. G., C.M.G., iii 235. [198.]
- Lieutenant-Colonel H. E., v
- Major F., D.S.O., iv 200.
- Major-General E. M., viii 247.
- Lhasa**, v 199.
- Libau**, ii 52; iii 47, 61. [211.]
- Liberia**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Liberty**, British destroyer, i 72.
- Libya**, in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287.
- Lichenstein**, frontier with Austria, ix 272.
- Lichnowsky**, Prince, i 6, 8, 9, 14.
- Liddell**, Captain, V.C., iv 71-2.
- Liebkecht**, Karl, ix 179.
- Liège**, i 23-7, 129; ii 246, 249-50.
- Life Guards**, before Ypres, i 288.
- Lille**, early operations, i 40, 49, 147, 148, 264, 267, 268; road to, iii 17, 226; v 162; final capture of, viii 262, 264, 266-8.
- Limburg**, Irish prisoners at, vi 82.
- Limpus**, Vice-Admiral Sir Arthur, i 214.
- Lincolnshire Regiment**, at Herlies, i 271; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 23; at Rougebanc, iii 228; at Hooge, iii 262; in Gallipoli, iv 152, 159; v 28; at Bois Grenier, iv 197-8; at Loos, iv 308-10.
- **Yeomanry**, 1/1st, in Gallipoli, v 31.
- Linda Blanche**, S.S., ii 318.
- Lindi**, ix 115, 116.
- Lindley**, i 317.
- General (53rd Territorial Division), iv 160.
- Lingekopf**, iv 110.
- Linsingen**, General von, iv 41; iii 329-31; v 77; vi 23, 29-31; ix 171.
- Linton**, Second-Lieutenant A., M.C., iv 247.
- Lion**, H.M.S., ii 133-5, 137, 139, 140; ix 8-9, 14-6, 27.
- “**Lion of the Argonne**, The”.
- See *Gouraud, General*.
- Lipsett**, Brigadier-General, iii 200;
- Lipsk**, iv 45. [vi 41.]
- Liquid fire**, first use of, iii 102, 106; clause regarding, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 214-5.
- Lisbon**, v 219, 220.
- Lister**, Hon. C. A., v 34.



- Lister-Kaye**, Second-Lieutenant G. L., v 32.
- Lithuania**, iv 35, 37; vii 304; terms in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 269.
- Liubovje**, ii 57, 58-60, 62.
- Liverpool**, and the war, ii 320, 327.
- **Regiment, King's**, at Neuve Chapelle, iii 24; 1st Battalion at Cuinchy, iv 223; 4th Battalion in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 207, 209; 5th Battalion at Festubert, iii 243, 244; 8th (Irish Territorials) at "Stony Mountain", iii 268; 9th at Rougebanc, iii 228; 10th at Hooge, iii 262; near Cambrai, vii 283; at Lille, viii 264.
- **Scottish**, at Neuve Chapelle, iii 24; at Hooge, iii 262.
- Livingstone**, Dr., scene of meeting with Stanley, vi 274.
- Lizonie**, iii 192, 208.
- Lizy**, i 131.
- Llandovey Castle**, H.M.S., loss of ix 79.
- Llewellyn**, Captain J. M., ii 92.
- Lloyd**, Captain H. C., M.C., iv 303.
- Lieutenant E. E. L., M.C., iii 298.
- Major-General Sir F., iv 260.
- Sergeant-Major, iii 14.
- Lobit**, General, vii 120.
- Lochow**, General von, ii 270.
- Lochowsky**, and Russian Brigade at Courcy, vii 91.
- Locker-Lampson**, Commander O., M.P., vii 162, 170-1.
- Locon**, i 271.
- Lodz**, ii 74, 79, 83-6, 88.
- Logan**, Lieutenant A. F., M.C., iv 251.
- Lokeren**, i 257, 258, 260.
- Lomar**, Major-General S. H., i 40, 283.
- Lombartzyde**, i 245; ii 272-4; vii 184-6.
- Lome**, i 195.
- London**, Armistice Day in, ix 132-3; Victory Day in, ix 167.
- Bishop of, at the Front, iii 223.
- Civil Servants at Givenchy, iii 257.
- Declaration of, ix 32-3.
- **Field Ambulance, 6th**, at Loos, iv 243.
- **Field Company, 3rd Royal Engineers**, at Givenchy, iii 255; 4th at Loos, iv 213.
- **Heavy Battery, 2nd**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 190, 192.
- **Irish, 18th**, at Givenchy, iii 257; at Loos, iv 209; near Hulluch, v 167.
- **Pact of**, iv 3.
- **Peace Conference**, 1913, iv 177.
- **Raid on**. See under *Air-raids*, German.
- London Regiment, 5th**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 217; 7th at Loos, iv 220; 8th (Post Office Rifles) at Givenchy, iii 256, 257; at Loos, iv 209; 19th (St. Pancras) at Loos, iv 210; 20th (Blackheath and Woolwich), at Givenchy, iii 256; at Loos, iv 210, 243; 24th at Loos, iv 210.
- **Scottish**, ii 8, 10, 235; iv 217.
- **Territorials**, at Neuve Chapelle, iii 21; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 213; at Givenchy, iii 253 6.
- **Treaty of**, i 10, 21.
- **troops**, on the Ancre, 1917, vi 527, 534-5.
- "**Lone Pine**", iv 115, 122-5, 127.
- Long**, Second-Lieutenant S. H., M.C., v 161.
- Walter, iv 32; vi 79.
- Longford**, Lord, v 17.
- Longido**, i 201; ii 94, 95; vi 252, 258.
- Longivy**, i 16, 21, 32, 113; ii 285.
- Longmore**, Sir Thomas, ii 103.
- Loos**, battle of, first phase, iv 204, 208, 210, 212-3, 224; iv 241-70; German counter-attacks at, iv 299-318; operations in 1916, v 246, 258.
- Loraine**, Captain R., M.C., v 161.
- Lord**, Flight-Lieutenant R., iii 290.
- Lord Clive**, H.M.S., iv 275-6.
- **Nelson**, H.M.S., iii 8, 10.
- Lorraine**, operations in, i 31, 32, 35, 40; ii 290-1, 294, 300; iii 99, 104. See also *Alsace-Lorraine*.
- Lothian (Territorial) Regiment**. See *Royal Scots*.
- Lotzen**, ii 209.
- Louvain**, i 27-8; 93-5; ii 249; reparation from Germany, ix 233.
- Louvemont**, v 234-6, 238.
- Lovat**, S.S., i 179.
- Lovtchen**, Mount, ii 69.
- Low**, Captain C. J., D.S.O., iv 217.
- Lowe**, Major S. J., D.S.O., iv 245.
- Lowestoft**, H.M.S., ii 133.
- Lowestoft**, Zeppelin raids on, iii 290; naval raid on, v 311; vi 82.
- Lowicz**, ii 79, 83, 87.
- Lowland Division**, services of, iii 312; Sir Ian Hamilton's tribute to, v 33, 42; in Palestine campaign, vii 311-13, 325, 330-4; viii 18-9, 22-3; on the Western front, viii 206.
- Lowther**, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir C. B., viii 278.
- Loyal**, British destroyer, i 249.
- Loyal North Lancashire Regiment**, near Troyon, i 141; at Givenchy, ii 32; at Tanga (East Africa), ii 96; at "Stony Mountain", iii 267; in Gallipoli, iv 141-2; at Souchez, v 267-8; in Mesopotamia, vii 48, 56; at Messines, vii 181.
- Loyalty**, hospital ship, v 192.
- Loxley**, Captain A. Noel, ii 128.
- "**Lozenge**" **Redoubt**, iv 198.
- Loznitz**, ii 58, 60, 61.
- Lubbock**, Lieutenant the Hon. E. F. P., M.C., v 161.
- Lublin**, i 229; iii 333, 336; iv 37, 41.
- Lucas**, Lord, iv 31.
- Major-General C. H. T., viii 326.
- Luce**, Captain J., R.N., i 304; ii 161, 312.
- Luchs**, German gunboat, i 209.
- Luck**. See *Lutz*.
- Ludendorff**, General von, vii 230-1; his campaign of 1918, viii 30-73, 138-58; his resignation, ix 170.
- Lüderitzbucht**. See *Angra Pequana*.
- Ludhiana Sikhs, 15th**, at Festubert, iii 245, 246.
- Ludwig III**, King of Bavaria, ix 172.
- Lugard**, Sir F., iii 95; v 66.
- Lukin**, Brigadier-General H. T., i 320; iii 85, 87; v 288.
- Lunéville**, i 21, 114, 146, 263; ii 291-6; iii 106.
- Lupkow Pass**, ii 218, 219, 224.
- Lusitania** (Cunarder), ii 323, 336; sinking of, iii 175-82, 291; iv 12.
- Luts**, vi 23, 25, 27, 29, 30.
- Luttre**, vi 104 (Note).
- Luttwitz**, Governor von, v 103.
- Lutysen's cenotaph**, Sir Edwin L., ix 166.
- Lutz**, iv 51.
- Lützow**, German cruiser, ii 45; sunk, ix 28.
- Luxemburg, Duchy of**, neutrality violated, Aug. 2, 1914, i 13, 16, 20-2, 33, 41; in Peace Treaty, ix 188, 190.
- Grand Duchess of. See *Marie Adelaide, Grand Duchess of Luxemburg*.
- Rosa, iv 179.
- Lyck**, ii 73, 212.
- Lynn**, Private, V.C., iii 210.
- Lys**, battle of, 1918, viii 61-73, 256-7. See under *Ypres* for earlier operations.
- Lytle**, Second-Lieutenant W. A., M.C., v 155.
- M* 26, ix 58.
- 28, ix 83.
- M.-L.* 254, ix 67.
- M'Adoo**, W. P., viii 90.
- M'Andrew**, Lieutenant-Colonel G. B., iii 23.
- M'Arthur**, Second-Lieutenant L. W., M.C., iv 260.
- M'Call**, Captain R. L., M.C., iii 214-5.
- M'Cardie**, Captain J. R., iv 250.

- M'Carthy**, Miss, ii 109.  
**M'Cay**, Brigadier-General the Hon. T. W., iii 292.  
**M'Cuaig**, Major D. R., D.S.O., iii 197-8.  
**M'Cudden**, Major J. B., V.C., D.S.O., M.C., ix 139.  
**Macdonald**, Lieutenant D. J., M.C., iii 250-1.  
 — Sister Margaret, ii 148.  
**MacDonell**, Major-General A. C., viii 245.  
**M'Gregor**, Second-Lieutenant J. R., M.C., v 264.  
**MacGregor**, Major W. W., D.S.O., iv 247-8.  
**McHarg**, Lieutenant-Colonel W. H., iii 202.  
**M'Ilfree**, Lieutenant J. R., D.S.O., v 133.  
**MacIntyre**, Captain D. E., D.S.O., v 140.  
**M'Kenna**, Mr. R., iv 31; vi 93.  
**Mackensen**, General von, ii 83, 85; iii 329-33, 335; iv 40-53, 189, 229, 233-4, 237; v 77; vi 26.  
**Mackenzie**, Colonel R. C., C.B., iii 133.  
 — Hon. Thomas, ii 154, 156, 157.  
**M'Kenzie**, General Sir Duncan, iii 72, 75.  
**Mackinnon**, Captain L. M. A., v 71.  
 — Second-Lieutenant R. F., M.C., v 149.  
**Mackintosh**, Lieutenant E. A., M.C., v 263.  
**Macklin**, Second-Lieutenant B. J., M.C., v 149.  
**MacLagan**, Major Sinclair, D.S.O., iii 143, 146.  
**M'Laggan**, Captain J. M., M.C., iv 266-7.  
**MacLaine of Lochbuie**, Lieutenant K., M.C., iii 222.  
**MacLaren**, Colonel Murray, ii 148.  
**Maclean**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 6th Gordons, iii 29.  
**Maclear**, Lieutenant-Colonel P., i 196; v 67.  
**M'Leod**, Major D., D.S.O., iv 221-2.  
**McMahon**, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Arthur, i 333.  
**Macnaghten**, Lieutenant-Colonel E. B., D.S.O., ii 238.  
**M'Nair**, Lieutenant, V.C., v 270-271.  
**Macnamara**, T. J., M.P., ii 170.  
**MacNeil**, Second-Lieutenant N. H., M.C., iv 246.  
**M'Neile**, Lieutenant-Colonel J. M., iii 323.  
**M'Nicol**, Lieutenant-Colonel W. R., M.C., iii 145.  
**Macpherson**, Mr., on army estimates, viii 103-4.  
**M'Pherson**, Second-Lieutenant R., M.C., v 24.  
**Macready**, Lieutenant-General Sir C. F. N., i 38.  
**M'Sharry**, Lieutenant T. P., M.C., iii 296.  
**Macedonia**, and the war, iv 170-1, 175-7; iv 226.  
*Macedonia*, armed merchant-ship, ii 161, 164, 165.  
**Mactier**, Private, V.C., viii 201.  
**Madden**, Admiral E., i 56; receives K.C.M.G., vii 102.  
**Madeira Islands**, v 219.  
**Madras**, attacked by *Emden*, i 179, 305; ii 47, 49.  
*Madras*, hospital ship, v 192.  
**Madras Island**, ii 93; iii 90.  
**Magadi railway**, i 201.  
**Magasis**, v 332; vi 15.  
*Magdeburg*, German cruiser, i 189; iv 11.  
*Magellan*, French transport, sunk, vii 105.  
**Magellan Straits**, ii 162.  
**Maguire**, Lieutenant O. H. K., R.N., iv 276.  
**Mahaffy**, Lieutenant K. A., v 136.  
**Mahenge**, ix 116, 118, 121.  
**Mahone**, Lieutenant-General Sir R. T., D.S.O., iv 150, 152, 160, 163; v 27, 33, 115, 121.  
**Mahratta Infantry**, **110th**, in Mesopotamia, iii 119; 117th in Mesopotamia, iv 293, 296.  
**Maidos**, iii 166, 320; iv 114, 122, 139.  
**Mainprise**, Major R. E., vi 257.  
**Mainz**, ix 154.  
*Mainz*, German cruiser, i 71, 172; iv 11.  
*Majestic*, H.M.S., iii 7, 8, 10, 128, 135, 137; iv 11.  
*Makarov*, Russian cruiser, iv 62.  
**Malabiya, Mount**, i 109.  
*Malachite*, S.S., ii 43, 317.  
**Malancourt**, iii 102; v 239, 243-4.  
**Malcolm**, Colonel (London Scottish), ii 11.  
**Malines**, i 40, 94, 96, 97, 148, 253.  
**Maling**, Lieutenant, V.C., M.B., iv 200.  
**Malleson**, Brigadier-General, in East African campaign, vi 250-251.  
 — Midshipman, V.C., iii 133, 134.  
**Mallet**, Sir Louis, i 213, 214, 216-7, 326-8.  
**Malmaison**, attack on, vii 232-8.  
**Malmédy**, ix 189.  
*Maloja*, P. & O. mail-steamer, sunk, v 307.  
**Malone**, Lieutenant-Colonel W. G., iv 137.  
**Manchester Brigade**, in Gallipoli, iii 299, 302-3, 323.  
*Manchester Commerce*, S.S., i 238.  
**Manchester Regiment**, at Mons, i 40; at Givenchy, ii 31; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 205-6; Neuve Chapelle, iv 201; in Mesopotamia, v 332; vi 3; vii 47; at Passchendaele, vii 259, 262; in Palestine, vii 317; at Bapaume, viii 192; 5th, 7th, and 8th, in Gallipoli battles, iii 303-4; 9th Battalion in Gallipoli, iv 119, 303-4; 1/10th at Ervillers, viii 51; 11th in Gallipoli, iv 149-50, 152.  
**Manchester Territorials**, in Palestine, vii 317.  
**Mangin**, General, at Verdun, vi 229, 237; in 1918 campaigns, viii 163-6, 169-75, 201, 226, 230-2, 234-49.  
**Maning**, Colonel F., ii 98.  
*Manitou*, transport, iii 126, 127.  
**Mann**, Major, v 68-9.  
**Manoury**, General, i 263.  
*Mantis*, H.M.S., vii 52-4.  
**Manuiov**, M., denounced, vii 17, 20.  
*Maori*, British destroyer, ii 331; iii 183.  
**Maori contingent**, ii 156; in Gallipoli, iii 295, 146; iv 130, 133, 137.  
**Mapplebank**, Captain G. W. R., D.S.O., iv 72.  
**Marchand**, General, v 90, 92.  
**Marden**, Major-General Sir T. O., iii 215-6; viii 80.  
**Margerini**, ii 91.  
**Marianopol**, i 32-3.  
**Marie Adelaide**, Grand Duchess of Luxemburg, i 21.  
**Marindin**, Major-General A. H., viii 254.  
**Marines**, French, ii 271, 273.  
 — Royal, arrived at Ostend, i 183; organization of, i 186-7.  
*Mariotte*, French warship, iv 60.  
**Maritz**, Lieutenant-Colonel, i 103, 313, 315.  
**Marix**, Flight-Lieutenant R. L., R.N., D.S.O., i 155-8.  
**Markham**, Sir Arthur, ii 148.  
*Marmariss*, Turkish gunboat, iii 122.  
**Marmora**, Sea of, iii 124, 137.  
**Marne**, First Battle of the, i 130-8, 145, 146, 265; ii 291; German advance on, in 1918, viii 145-6, 148-9, 152, 157.  
 — Foch's counter-stroke on, July 18-Aug. 2, 1918, viii 159-75.  
*Marquette*, British transport, iv 279.  
**Marriott**, Second-Lieutenant R. H., M.C., iv 80.  
**Marsaryk**, Professor, ix 178.  
**"Marseillaise"**, ii 300.  
*Marshal Ney*, H.M.S., iv 276.  
**Marshall**, Captain A., D.S.O., iii 263-4.  
 — Captain W. L., viii 290.  
 — Major-General Sir W. R., in Gallipoli, iii 157-8, 312, 316; iv 117; vii 46-7, 51-2, 56; viii 287-311.  
 — Islands, i 102, 112, 203; ii 152.

- Martin**, Dr. F. H., viii 99.  
Lieutenant, Highland Light Infantry, iii 205-06.  
— Second-Lieutenant N., M.C., iv 312.
- Marwitz**, General von der, ix 155.
- Mary Ada Short**, S.S., ii 314.
- Mary**, Princess, Christmas gifts, 1914, ii 34.  
— Queen, work for Women's Fund, ii 263; visits to the Western Front, vii 187-90. See also *George V*.
- Mary Rose**, British destroyer, vii 108.
- Masera**, i 332.
- Masnieres**, vii 285-6; viii 248.
- Mason**, Major P. G., D.S.O., iii 260.
- Massey**, W. F., ix 186.  
— W. T., quoted, vii 309-10, 315, 322-3, 333; viii 11, 18-9, 25.
- Masurian Lakes**, ii 209, 213.
- Matheson**, Major-General T. G., viii 245.
- Matthews**, Lieutenant A. B., R.E., v 318.
- Maubeuge**, i 52, 113; viii 179.
- Maude**, General Sir Stanley, attack on Hannah, 1916, vi 2; at Sanna-i-Yat, 1916, vi 4; advance on Bagdad, 1916-7; vii 41-59; last Turkish operations, viii 282-8.
- Maud'huy**, General de, i 263.
- Maunoury**, General, i 125, 131, 132; iii 105; vi 71.
- Mauretania**, Cunard liner, iii 177.
- Maurice of Battenberg**, Prince, ii 11.
- Max**, Burgomaster, i 35, 245; ii 246.  
— of **Baden**, Prince, ix 168-9, 171, 179.
- Maxse**, Lieutenant-General Sir J., K.C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., viii 37.
- Maxwell**, Commander T. R., iii 183.  
— General Sir J., i 333; ii 156, 157; v 278, 280, 282, 286-7, 296.
- Mayer**, Colonel, ii 99; v 62-63, 74.
- Maynard**, General, ix 161.
- Mayo**, Admiral, vii 35; viii 92.
- Mazzini**, iii 272-4.
- Meade**, Captain the Hon. H., D.S.O., ii 136.
- Meat prices**. See *Food*.
- Mecca**, v 196.
- Mediterranean**, situation at beginning of war, i 64; submarines in, iv, 278. See also *Royal Navy*, &c.
- Medjidieh**, Turkish cruiser, iv 11.
- Medusa**, Italian submarine, iv 60.
- Meekosha**, Corporal, V.C., v 156, 158.
- Meerut Division**, ii 9, 25, 29; at Bois de Riez, iii 26.
- Meighan**, Lieutenant - Colonel, 14th Royal Montreal Regiment, iii 248.
- Meisagowla**, battle of, v 77.
- Meissner Pasha**, v 276.
- Mekran Levy Corps**, v 210.
- Melanie**, British S.S., v 305.
- Mellis**, Major-General, V.C., iv 284; v 315.
- Mellish**, Rev., V.C., v 251-2.
- Memel**, iii 46, 47; ix 205-6.
- Menin**, i 276; ii 308; iii 34; viii 256-7, 260, 262.  
— **road**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 209, 216, 221-2; operations in, June-Sept., 1915, iv 85-6, 95, 193, 195; later operations along, vii 244-67; viii 34-5.
- Mensdorff**, Count, i 9.
- Mentz**, Colonel, i 320.
- Menzies**, Captain A. J. M., D.S.O., iv 260.
- Mercantile Marine**, use of neutral flags, ii 321, 322, 323; strength of British and German shipping at beginning of war, i 58; problem of armed, v 301-5; losses in, vii 105. See also under *Shipping*. [119.]
- Mercer**, Major, 2nd Dorsets, iii — Major-General M. S., C.B., iv 196-202; v 130; death of, vi 37-8.
- Mercian**, British transport, iv 279; v 31.
- Mercier**, Cardinal, ii 245, 248.
- Meredith**, Lieutenant G., M.C., v 146.
- Merlin**, Governor-General, v 74.
- Merris**, viii 68, 71, 79, 85.
- Mersa Matruh**, v 282-6, 288.
- Merseburg**, prisoners at, vi 104.
- Mersey**, British monitor, i 244.
- Mersey**, Lord, iii 175.
- Merthyr Tydvil Election**, 1915, iv 19-20.
- Mesnil-les-Hurlus**, ii 283.
- Mesopotamia**, agricultural developments in, viii 291.  
— **Report**, iii 41-3.
- Mesopotamian Campaign**, opening operations in Persian Gulf, i 220-3; campaign, Jan.-June, 1915, iii 113-23; June 4-Oct., 1915, iv 280-99; Nov., 1915-March, 1916, v 314-36; March, 1916-May, 1916, vi 1-19; June, 1916-March, 1917, vii 41-59; April, 1917-Nov., 1918, viii 282-97, 311; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287. See also under *Bagdad*, *Kul*, &c.
- Messines**, i 6, 8; ii 10, 239, 276; battle of, June, 1917, vii 173-83; lost again in April, 1918, viii 66; recaptured, viii 254-6.
- Messudiyeh**, Turkish battleship, ii 54, 55-6; iv 11.
- Meleor**, German auxiliary cruiser, iv 57-8; v 310.
- Meteren**, i 272.
- Metz**, ii 290, 291, 298; ix 151, 190.
- Metzeral**, iv 106, 108-9.
- Meurthe**, i 31.
- Meuse**, i 15, 16, 24; iii 102, 109.  
— **Hauts des**, ii 290.
- Meutz**, Colonel, iii 81.
- Meyer**, Colonel, iii 97.  
— **-Waldeck**, Captain, i 209.
- Mezera Camp**, iii 113.
- Mezières**, i 16; ii 270; viii 179, 329-30, 332.
- Michael**, Grand Duke, vii 20-1.
- Middelkerke**, i 245; bombarded, 1915, iv 276.
- Middlesex Regiment, 1st.**, at Mons, i 45, 46; near Cambrai, i 121; at Compiègne, i 127; the Marne, i 137; on the Lys, i 271; at Bois Français, v 153; in Egypt, v 283, 285; near Lens, vii 127, 209, 250; 2nd Battalion at Neuve Chapelle, iii 21; 3rd in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214; at Loos, iv 268; 4th at Hooge, iv 78, 195; 8th in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 196; 13th at Loos, iv 255.
- Midland troops**, on the Ancre, vi 326; in Egypt, v 283.
- Milan of Serbia**, Prince, iv 174.
- Milbanke**, Lieutenant - Colonel, V.C., v 18.
- Milford Haven**, Marquess of (Battenberg, Prince Louis of), ii 174-77.
- Military Cross**, ii 238.  
— **Service Act (1916)**, vi 77, 79-80; (1918), viii 109-10.
- Miliukoff**, M., vii 17, 157-9.
- Millar**, Second - Lieutenant J., M.C., iii 232.
- Miller**, Captain B., ii 133.  
— Commander S. R., R.N., iv 275.  
— Lieutenant A. T., M.C., iii 232.
- Millerand**, M., meeting with King George, iv 324.
- Mills**, Flight-Lieutenant, iii 289.
- Milne**, General Sir G., viii 212.  
— Second-Lieutenant T., M.C., v 263.
- Milner**, Lord, iv 33; ix 185.
- Minerva**, H.M.S., iii 127; v 276.
- Mines and Mine-sweepers**, i 55, 58, 60-3; ii 13, 32; v 307. See also *Royal Navy*, &c.
- Minsk**, iv 49.
- Mir Dast**, Jemadar, V.C., iii 205; v 203.
- Miraumont**, vi 283, 297, 312, 327-30.
- Mirko**, Crown Prince of Montenegro, ii 69.
- Missionaries**, German, ii 99.
- Missy**, i 138, 142; ii 269.
- Mitry**, General de, i 265.
- Mitylene Island**, iv 115-6, 147, 150.
- Miura**, H.M.S., iii 183.



- Mlava**, i 53, 228; ii 87, 208, 209, 214.
- Modena**, treasures restored by Austria, ix 278.
- Mohammed V**, Sultan of Turkey, i 214, 328, 330. See also *Holy War*. [i 113, 114.]
- Mohammerah**, Sheikh of, iii
- Moldavia**, iv 172.
- Molteno**, Captain W. B., R.N., iv 276.
- Moltke**, German cruiser, ii 45, 136, 137, 174.
- Moltke**, General Helmeth von, i 124; ii 5; vi 71.
- Mombasa**, ii 91; iii 88, 90, 94; iv 248.
- Monash**, Lieutenant-General Sir J., viii 8, 83, 180.
- Monastir**, iv 185; iv 237, 240; v 113, 122; viii 214, 220-1.
- Moncel**, i 21; ii 296, 270.
- Monchy-le-Preux**, vii 77, 126, 128.
- Monfalcone**, iii 279; vi 58, 60.
- Monitors**, introduction of, iv 61, 275; in Gallipoli campaign, v 30-1.
- Monk**, Lieutenant H. H. de D., M.C., v 146.
- Monmouth**, H.M.S., i 302, 304; ii 150, 102; iv 11.
- Monmouthshire Regiment**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 213; at Loos, iv 310.
- Monro**, General Sir Charles, succeeds to command of First Army, iv 334; succeeds Sir Ian Hamilton in Gallipoli, v 33, 35, 40, 42-44, 47-8, 50; visits reorganized Expeditionary Force, vii 45.
- Mons**, i 40-2, 44-9; retreat from, 113-30; ii 250; final capture of, viii 333.
- Montagu**, E. S., iv 31; v 86, 88, 91; vii 211; ix 186.
- Montceaux**, i 132.
- Mont de Paris**, i 138.
- *des Cats*, i 272.
- Montdidier**, viii 53, 56, 186, 228.
- Monteith**, Captain, vi 83.
- Montenegro**, and the war, army mobilized and joins Serbians, ii 68-9; organization, &c., ii 70-1; early operations in Herzegovina, i 225, 226; ii 71-2; iii 275; iv 170, 173, 174, 176-7, 228; v 124-9; viii 224.
- Nicholas, King of. See *Nicholas, King of Montenegro*.
- Prince Nicholas of. See *Nicholas, Prince*.
- Monte Nero**, v 5-6, 8.
- **San Michele**, v 8. [v 239.]
- Montfaucon**, i 146; ii 285; iv 104;
- Montigny**, i 43.
- Montmirail**, i 131, 134.
- Montreal**, i 103.
- **Regiment, Royal**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 197, 199; at La Quinque Rue, iii 248.
- Moor**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., iii 306.
- Moore**, Vice-Admiral Sir Archibald, ii 133.
- Moorine**, British S.S., v 280, 294.
- Morava River**, ii 61, 62, 63, 66.
- Moravia**, ix 178.
- Morreau**, Mlle Emilienne (Croix de Guerre), iv 213.
- Moresnet**, ix 189.
- Morhange**, ii 294.
- Morin Grand**, i 131, 132.
- **Petit**, i 132.
- Morison**, Captain F., D.S.O., iii 249.
- Morland**, Lieutenant D. M. T., M.C., iii 255.
- Lieutenant-General Sir T. L. N., viii 330.
- Morocco**, i 194, 328; ix 211.
- Morogoro**, German East Africa, British advance on, vi 277-9, 283, 287.
- Moronvilliers Heights**, vii 85-8, 96, 113-23.
- Morrison**, Second-Lieutenant W. S., M.C., iii 33.
- Mors**, Lieutenant, i 216.
- Mort Homme**. See under *Verdun*.
- Morto Bay**, iii 159.
- Mosciska**, iii 329.
- Moselle**, ii 288, 290, 291; operations on the, iii 99.
- Moshi**, ii 95.
- Mosul**, i 197; ii 192.
- Moth**, H.M.S., vii 52.
- Moulin du Pietre**, struggle for, iii 26-8.
- Mount Lovchen**, v 125-8.
- Moussy**, General, i 282.
- Mouth-organs**, for British troops, vi 47.
- Möwe**, German raider, i 178; v 308-11; vii 109; ix 47, 218.
- Moy**, vii 66.
- Mozambique**, v 220; ix 125.
- Mpupua**, German defeat at, vi 276.
- Muanza**, German S.S., iii 91.
- Mudros Island**, iii 140; iv 115, 118, 146, 152.
- Muhlen**, i 228.
- Mulhouse**, i 32, 34; ii 294, 297, 298; iii 100; iv 106.
- Müller**, General von, i 314, 320.
- Hermann, ix 187.
- Karl von, Captain (*Emden*), i 179, 180, 305-9.
- Munitions**, British appointment of Ministry of, iii 227; early shortage, iv 22-3; conference, iv 329; developments, vi 72, 76, 86-93.
- Munro**, Second-Lieutenant R. G., M.C., v 167.
- Münster**, iii 106; iv 106, 109.
- Munster Fusiliers, Royal**, in Mons retreat, i 51; at Givenchy, ii 239; in Gallipoli, iii 151, 153, 314; iv 152; v 18; in Salonika, v 115.
- Murdock**, Lieutenant J. H., R.N.R., vii 52.
- Murray**, General Sir A. J., i 38, 283; iii 224; succeeds Sir Charles Monro, iv 334; v 278, 296; congratulated on Palestine operations, vii 324.
- Lieutenant-Colonel C. C., C.M.G., iii 243.
- Sir James Wolfe, ii 186.
- Mürren**, vi 110. [186, 188.]
- Mush**, iv 322; v 176-7, 179-80.
- Musoma**, bombardment of, iii 91.
- Muteau**, General, vi 242-4.
- Myburgh**, Brigadier-General, iii 81, 86.
- Colonel, i 318. [244.]
- Myrmidon*, British destroyer, i
- Mysore**, i 107.
- Maharajah of, v 192.
- “**Mystery ships**”. See “*Q*” boats.
- N 25, iv 276.
- Nachtigal**, Dr., i 193, 201.
- Nachtigal*, German merchant-ship, i 197.
- Nairobi**, vi 254.
- Nakhailah**, iii 115, 116, 120.
- Namur**, i 27, 33, 40-1; viii 317.
- Nancy**, i 146, 263; ii 291, 292.
- Napier**, Brigadier-General H. E., iii 153.
- Naples**, treasures restored by Austria, ix 279.
- Narew River**, ii 212, 214; operations on the, iii 334-6; iv 40-2.
- Narrows**, Dardanelles, operations in the, iii 4-10, 124, 166, 168; iv 114, 139.
- Narval**, armed trawler, sunk, vii 110.
- Nasariyeh**, iv 283-9; vii 44, 46.
- Nash**, Captain J. F. P., D.S.O., iii 251.
- Nasmith**, Lieutenant-Commander, V.C., iii 138.
- Natal Light Horse**, i 319.
- National Register** (1915), vi 73, 77.
- **Relief Fund**. See *Prince of Wales' Fund*.
- Naulin**, General, vii 120.
- Naumann**, Major, ix 117, 118, 120.
- Nava**, General, v 10.
- Naval Brigades, British**. See *Royal Naval Brigades*.
- Navarre**, French air hero, ix 139.
- Navies**, belligerent, strength at outbreak of war, i 52.
- Navigation Clauses**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 255-60.
- Navy, British**. See *Royal Navy*.

- Navy, German.** See *German Navy*.
- Nawanagar**, iv 8.
- Maharajah Jam Sahib of, i 108; iv 8, v 102.
- Nazareth**, viii 105
- Nazim Pasha**, i 214.
- Neetling**, Lieutenant-Colonel A. M., M.L.A., iii 73.
- Negi**, Naik Darwan Sing, V.C., ii 21.
- Neill**, Second-Lieutenant R. A., M.C., v 159.
- Nejef**, blockade of, viii 290.
- Nelson**, Sergeant, V.C., i 127.
- Nepal**, v 199.
- Nesle**, viii 52-3.
- Nethe River**, i 254, 256, 257.
- Neu Breisach**, i 32.
- Neu Langenburg**, German East Africa, vi 285.
- **Pommern**, i 102.
- Neufchâteau**, i 41, 43.
- Neutral rights**, in naval warfare, iii 323; iv 64.
- Neuve Chapelle**, operations, i 89; ii 9; iii 17-25, 225, 226, 235, 237, 257; iv 45, 46, 199-200; v 153 4.
- Neuve Église**, ii 8; viii 69-70.
- Neuveville Saint Vaast**, iii 111; v 246, 263.
- Nevinson**, H. W., iii 294.
- "**New Army**", Kitchener's, ii 188-9; arrival of first division at the Front, iv 6-7; in action, July 30, 1915, iv 81-85; in Gallipoli, August, 1915, iv 135, 137-8, 144-5, 148, 150, 152; organization of, iv 188-9; helps to save Verdun, 1916, vi 64, 66; praised for operations on the Ancre, vi 285-6.
- Newcombe**, Major S. F., D.S.O., v 38.
- Newfoundland**, i 105; ii 150; her share in the war, v 37.
- **Regiment**, in Gallipoli, v 39, 42; arrival on Western Front, v 271.
- New Guinea**, German, i 102, 202, 203.
- New South Wales**, ii 153.
- Newton**, Captain Denzil, M.V.O., ii 143.
- New Year's Day**, on the Western Front, vi 319.
- New Zealand**, battle-cruiser, i 101; ii 133, 134, 135, 137, 153; ix 9, 27.
- New Zealand**, war conditions, i 101, 204; ii 111; iv 7.
- **Artillery**, in Gallipoli, iv 125, 142-3; v 24.
- **Expeditionary Force**, ii 154, 155; in Egypt, i 332, 334; ii 157; in Gallipoli, iii 130-1, 143-6, 168-74, 291-298; iv 114-46, 136; in France and Flanders, vii 177-9, 198, 252-4, 317-8, 320-4, 328-9, 333; viii 54, 190, 195-9, 315, 328-9; ix 147. See also *Anzacs*, *Gallipoli campaign*, &c.
- New Zealand Mounted Rifles**, in Gallipoli, iv 130; v 19-26; in Egypt, v 283 8; in Palestine, vii 317; viii 9, 20.
- Ngominji**, East Africa, vi 286.
- Nguru Mountains**, German East Africa, operations among, vi 274-6, 279.
- Nicaragua**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Nicholas II**, Tsar, war preliminaries, i 8; pledge to continue war, i 227; on Russian retreat from Galicia and Poland, iv 5; supersedes Grand-Duke Nicholas as supreme Russian Commander, iv 46, 335; and the Revolution, vii 10-22; abdication of, vii 21-2; fate of, ix 159. See also *Russia*, *Bolshevism*, &c.
- **Grand-Duke**, appointed Russian Commander-in-Chief, i 227, 228; at Warsaw, ii 76; plans at Ivangorod, ii 78; operations, winters of 1914-5, ii 81, 212, 217; iii 335; Viceroy of the Caucasus, iv 46; v 175; and the Revolution, vii 12-3, 15-6, 19.
- **of Montenegro**, King, ii 69; v 125. See also under *Montenegro*.
- **of Montenegro**, Prince, iv 174.
- Nicholson**, Rear-Admiral, receives C.B., vii 102.
- **Commander Bertram W. L.**, R.N., i 172-4.
- **Captain Wilmot S.**, R.N., i 133, 170, 175.
- Nicol**, Vice-Admiral, iii 166.
- Niemen River**, operations, ii 212, 213, 214; iii 334; Navigation Clauses in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 256-7.
- Nietzsche**, i 2.
- Nieuport**, i 245, 246, 274, 278; ii 4, 271, 272; iii 284; vii 185.
- Nigeria**, i 190; iii 95; ix 120.
- Nigerian Regiment**, i 199.
- Nile**, H.M.S., iii 158.
- Niobe**, cruiser, ii 147.
- Nish**, i 16, 225; ii 59, 61; iv 233-4; v 123; viii 224.
- Nivelle**, General, succeeds General Pétain at Verdun, vi 229; operations at Verdun, vi 229-44; offensive of April, 1917, vii 79-97.
- Niven**, Lieutenant, D.S.O., Princess Patricia's Light Infantry, iii 212 3.
- Nixon**, Captain E. J., iv 286.
- **General Sir J.**, iii 119-20; in Mesopotamia, iv 284-6, 288-99.
- Noble**, Corporal Cecil Reginald, V.C., iii 31.
- "**No Man's Land**", ii 226.
- Non-Combatant Corps.** See *Conscientious Objectors*.
- Nonne Bosche Wood.** See *Nun Wood*.
- Norfolk Regiment**, in Mesopotamia, iii 119; iv 292; vii 50; in Gallipoli, iv 161-2; at Passchendaele, vii 262.
- Norie**, Colonel C. E. de M., ii 9.
- Norroy**, iii 100.
- Northamptonshire Regiment**, Aisne operations, i 142; Ypres, i 280; Givenchy, ii 32, 240; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 24; at Rougebanc, iii 228-30; at Hulluch, iv 216; at Loos, iv 311; round Ypres, vii 184-5; on the Sambre, viii 329.
- **Yeomanry**, ii 10.
- Northey**, Brigadier-General E., in East African campaign, vi 272-3, 277, 285; ix 113, 118, 121, 122, 125.
- North Lancashire Regiment**, **Loyal.** See *Loyal North Lancashire Regiment*.
- **Midland Mounted Brigade**, in Egypt, v 283.
- Northover**, Lieutenant A. W., M.C., v 134.
- North Somerset Yeomanry**, ii 10.
- **Staffordshire Regiment**, at Loos, iv 306; in Persia, viii 297.
- Northumberland Fusiliers** (Fighting Fifth), at Mons, i 48; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 196, 203, 209; at Hooge, iii 262, 263; near Armentières, iv 199; at Loos, iv 246; at St. Eloi, v 249; at Passchendaele, vii 262; in Italy, viii 132, 275.
- **Yeomanry**, ii 10.
- North Wales**, British S.S., sunk, vii 105.
- Norton**, Commander, i 173.
- Noske**, Herr, ix 171, 181, 183.
- Notre Dame de Lorette**, iii 103, 104, 105, 111; iv 100, 271-2.
- Nott**, Second-Lieutenant E. R., M.C., iv 245.
- Nottingham**, H.M.S., ii 133.
- Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Regiment**, at Hooge, iv 91; at Clery, viii 48.
- **Yeomanry** (Sherwood Rangers), in Gallipoli, v 18.
- Novi Bazar**, i 225, 233.
- Novo Georgievsk**, ii 87, 212, 214; iii 47, 334-5; iv 42-4.
- Noyon**, i 122, 124.
- Nsanakang** (Cameroons), i 196.
- Nubian**, British destroyer, vii 109.
- Nun Wood**, iii 208-9.
- Nunn**, Lieutenant-Colonel M. H., iv 143.
- **Captain Wilfred**, D.S.O., R.N., iii 121; iv 284-5, 287; v 315; vii 50-2.
- Nur-ed-din Pasha**, iv 289, 294; v 317 8.

**Nur-d-Bahr**, Egyptian cruiser, v 282.  
**Nuremberg**, i 2.  
**Nuri Bey**, v 279-80, 290, 294.  
**Nurnberg**, German cruiser, i 65, 177, 301; ii 163-8, 311; iv 11.  
**Nursing Service**, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military, ii 109.  
— **System, Army**, ii 109.  
**Nussey**, Brigadier-General A. H. M., vi 271, 279-82, 289, 291.  
**Nyanga**, i 55, 67.  
**Nyasa, Lake**, i 200; iii 92; ix 127.  
**Nyasaland**, i 200; ii 98; iii 92; precarious situation on outbreak of war, vi 245; share in later operations, vi 273; ix 115.  
**O'Beirne**, Mr., vi 67.  
**Obertyn**, iii 330.  
**Obrenovitch**, Prince Michael, iv 171.  
— Prince Milosh, iv 170.  
**O'Brian**, Lieutenant N. E., M.C., v 140, 254.  
**Ocean**, H.M.S., iii 7, 8, 10, 124, 137; iv 11.  
**O'Connell**, Major, British Consul, v 210.  
**O'Connor**, Lieutenant-Colonel R. N., D.S.O., viii 273.  
**Odessa**, i 216, 328.  
**Odin**, H.M.S., iii 119.  
**Odlum**, Major, 7th Canadian Battalion, iii 251.  
— Lieutenant-Colonel V. W., D.S.O., v 131-3.  
**O'Donnell**, Major-General H., D.S.O., v 197-8.  
**Oghratina**, vi 311-3.  
**O'Grady**, Brigadier-General H. de C., ix 116.  
**O'Hara**, Lieutenant H. D., D.S.O., iii 152-3.  
**Oil Supply**, British, iii 113, 116, 120.  
**Oise**, operations, i 16, 118, 122, 126.  
**Oldenburg**, ix 172.  
**O'Leary**, Lance-Corporal Michael, V.C., ii 241.  
**Oleg**, Russian cruiser, iv 62.  
**Oliphant**, Second-Lieutenant M. F., iv 162.  
— Lieutenant T., iv 162.  
— Major, 96th Regiment, v 206.  
**Olty**, ii 194, 196.  
**Olympic**, liner, i 238.  
**Omer**, St., i 267.  
**O'Neill**, Major E. T., D.S.O., iii 146.  
**Ontario Troops**, at Ypres, iii 196; vi 42.  
**Opium Convention**, in Peace Treaty, ix 240-1.  
**Oppocchiasella**, vi 62, 63.  
**Oppy**, vii 126, 128, 134, 186-7.  
"Orange Book", i 1, 5, 9.  
**Orange Free State**, i 311, 312, 315, 317.  
**Orange River**, iii 68, 73. [250.  
**O'Reilly**, Captain C. J., M.C., iv **Oriole**, S.S., ii 325, 326, 328.  
**Orkney Islands**, loss of *Hampshire*, vi 65.  
**Orlando**, Signor, ix 153, 157.  
**Orma**, auxiliary cruiser, ii 168.  
**Ornes**, v 232-6; vii 229, 231-2.  
**Ortega**, S.S., i 301.  
**Osborne**, Mr. Lithgow, vi 102.  
**Osler**, Sir William, ii 148.  
**Ossowiec**, ii 212, 214; iii 45, 334; iv 40-1, 44.  
**Ost-Auffenberg**, Field-Marshal von, i 230.  
**Ostel**, i 141.  
**Ostend**, i 40, 148, 242, 258, 274; air-raids on, Jan. 29, 1915, ii 308-10; iii 290; iv 193, 275; viii 263; naval attack on, ix **Osterode**, i 229, 231. [52-68.  
**O'Sullivan**, Captain, V.C., iii 318.  
**Otago Mounted Rifles**, in Gallipoli, iv 130, 132-3.  
**Otranto**, British armed merchant-ship, i 302, 304; ix 71.  
**Oulton**, Lieutenant W. P., M.C., v 37. [161-75.  
**Ourcq**, operations, i 131, 134; viii **Owen**, Lieutenant H. H., v 139.  
**Oxford and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry**, at Richelbourg, iii 239; round Hooze, iv 194; in Mesopotamia, iv 292; in Italy, viii 132.  
— **Yeomanry**, ii 10.  
**Pacific**, operations in, i 101-3, 112, 301; ii 152, 159, 311-3.  
**Packard**, Captain C. T., M.C., iv 244.  
**Paderewski**, I. J., President of Polish Republic, ix 187.  
**Paquet**, Lady, ii 112.  
**Pagny-sur-Moselle**, i 21.  
**Paisy**, ii 283.  
**Pakenham**, Rear-Admiral Sir W. C., i 57.  
**Palanpur**, heir apparent of, i 107.  
**Palermo**, treasures restored by Austria, ix 279.  
**Palestine**, operations in, May, 1916-June, 1917, vii 307-36; viii 1-29, 297-311; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287.  
**Pallada**, Russian cruiser, iv 11.  
**Palmer**, Lieutenant J. P., M.C., ix 93.  
**Panama**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.  
**Pangani River**, German East Africa, operations on, v 259.  
**Pan-Germanism**, i 98-100, 212; ii 302.  
**Pan-Islamic propaganda**, i 215.  
**Pank**, Lieutenant R. D., M.C., iv 260.  
**Panteleimon** (formerly *Polemkin*), Russian battleship, ii 53.  
**Papeete**, i 301.  
**Papen**, Captain von, iv 225; vii 27.  
**Papineau**, Lieutenant T. M., M.C., D.S.O., iii 14, 15, 212-3.  
**Paris**, the German advance on, i 113-30; defences of, i 128; air-raids on, i 128; defences against air-raids: French anti-aircraft guns, v 55; new threat to advance on, viii 140; Germans bombard with long-range guns, viii 144. See also under *France*.  
— **American Hospital**, ii 111.  
— **Conferences** (Feb., 1915), i 265-266.  
— General, R.M.A., i 255.  
**Park**, Captain M. E., D.S.O., iv 199-200.  
**Parker**, Lieutenant O. K., M.C., iii 230.  
**Parnell**, Second-Lieutenant Hon. W. A. D., M.C., v 154.  
**Paroleci**, Surgeon-Lieutenant R., viii 280.  
**Parro**, General Count, v 10.  
**Parseval**, air-ship, i 164.  
**Parsons**, Sir C. A., iv 83.  
**Parton**, shelled by submarine, iv 57.  
**Partridge**, British destroyer, vii 108.  
**Pashitch**, M., iv 177; ix 187.  
**Passchendaele** (Oct., 1914), i 279, 281; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 201; later operations around, vii 239-67; viii 63, 256.  
**Paterson**, Lieutenant W. H., ii 20.  
**Pathan Regiment**, i 109; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 204-6.  
**Pathfinder**, H.M.S., i 166, 167; iv 11.  
**Patiala**, Maharajah of, i 107; v 192.  
**Paton**, Second-Lieutenant L. C., M.C., iv 246.  
"Pat's Own". See *Princess Patricia's Light Infantry*.  
**Pau**, General, i 31, 114; ii 294.  
**Pauline of Wied**, Princess, i 124.  
**Peace Proposals**, German's first, vi 316-8; Peace offensive, 1917, vii 22-3; Peace preliminaries, ix 151-66; Peace celebrations, ix 166, 184; Peace Terms with Germany, ix 185-271.  
**Peachment**, Private, V.C., iv 216-7.  
**Pease**, J. A., iv 31; vi 86.  
**Pechell**, Captain P., M.C., iii 217.  
**Peck**, Commander A. M., vii 111.  
**Peck-Giraldi**, General, v 53.  
**Peebles**, Lieutenant-Colonel W. C., iii 312, 323.  
**Pegasus**, H.M.S., i 177; ii 93; iv 11.  
**Pégoud**, M., v 54.  
**Peirse**, Vice-Admiral Sir R. H., v 278.  
**Peissant**, i 49.  
**Pellew**, British destroyer, vii 108.



- Pelly**, Captain Henry B., M.V.O., ii 133.
- Penalties**, in Peace Treaty, ix 223.
- Pennington**, Major W. H., v 208.
- Pensions**, naval, i 54; ii 111.
- Pepys**, Captain A. G. L., M.C., iii 163.
- Pereira**, Major-General C. E., viii 245.
- Periscope**, i 172.
- Pernau**, iv 63.
- Péronne**, i 148, 263; ii 282; vii 63-4; viii 36-7, 40, 45-7, 199-202.
- Perris**, G. H., quoted, iv 103.
- Pershing**, General Y. Y., vi 36; viii 91-2, 94, 237-8; ix 166.
- Persia**, operations in, ii 198, 199; Admiralty oil-fields, ii 331; and the war, v 205-18.
- Persia*, P. & O. packet, sinking of, v 303.
- Persian Gulf Expedition**. See *Mesopotamian campaign*.
- Perthes-les-Hurlus**, ii 283, 284, 285; iii 100.
- Peru**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Pervyse**, i 279.
- Peshawar Mountain Battery**, 23rd, on the Mashileh, v 208.
- Pétain**, General, at Verdun, v 236, 238, 243-6; vii 226; Verdun pledge, *on les aura*, vi 226, succeeds to command of central group of French armies, vi 229; and Moronvilliers operations, vii 113-23; and share in decisive campaign of 1918, viii 228, 243, 344.
- Peter**, King, of Serbia, ii 66; at Salonika, vi 208. See also *Serbia*.
- Peters**, Karl, i 195.
- Peterson**, Sir William, ii 146.
- Petit Bois** (Coyschalte), ii 28.
- Petrograd**, i 227; revolution in, vii 303. See also *Russia*.
- "Petulant Fanny"**, vi 13.
- Peyton**, Major-General W. E., v 287, 289, 293, 296-7.
- Pflanzer-Baltin**, General, iii 60, 329-30; iv 41; v 80; vi 23, 28, 31; viii 211.
- Philby**, Captain H. P., D.S.O., iv 90.
- Phillips**, Captain, i 175.
- Phillimore**, Captain R. F., R.N., ii 161.
- Piankyh, Gregory**. See *Rasputin*.
- Piave**, operations on the, viii 120-37, 270-81.
- Pichon**, Stephen, ix 186.
- Pick**, Lieutenant T. W., iii 269.
- Piépape**, Colonel, viii 3.
- Pierre Loti* (French barque), ii 314.
- Pietre Mill**, Aubers Ridge, iv 199.
- Pilitza**, ii 75, 77, 78-9.
- Pilkem**, i 280; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 192, 199; v 155, 160.
- "Pill-boxes"**, German, vii 206, 241.
- Pinney**, Major-General Sir R. J., viii 80.
- Pinsk**, iv 51.
- Pioneer*, H.M.S., vii 54.
- Pit 14 bis, Loos**, iv 210, 214-5, 257-8, 261.
- Planters' Corps (Ceylon)**, ii 153, 157.
- Plava**, iii 279.
- Plessis**, General du, vi 242-4.
- Plock**, iv 36.
- Ploegsteert**, v 147, 149, 262.
- "Plug Street"**. See *Ploegsteert*.
- Plumer**, Sir Herbert, iii 37, 189, 208, 217; near Ypres, 1915, iv 193; and Battle of Messines, vii 173-83; with King Albert's advance in Flanders in 1918, viii 251-63, 327; march into Germany, ix 151, 158.
- Plymouth (Marine) Battalion** of the Royal Naval Division, iii 147, 149, 150. See also *Royal Naval Division*.
- Podgora**, v 8; vi 58, 59.
- Podgoritzza**, v 128.
- Poelcapelle**, i 275, 279.
- Poelzelhock**, i 281.
- Poilu**, fighting qualities of French, v 88.
- Poincaré**, President, leaves for Bordeaux, i 128; greets King George (Dec. 1, 1914), ii 19; house wrecked, ii 290; visits Lunéville, ii 292; iii 105; meeting with King George, iv 324; reply to King George, v 95; congratulations to General Joffre, v 96.
- Poison gas**, anti-gas helmets in action, vi 324.
- Poivre Ridge**, v 236, 238-9, 241, 245.
- Pola**, Austrian naval base, iii 279; iv 175.
- Poland**, particulars of, i 227; Russia promises re-union of (Aug. 14, 1914), i 228; operations in (Aug.-Dec., 1914), i 229, 231, 233; ii 74-88; second campaign in (Jan.-Sept., 1915), ii 207-17; history of partitions of, iv 34-7; Great, iv 35, 37; ceded to Germany, vii 304; terms in final Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 185, 188, 202-6.
- Pollock**, Corporal, V.C., iv 253.
- Polygon Wood**, iii 208-9.
- Pommern*, German battleship, iv 11, 62.
- Pondicherry**, *Emden* at, i 305.
- Poniatowski**, Count Stanislaus, iv 36.
- Ponsonby**, Major Myles, iv 207.
- Pont-à-Mousson**, i 32; ii 290-1; iii 99, 100, 104.
- Pont-Arcy**, i 139-40.
- Pont-de-Ham**, i 271.
- Pope**, Second-Lieutenant W. A., M.C., iv 317.
- Poperinghe**, i 276.
- Porro**, General, iv 331.
- Port Arthur**, iii 21.
- Port Refuge**, i 305.
- Port Said**, ii 200.
- Ports**, terms relating to, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 254-6.
- Porteous**, Sergeant-Major, M.C., iii 145.
- Portugal**, and the war, v 218-24; Germany declares war on, vi 263-4; troops in East African campaign, vi 264; in Flanders, vii 163-4; in Peace Treaty, ix 185.
- Posen**, i 228; ii 81; iv 35-7.
- Posina**, Monte, vi 56.
- Posina Val**, operations (May, 1916), vi 53, 56.
- Post-Office Rifles**. See *London Regiment*.
- Postal Conventions**, in Peace Treaty, ix 239.
- Potaro*, S.S., ii 313.
- Potts**, Private, V.C., v 16-7. — Second-Lieutenant B., M.C., iv 313.
- Pourtales**, Count, i 9.
- Powell**, Lieutenant-Colonel William B., vi 19.
- Pratt**, Brevet-Major G. McD., D.S.O., iv 90.
- Premesques**, i 272.
- Prendergast**, Lieutenant N. H., v 198.
- Pretorius**, Colonel, i 323.
- Pretzman**, Captain, iv 32.
- Priestley**, Major, vi 109.
- Priest's Wood**, iii 99.
- Primo*, S.S., ii 43, 317.
- Primrose**, Right Hon. N., M.P., viii 21.
- Prince Eugene*, H.M.S., iv 276.
- *George*, H.M.S., iii 8, 10; v 49.
- Prince of Wales's Fund**, i 105; ii 263; iv 28.
- Prince Rupert*, H.M.S., iv 275.
- Princess Irene*, H.M.S., iii 184.
- Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry**, i 102; goes into firing-line (Jan., 1915), ii 143; on Western Front, iii 14, 212-3; v 130; vi 38-9.
- Princess Royal*, H.M.S., ii 133-7.
- *Victoria*, S.S., March 9, 1915, ii 326.
- Pringle**, Captain J., M.C., iv 220.
- Prinkipo Island**, ix 160.
- Prinz Albert*, German cruiser, iv 277.
- *Eitel Friedrich*, armed merchant-ship, ii 310, 313-5.
- Pripet country**, operations in, iv 41, 44, 50-1; v 79; vi 22, 23, 25.
- Prisoners**, British treatment of, ii 332.
- German treatment of, vi 99-

- 112; ix 155; clauses in Peace Treaty, ix 222.
- Prize Court**, British, iv 12.
- **Fund**, naval, iv 13.
- Proper**, Captain W. H., D.S.O., ii 325.
- Property Clauses**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 244-7.
- Protopopoff**, M., vii 16-20.
- Prowse**, Major, Somerset Light Infantry, ii 6.
- Prueffer**, Dr., i 216.
- Prussia**, i 2, 10; contribution to German army, i 16; and partition of Poland, iv 34-7.
- Prussian Guards**, at Charleroi, i 42; French inflict severe losses on, i 126; defeated at Ypres, Nov., 1914, ii 12, 13; in Carpathian campaign, iii 62; in struggle for Butte de Warlen-court, vi 315.
- Pruth River**, operations, ii 221, 223; operations, June, 1916, iii 330; vi 28, 31.
- Pryce**, Second-Lieutenant T. T., M.C., v 150.
- Przasnysz**, ii 214; iii 44-5, 334.
- Przemysl**, Russian advance on, i 232; ii 74, 87, 217-9, 224; value of, iii 52-3; fall of, 53-5, 325-9; Austro-German advance on, iii 64-5; Russians relinquish, iii 66.
- Plavmigan*, H.M.S., iii 175.
- Puballo**, General, v 80.
- Pudukota**, Rajah of, i 107.
- Pullman**, Major A. H., D.S.O., iv 250.
- Pulteney**, Lieutenant-General Sir W.P., i 133, 142, 271; ii 6; vi 206.
- Pultusk**, i 200; ii 74, 212.
- Punjabi Regiment**, (29th), i 200.
- Punjabis**, in East Africa, i 200; ii 93, 94; in Mesopotamia, iii 119-20; iv 284-8, 296; vi 9; viii 283; in Gallipoli, iii 168; Western Front, 1915, iv 97.
- Purstow**, Lieutenant J. E., v 133.
- Pusch**, Second-Lieutenant F. L., D.S.O., iv 210.
- Putz**, General, iii 189, 197.
- Pys**, operations, Feb., 1917, vi 326-7; capture of, vi 331.
- “**Q**” **Boats**, employment of, ix 50-2.
- Quaroubles**, i 49, 51.
- Queen*, British transport, sunk, vii 109.
- *Elizabeth*, H.M.S., iii 6, 8, 10, 130, 134; iv 61; ix 91.
- *Mary*, H.M.S., ix 9, 12.
- Queen's Edinburgh**. See *Royal Scots*, 5th.
- **Fund for Women**, iv 28.
- Queensland**, ii 153.
- Queen's Regiment**. See *West Surrey Regiment*, *Royal*.
- **Royal Lancers**, 9th. See *Lancers*, 9th.
- Queenstown**, vi 82, 83.
- Queen's Westminsters**, ii 10.
- **Work for Women Fund**, ii 263.
- Quenington**, Viscount, vii 313.
- Quinchy**, ii 241-3; iii 256.
- Quinn's Post**, iii 172, 292-5, 297-8, 317; iv 128.
- Quinque Rue, La**. See *La Quinque Rue*.
- Rabaul**, ii 152.
- Raby**, Lieutenant H., iv 58.
- Radinghem**, i 272.
- Radkievitch**, General, vi 25.
- Radom**, i 229; ii 72, 78, 79, 83.
- Radoslavoff**, M., iv 184, 226.
- Rafa**, vii 323-4.
- Raids**, Air. See *Air-raids*.
- **Naval**. See *German Navy*, *Royal Navy*, &c.
- Railway Clauses**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 260-2.
- Railways**, British, Government control, ii 261.
- Rainbow*, Canadian cruiser, ii 147.
- Rajkot**, iv 8.
- Rajputs**, i 109; in Mesopotamian campaign, iii 115; on the Mashileh, v 208.
- Ramadie**, battle of, viii 284-6.
- Ramage**, Commander G. N., R.N.R., vii 104.
- Raman's Drift**, iii 73.
- Ramasan*, British transport, sunk, iv 279.
- Ramsay**, Lieutenant-Commander B. H., iv 276.
- Ramsappelle**, ii 272-4.
- Ramsey*, H.M.S., iv 58.
- Ramsgate**, air-raid on, iii 284.
- Ranjitsinhji**, Prince. See *Nawanagar*, *Maharajah Jam*.
- Ranken**, Captain H. S., V.C., i 145; ii 107.
- Rankine**, Lieutenant G., M.C., iv 268.
- **Major R.**, D.S.O., iii 146.
- Ranking**, Captain, Assistant Political Officer, v 206.
- Rasputin**, career of, vii 16.
- Rationing**. See *Food*.
- Rautenbach**, General, i 320.
- Raversyde**, bombarded, iv 276.
- Ravine of Death**, Gallipoli, iii 310.
- Rawka River**, operations, ii 87, 208, 210.
- Rawlinson**, General Sir H., in 1914 operations, i 261, 276, 278, 279, 281, 285; at Rougebanc, iii 233, 234, 237; with 4th Corps, Sept., 1915, iv 204; and Fourth Army (1917), vii 64; and campaigns of 1918, viii 179-80, 182, 246, 248; ix 151. See also *Loos battle*, *Somme battles*, &c.
- Rawstone**, Second-Lieutenant G. S., M.C., iv 65.
- Raynel**, Major, vi 233-5.
- Raynes**, Sergeant, V.C., iv 305-6.
- Read**, Captain, V.C., iv 216.
- **General Y. W.**, viii 246.
- Reading**, Lord, in America, viii 102-3.
- Rebadeau-Thomas**, Dr., vi 107 (Note).
- Rebais**, i 132, 137.
- Red Cross**, British, work of the, ii 102-112; Canadian contributions, ii 148; early work of, ii 105.
- **Fund**, iv 28.
- Redmond**, Mr. John, iv 30.
- **Major W. K.**, M.P., v 259-60; vii 178.
- Redoubtable*, H.M.S., iv 276.
- Reed**, Engineer Sub-Lieutenant Lewis, vi 14.
- Rees**, Captain L. B. W., M.C., iv 72-3.
- Refugees**, Belgian, i 262.
- Regina Zurich**, vi 295-7.
- Regneville**, v 239, 241, 245.
- Reid**, Sir George, ii 156-8.
- **Second-Lieutenant T. R.**, M.C., iv 217.
- Reilly**, Flight-Commander Major H. L., iv 291.
- Reina Margherita*, Italian war-ship, sunk, vii 104.
- Reinold**, Commander H. O., R.N., iv 275.
- Reitz**, i 316, 317, 323.
- Rennenkampf**, General, i 227, 228, 231-2; ii 73; vii 13-4.
- Rennick**, Colonel, 40th Pathan Regiment, iii 204.
- Rennie**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Canadian Brigade, iii 193.
- “**Reparation Commission**”, ix 226.
- Reparation Terms**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 223-33.
- Requim*, French battleship, vii 332; viii 7.
- Reuter**, Admiral von, ix 91, 92.
- Revel**, fall of, vii 304.
- Reventlow**, Count, i 14; ii 43; iii 176; v 304.
- Reynold**, Captain D., V.C., i 120.
- Reynolds**, Captain G. F., M.C., iii 222.
- Rheberg**, Dr., vi 106.
- Rheims**, i 133, 134, 136; iii 102, 104; viii 139, 141, 143, 146-7, 151-2, 155-8, 169.
- **Cathedral**, i 143-6.
- Rhineland**, occupation of, ix 158.
- Rhios**, German armed auxiliary, i 197.
- Rhodesia**, ii 98; iii 97; German flight into, from East Africa, ix 128-9.
- Rhodesian Regiments**, in East Africa, iii 97. See also *East African Campaigns*.
- Rhodes - Moorhouse**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., iii 207-8.

- "Rhododendron Spur", Gallipoli, iv 133 5, 138-40.
- Ribemont**, i 122.
- Ribot**, M., ii 265.
- Richards**, Sergeant A., V.C., iii 157.
- Richebourg-l'Avoué**, iii 237, 238, 241, 243.
- **St. Vaast**, iii 26.
- Richthofen**, German flying "ace", ix 139.
- Riddell**, Brigadier-General, iii 203-4.
- Ridings**, Captain C., D.S.O., iii 160.
- Rifle Brigade**, on the Marne, i 137; operations, Nov., 1914, ii 26; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 24; at Aubers Ridge, iii 29; at St. Eloi, iii 38; at Cordonnerie, v 146-7; 1st Battalion in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 217; at Hooze, iv 69; Second Battalion at Rougebanc, iii 230; 7th Battalion at Hooze, iv 82; 8th Battalion at Hooze, iv 82; 9th at Hooze, iv 194-5, 197-8.
- Rifle Corps, King's Royal**. See *King's Royal Rifle Corps*.
- Rifles, 57th**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 205, 212.
- Riga**, iv 41; operations in the Gulf of, 1915, iv 39, 62-3; v 82-5; vii 294-8.
- Riley**, Lieutenant C. J. M., iv 261.
- Rimington**, General M. F., iv 205.
- Ripley**, Corporal, V.C., iii 231.
- Ritchie**, Commander, V.C., iii 91.
- Major-General A. B., vii 257.
- River Clyde**, H.M.S., iii 131-4, 151-3; v 49.
- Rivers**, Private J., V.C., iii 31.
- Robartes**, Captain, 1st Coldstreams, iv 261.
- Robeck**, Vice-Admiral de. See *De Robeck*.
- Roberts**, Brigadier-General, Cavalry Brigade, Egypt, v 314.
- Field-Marshal Lord, ii 15-7.
- Lieutenant F. C., D.S.O., ii 234.
- Second Lieutenant A. W., M.C., iii 308.
- Second Lieutenant H. O. B., M.C., iv 209-10.
- Robertson**, General Sir W. R., Quarter-Master General, i 38; appointed Chief of the General Staff, 1915, iii 224; attends Allied Council of War, iv 329; Chief of Imperial General Staff, 1916, iv 335; vi 85; ix 153, 154.
- Robin Hood Battalion**. See *Sherwood Foresters*.
- Robinson**, Commander, V.C., vii 317.
- Lieutenant-Commander E., iii 128, 129.
- Captain F. W., iii 269.
- Captain Leefe, V.C., ix 135.
- Captain V. O., M.C., iv 308.
- Roblin**, Sir Rodmond, ii 145.
- Roclincourt**, ii 280; iii 100, 104.
- Rodger**, Lieutenant-Colonel T. A., vi 285. [157-8.]
- Rodzianto**, M., vii 13, 15, 18-20.
- Roieux**, vii 126, 120 30, 135;
- Rogoza**, General, vi 25. [viii 59.]
- Rohner**, Fräulein Beatrice, iv 323.
- Rohr**, General, vi 58.
- Rohrback**, Dr., i 330.
- Roisel**, vii 64.
- Romani**, vii 319.
- Ronaldson**, Lieutenant-Colonel R. M., ii 30.
- Ronarc'h**, Admiral, i 273; ii 271.
- Rondefontein**, i 321.
- Roon**, Russian cruiser, iv 62.
- Roos-Keppel**, Colonel Sir G., vi 198-9.
- Rooth**, Lieutenant-Colonel R. A., iii 154.
- Roper**, Major (Dorset Regiment), i 269; ii 300.
- Roques**, General, vi 71.
- Rosa**, Colonel, ix 124.
- Rose**, Commander F., R.N., i 72.
- Rosebery**, Lord, i 2.
- Rosenthal**, Major-General C., viii 201.
- Rosenwald**, J., viii 99.
- Rosher**, Lieutenant-Colonel H. L., iii 119.
- Ross**, Major H. A., D.S.O., iv 219.
- Lieutenant P. J., M.C., iv 125.
- Rossetti**, Engineer-Commander R., viii 280.
- Ross-shire Buffs**. See *Seaforth Highlanders*, 2nd.
- Rostislav**, Russian battleship, ii 53.
- Rosyth**, i 55; ix 3, 6, 8; German naval surrender at, ix 90-2.
- Rothschild**, Major E. de, viii 21.
- Rotterdam**, ii 248.
- Roubaix**, i 147; iii 207.
- Rougebanc**, battle of, 1915, iii 225-37.
- Roulers**, i 276, 287; iii 216; final capture of, viii 256-7, 260-1.
- Roumania**, ii 220, 222, 223; position of, iv 170; history of, iv 171-3; attitude in 1914, iv 186; entry into war, vi 217-24; vii 1-10; effects of Russian collapse, vii 172; in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 185; Peace Terms with Austria, ix 274; frontier with Bulgaria, ix 280.
- Roupell**, Lieutenant G. R. P., V.C., iii 42.
- Rovno**, iv 51; vi 23.
- Royal Air-craft Factory**, i 77, 189.
- **Army Medical Corps**, its work and strength, ii 102-10; heroism of, ii 107, 145; Territorial Field Ambulances at Givenchy, iii 256; in summer campaign, 1915, iv 90, 97; autumn offensive, 1915, iv 241, 248, 254, 260, 265, 267-8; on Yser Canal, v 158; South Midland Territorial Field Ambulance in Egypt, v 283.
- Royal Army Service Corps**, ii 231-2.
- **Berkshire Regiment**. See *Berkshire Regiment, Royal*.
- **Dublin Fusiliers**. See *Dublin Fusiliers, Royal*.
- Royal Edward*, British S.S., iv 60-1.
- Royal Engineers**, at Mons, i 46; on the Aisne, i 140; November operations, 1914, ii 26; gallantry in action, iv 66-7, 80, 89, 97; round Hooze, iv 195; in Gallipoli, iv 158; at Loos, iv 244, 252, 260, 268, 313-8; Tunnelling Company of, vii 191; 2nd Highland Territorial Company at Festubert, iii 243; 1st East Lancashire Field Company Territorial Force in Gallipoli, iii 304.
- **Field Artillery**, at Neuve Chapelle, 1915, iii 236, 316; Ypres, 1915, iv 66; at Loos, iv 245; in Gallipoli, v 35; in Egypt, v 276; in Mesopotamia, v 315. See also *British Army, &c.*
- **Flying Corps**. See *Air Service, British*.
- **Fusiliers** (City of London Regiment), at Mons, i 46; take Herties, i 271; in Gallipoli, iii 147, 156, 158, 305, 314; at Hooze, iii 262; at St. Eloi, v 249; in East African campaign, vi 270; 2nd Battalion in Gallipoli, iii 314; v 38; 3rd Battalion at Neuve Chapelle, iii 21; at Loos, iv 245, 266-7; 4th in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 209; 6th at Givenchy, iii 256; 7th at Festubert, iii 243; 17th near Cambrai, vii 284. See also *Jewish Regiment*.
- **Highlanders, 1st (Black Watch)**, at Mons, i 48; on the Marne, i 137; at Givenchy, ii 235, 238; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 24; at Rougebanc, iii 232; iv 231; at Hooze, iii 262-3; at Neuve Chapelle, iv 199; at Hulluch, iv 219, 221; at Loos, iv 254; in Mesopotamia, v 324.
- **Horse Artillery**, in Egypt, v 283-5, 289; in Palestine, vii 322, 325. See also *British Army, &c.*
- **Indian Marine**, in Mesopotamian campaign, 1915, iv 280.
- **Inniskilling Fusiliers**. See *Inniskilling Fusiliers*.
- **Irish Fusiliers**. See *Irish Fusiliers, Royal*.
- **Regiment**. See *Irish Regiment, Royal*.
- **Lancaster Regiment**. See *Lancaster Regiment, King's Own Royal*.



**Royal Marines.** See *Marines, Royal.*

— **Munster Fusiliers.** See *Munster Fusiliers, Royal.*

— **Naval Brigades and Divisions,** i 186, 187; in Gallipoli, iii 8, 147, 149-50, 158, 164, 172, 292, 299, 301-2, 320, 324; v 47; operations on the Ancre, vi 301, 306-10; in the Scarpe battle, viii 206-7. See also *Hood Battalion, Howe Battalion, &c.*

— **Reserve,** i 53, 55.

— **Volunteer Reserve,** i 55.

— **Navy,** strength at beginning of war, 52, 54; mobilization and opening operations, i 53-73; early submarine work and commerce-destroyers, i 165, 190; command of the North Sea (Oct.-Nov., 1914), i 234-52; cruiser war in distant seas (Nov., 1914), i 299-309; home waters and German raids (Nov.-Dec., 1914), ii 37-49; submarine work in Dardanelles, ii 55-6; Cuxhaven raid, ii 123-8; operations, Dec., 1914-Jan., 1915, ii 126-40; Falkland Island battle, ii 159-68; Admiralty and its story, ii 168-78; daily cost (April, 1915), ii 264; rounding up German commerce-destroyers (Dec., 1914-April, 1915), ii 310-6, 152; first year's record, iv 9-13; in Dardanelles, March, 1915, iii 124-38; operations during summer of 1915, iv 54-64; assistance in Gallipoli operations, iv 122, 146-8; work of, Aug.-Dec., 1915, iv 274-80; in Mesopotamian campaign, June-Oct., 1915, iv 280, 287, 290-1; King and Queen's message to, Christmas, 1915, iv 336; operations, Jan.-May, 1916, v 307-13; requirements of (*re* recruiting), vi 76; in Bagdad operations, vii 51-4; minor operations, June, 1916-Dec., 1917, vii 98-112; closing phases of the naval war, ix 69-112; total casualties, ix 296. See also *Jutland Battle, &c.*

— **Board,** ii 169-70.

— **Rifles, King's,** round Hooze, iv 194; at Cordonnerie, v 146; round Ypres, vii 184-5, 180; 1st Battalion in Flanders, iv 223, 252; 2nd Battalion at Rougebanc, iii 228; in Flanders, iv 216-7; 3rd and 4th Battalions in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214; 7th, 8th, and 9th Battalions at Hooze, iv 82.

— **Scots (Lothian Regiment),** at Mons, i 46, 48, 119; at Wytschaete, ii 28; at Hooze, iii 262; in Egypt, v 283-4, 289; at Passchendaele, vii 262; 4th Battalion in Gallipoli, iii 312-3,

323; v 42; 5th Battalion in Gallipoli, iii 163, 308, 312-3, 323; 7th Battalion in Gallipoli, iii 312-3; v 42; 8th Territorial Battalion at Festubert, iii 242; 9th Battalion in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214; 12th Battalion at Loos, iv 254; 13th Battalion at Loos, iv 247.

**Royal Scots Fusiliers.** See *Scots Fusiliers, Royal.*

— **Sussex Regiment.** See *Sussex Regiment, Royal.*

— **Welsh Fusiliers.** See *Welsh Fusiliers, Royal.*

— **West Kent Regiment.** See *West Kent Regiment, Royal.*

— **West Surrey Regiment.** See *West Surrey Regiment, Royal.*

**Roye,** i 125; vii 62; viii 52-4, 200, 228-30, 232-3.

**Royle,** Captain, Egyptian Coast-guard Service, v 295.

**Royston,** Colonel, South Africa, i 315.

— **Brigadier-General J. R.,** vii 317, 329.

**Rozhan,** iii 334-5.

**Ruchin,** German mine-layer, i 209.

**Rucker,** Lieutenant C. E. S., M.C., v 147.

**Rue du Bois,** iii 231, 237, 244, 268.

— **Marais,** iii 240, 245.

**Ruffey,** General, i 263.

**Rufigi River,** ii 93; vi 283, 284-5, 287; ix 113.

**Ruggles-Brise,** Captain E., M.C., iii 217.

**Rumbold,** Sir Horace, i 4.

**Runciman,** Walter, iv 32.

**Rupprecht,** Crown Prince of Bavaria, i 146, 724; vii 125, 162, 241; viii 250.

**Rurik,** Russian cruiser, iv 62.

**Rushi Pasha,** i 333.

**Russell,** Brigadier-General A. H., iv 130, 134; v 20-1, 27.

— **Captain the Hon. B. J.,** D.S.O., iii 236.

**Russell,** British battleship, sunk, v 307.

— **"Russell's Top",** iv 133.

**Russia,** ex-Emperor of. See *Nicholas II.*

— **ex-Empress of.** See *Alix, ex-Empress of Russia.*

— **war preliminaries,** i 3-9, 17, 20; ii 266; war spirit in, 1915, iv 4-5; and partition of Poland, iv 34-7; interest in Constantinople, iv 167; breaks off relations with Bulgaria, iv 187; Kitchener's projected visit to, vi 65, 66; eve of Revolution, vii 1-10; fall of Tsardom in, March, 1917, vii 10-22; conditions in, vii 156-72, 287-306; ix 159; in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 209.

**Russian Army,** strength of, i 17-8; opening campaigns on European Front, i 225-233; offensive in Caucasus, i 325; first Warsaw campaign (Oct.-Nov., 1914), ii 73-88; operations in Caucasus, winter of 1914-5, ii 190-9; Warsaw campaign, Jan.-Feb., 1915, ii 207-24; operations, Feb.-April, 1915, iii 44-66; campaign to fall of Warsaw, Aug., 1915, iii 325-6; winter campaign of 1915-6, v 77-85; advance in Asia Minor, v 174-88; junction with Gorringe on Tigris, vi 1; campaign of 1916, vi 21-33; deterioration in, vii 3-4; winter operations of 1916-7, vii 5-10; effects of Revolution, vii 10-22; last effort in 1917, vii 150-83; collapse of, vii 287-306.

— **Navy,** strength at beginning of war, i 189; ii 52-3; operations in Baltic, summer, 1915, iv 61-4; under the Revolution, vii 297-8. See also *Black Sea, Baltic, &c.*

**Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8,** iv 173.

**Rustenburg,** i 317.

**Ruthenians,** in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 201.

**Rutlam,** Chief, i 107.

**Rutoire,** ii 279.

**Ruzsky,** General, i 227, 229-32; ii 87, 217; v 77, 82-3; vii 13, 19, 21.

**Ryan,** Captain D. G. J., D.S.O., iii 315.

**Ryrie,** Brigadier-General G. de L., vii 329.

— **"S" Beach,** Gallipoli, iii 131, 132, 139.

**Saar Basin,** in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 190-5.

**Sabotino, Mount,** vi 58-60.

**Sachin,** Chief, i 107.

**Sadani,** German East Africa, captured, vi 283.

**Saghier Deir,** iii 149, 311-2, 314.

**Said Halim, Prince,** i 214.

**Saillard,** Commander, iv 275.

**Sailly,** viii 65.

— **-Saillisel,** vi 199-201.

**St. Andrew's Ambulance Association,** ii 102, 109.

**St. Croix River,** ii 147.

— **Die,** i 263; ii 293.

— **Eloi,** ii 277; fighting in neighbourhood of, iii 13; German attack on, and recapture of, iii 36-8; battle of the Craters at, v 249-55.

— **Georges,** ii 272-4.

— **Gilles,** i 258-9.

— **Hubert,** ii 286.

— **John,** Lieutenant-Commander A. O., vii 317.

— **— Captain F. G.,** M.V.O., ii 134.

- St. John's Ambulance Association**, ii 102, 109.
- **Julien**, i 280; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 192, 193, 197-204, 208, 213; later operations, v 258; vii 196-7, 200-1, 205, 210, 250-2.
- **Laurent**, ii 280; v 247.
- **Marguerite**, i 140, 142; ii 269, 270.
- **-Marie-aux-Mines**, i 32.
- **Menehould**, ii 285.
- **Mihiel, and salient**, i 263; ii 287-8; iii 102; description of, iv 103-4; vii 227; captured in Franco-American advance, viii 237-9.
- **Nazaire**, i 39, 126.
- **Omer**, i 264.
- **Pancras Battalion**. See *London Regiment*, 19th.
- **Paul**, near Soissons, ii 268, 270.
- **Petersburg**. See *Petrograd*.
- **Pierre Divion**, vi 293-301.
- **Pol**, iv 205.
- **Quentin**, i 121-2; ii 283; vii 65-7, 285; viii 40-2, 236, 240-2, 246.
- **Thomas**, v 220.
- **Trond**, i 27.
- **Vaast**, i 139.
- **Vincent**, i 105.
- **Yves**, ii 6.
- Saisi**, defence of, vi 251-2.
- Sakharoff**, General, vi 25, 30, 32; vii 6-8.
- Salaita**, German East Africa, vi 254.
- Salandra**, Signor, iii 275-6.
- Salisbury**, Lord, Eastern policy of, iv 169.
- **Plain**, ii 142, 148, 156.
- Salmon**, Captain Hugh M. B., D.S.O., ii 238.
- Salonika**, Greeks in, iv 170, 188; British landing at, iv 234-6; and Balkan campaign, Nov., 1915-Jan., 1916, v 113-29; in 1916 operations, vi 211-7; in closing campaigns, viii 208-10.
- Salt**, Second-Lieutenant W. A., M.C., iii 213.
- Saltholm**, iv 63.
- Samarin**, M., dismissal of, vii 16.
- Samarra**, viii 287-8.
- Sambre Valley**, operations, i 40, 41, 43, 78.
- Sammut**, Major H. J., iii 163.
- Samoa**, i 101-2, 203.
- Samogneau**, v 233-5.
- Samson**, Seaman, V.C., iii 134.
- **Wing-Commander C. R.**, R.N., D.S.O., i 154-5.
- Samsonoff**, General, i 228, 231.
- Samuel**, Herbert, iv 31; vi 85.
- Sanckang**, iii 95.
- Sanctuary Wood**, iv 85, 190, June, 1916, vi 38, 40, 42.
- Sanda**, H.M.S., iv 276.
- Sanday**, Captain W. D. S., M.C., v 162.
- Sanders**, Brigadier-General G. A. F., viii 290.
- **General Liman von**, i 213, 327; iii 162, 172, 292, 317.
- San Giuliano**, Marchese di, iii 275.
- San Martino**, v 9.
- **Michele**, Monte, vi 58-61.
- Sanna-i-Yat**, position, v 329; vi 3, 6, 7, 10, 12; vii 45-51.
- Sanok**, iii 327.
- Sanrin**, Commander G. L., R.N., iv 276.
- San River**, operations, i 232; ii 74, 80, 81, 87; iii 327-9, 331-2.
- San Stefano**, Treaty of, iv 174.
- Sapphire**, H.M.S., iii 131, 150.
- Sarajevo**, i 225; ii 63.
- Sarduice**, iii 272-3.
- Sari Bair**, iii 166; iv 115, 121, 128-9, 136, 138-9, 146-8, 159.
- Sarikamish**, ii 195; v 174-5.
- Saros**, Gulf of, iii 169; iv 115, 164.
- Sarrail**, General, at the First Battle of the Marne, i 134; succeeds General Ruffey, i 263; successes, Oct., 1914, i 264; iii 320; in Serbia, 1915, iv 236-7, 240; in Salonika, v 113-5, 117, 120-3.
- Sarrebouurg**, ii 294.
- Saskatchewan**, i 105; ii 147.
- Sasse**, Captain C. D., D.S.O., iv 125.
- Saunders**, Captain C. R. E., iii 209.
- **Sergeant**, V.C., v 271.
- Savage**, Second-Lieutenant J. B., M.C., iii 240.
- Savanur**, iv 8.
- Save River**, operations, i 225, 233; ii 57, 72; iv 188, 228-30.
- Savill**, Captain Herbert J. (*Hampshire*), vi 67, 68.
- Savoff**, General, iv 177, 184.
- Savoy**, House of, iii 272.
- **Prince Thomas of**. See *Thomas*, *Prince*.
- Saxe-Weimar**, ix 172.
- Saxony**, contribution to German army, i 16.
- Sayer**, Captain A. P., D.S.O., iv 244.
- Sazonoff**, M., i 9; ii 198; iv 176.
- Scapa Flow**, i 59; ii 40; ix 3, 6, 8, 90-9.
- Scarborough raids**, ii 44-6, 48, 49.
- Scarpe**, battle of the, viii 204-7.
- Scharnhorst**, German armoured cruiser, i 65, 301, 304, 305; ii 162, 165-8; iv 11; ix 218.
- Schebeke**, M., Russian Ambassador to Austria, 1914, i 5.
- Scheer**, Admiral von, vi 66; ix 18, 24.
- Scheldt Canal**, captured, viii 248, 315, 325-7.
- Scheldt River**, i 253, 257, 259.
- Schemtschug**, or *Zemschug*, Russian cruiser, i 306.
- Scherbatcheff**, General, vi 27, 32, 33; vii 68.
- Schiedemann**, Herr, ix 171, 179, 182.
- Schleswig**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 207-9.
- Schnee**, Governor of German East Africa, vi 279; ix 129.
- Scholz**, General von, iv 44.
- Schroeder**, Admiral von, i 262, 314-5.
- Schurt Drift**, iii 73.
- Schven**, Baron von, i 22.
- Schwaben Redoubt**, vi 293-8.
- Schwerin**, Count von, i 314.
- Scimitar Hill**. See *Hill* 70.
- Sclater**, Captain G. L. (*Bulwark*), ii 44.
- **Lieutenant-General Sir H. C.**, ii 185.
- Scorpion**, H.M.S., iii 311.
- Scots Fusiliers, Royal**, in Palestine, vii 311-3; in Bulgaria, viii 219; 1st Battalion round Hooze, iv 195; 2nd Battalion at Neuve Chapelle, iii 32; 6th Battalion at Loos, iv 263; 7th Battalion at Loos, iv 248.
- **Greys, Royal, 2nd Dragoons**, at the Marne, i 137.
- **Guards**, operations Nov. 26-7, 1914, ii 26; at Loos, iv 257-8, 260, 303; 1st Battalion near La Bassée, iv 96; 2nd Battalion at Richebourg, iii 241.
- Scott**, Captain A. H., D.S.O., iv 125.
- **Second-Lieutenant E. C.**, M.C., iv 318.
- **Major G. B.**, v 197-8.
- **Captain J. M.**, D.S.O., iii 221.
- **Sir Percy**, on submarine warfare, i 175.
- **-Moncrieff**, Brigadier-General W., iii 313-4.
- Scottish Borderers, King's Own**, at Mons, i 45, 48; in Gallipoli, iii 147, 149, 150; v 40; in Flanders, iv 212; at Gheluvelt, vii 253.
- **Rifles (Cameronians)**, 1st at St. Quentin, i 122; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 23; 7th and 8th Battalions in Gallipoli, iii 313; v 42; 10th Battalion at Loos, iv 246; 11th Battalion in Bulgaria, viii 219.
- **troops**, at Roclincourt, v 263-4; on the Ancre, capture of Beaumont Hamel, vi 201-6; further advance, 325-6; at Buzancy, viii 174-5; at the Scarpe, viii 204-7. See also under various *Scottish regiments*, &c.
- "Scrap of paper"**, origin of saying, i 13.

- Scringer**, Captain, V.C., iii 198-9.  
**Scrutton**, Second-Lieutenant H. U., M.C., iii 262-3. [240.]  
**Scutari**, iv 170, 173, 177, 233.  
**Seaforth Highlanders**, near Givenchy, ii 32; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 21; at Roclincourt, v 263; 2nd Battalion (Ross-shire Buffs), iv 65; 7th Battalion at Fosse 8, iv 221, 252; 72nd (Vancouver Regiment) at La Quinque Rue, iii 249.  
**Seaham**, bombarded, vii 103.  
**Sea-planes, British**, at outbreak of war, i 79, 166; stories, ii 118-9, 23-5. [M.C., iii 239.]  
**Searle**, Second-Lieutenant C. S., **Seckham**, Lieutenant L. B. L., M.C., iii 156. [216, 326.]  
**Secret Service**, German, i 105.  
**Sedan**, captured, 1918, viii 331.  
**Sedd el Bahr**, iii 4, 6, 8, 129, 142, 152-4, 156, 305.  
**Seeheim**, evacuation of, iii 77.  
**Seely**, Brigadier-General J. E. B., ii 149, 187; at "Bexhill", iii 251.  
**Segrave**, Captain John R. (*Orama*), ii 312.  
**Seitz**, German Governor of South-West Africa, i 322.  
**Selborne**, Earl of, iv 32.  
**Selous**, Captain F. C., killed in German East Africa, vi 249.  
**Semlin**, i 233; ii 58.  
**Senegal River**, v 220.  
**Senegalese troops**, i 19; in Gallipoli, iii 168.  
**Senlis**, i 16, 127, 128.  
**Senussi campaign**, v 279-96.  
**Seraing**, i 24.  
**Serajevo**, i 4; ii 72.  
**Seranvillers**, i 116. [206.]  
**Serapeum**, ii 200, 202, 203, 205.  
**Serb - Croat - Slovene State**, Peace Terms with Austria, ix 272, 273; Peace Terms with Bulgaria, ix 280, 282, 283.  
**Serbia**, and the outbreak of war, i 2-4, 9-16; strength of army, i 18; Government removed to Nish, i 225; opening operations, i 225, 226; ii 57-68; Austria's encroachment upon, iii 275; history of, iv 170-1; compact with Greece, iv 179, 184-8; invasion of, Oct.-Dec., 1915, iv 225-40; v 78; 1916 operations, vi 213-7; closing campaigns, viii 208-24; new kingdom of, ix 178. See also *Balkans*, &c.  
**Seres**, v 121.  
**Sereth River**, operations, ii 221, 223; vi 31, 32.  
**Sergius**, Grand-Duke, vii 12.  
**Serre**, operations leading to capture of, vi 208 312, 321 2, 330.  
**Seventy-five-centimetre guns**, **French**, ii 273, 281; iii 258; iv 302.  
**Severn**, British monitor, i 244, 246  
*Seydlitz*, German battle-cruiser, ii 45, 136, 137; ix 99, 218.  
**Shabatz**, operations, ii 57, 58, 59, 67.  
**Shaiba**, iii 116-8.  
*Shailan*, British gunboat, v 315.  
**Shanghai**, i 206; ix 210.  
**Shannon**, Captain, R.N., i 322.  
**Shantung**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 212.  
**Sharpe**, Acting-Corporal, V.C., iii 228.  
**Shatt-el-Arab**, i 332; iii 113, 122.  
 — — — **-Hai**, v 327, 330, 336.  
**Shaw**, Lieutenant-Colonel A. E., iv 39, 42.  
 — Major-General Sir F. C., i 271; iv 145-6.  
**Shearman**, Colonel, 10th Hussars, iii 217.  
**Sheepshanks**, Captain A. C., D.S.O., iv 84.  
**Sheerness**, *Bulwark* blown up at, ii 44.  
 — **Dockyard**, iii 184.  
**Sheikh Saad**, v 319-21; vi 2.  
 — **-ul-Islam**, i 217.  
**"Shell Trap Farm"**, iii 213, 221.  
**Sheppard**, Brigadier-General S. H., in East African campaign, vi 259-61, 270, 275-6, 291.  
**Sheria**, viii 6, 10, 13-4.  
**Sherwood Foresters**, at Loos, iv 308, 312; v 155; 1st Battalion at Neuve Chapelle, iii 24; at Rougebanc, iii 232; 2nd Battalion at Hooze, iv 92.  
 — **Rangers**. See *Nottinghamshire Yeomanry*.  
**Shield**, Second-Lieutenant H. S., M.C., v 161.  
**Shillington**, Lieutenant-Colonel, ii 148.  
**"Ship of Troy"**. See *River Clyde*, S.S.  
**Shipping, British**, first year's losses, iv 12; position end of 1917, viii 111; results of war on, ix 73-7; 103-12; terms in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 229-30, 237-8. See also *Merchantile Marine*.  
 — **German**, losses, iv 12; terms in Peace Treaty, ix 229-30; 237-8.  
 — **Neutral**, losses, iv 12-3.  
**Shiraz**, v 209-10.  
**Shorncliffe**, Queen's Canadian Hospital, ii 148.  
**Shorthose**, Colonel, ix 121.  
**Shoubridge**, Major-General T. H., viii 273.  
**Shout**, Captain, V.C., iv 126.  
**"Shrapnel Valley"**, iii 172.  
**Shropshire Light Infantry**, at Ypres, v 257-78; at Bligny, viii 147; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 212; 1st Battalion at Hooze, iv 89; 5th Battalion at Hooze, iv 194-5; 8th Battalion in Bulgaria, viii 218.  
**Siam**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185, 210-1.  
**Siberia**, Austrian and German prisoners interned, ii 77, 88.  
**Sicily**, iv 272-3.  
**"Sidi Ibrahim"**, iv 107.  
**Siedlice**, iii 332.  
*Siegfried*, German ship, iv 62.  
**Sikhs**, in Indian contingent of Expeditionary Force, i 108; ii 31; in East Africa, ii 93; (4th) Neuve Chapelle, ii 9; in Gallipoli, iii 168, 300; iv 136, 146; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 205-7; in Egypt, v 276, 283, 285-8; in Mesopotamia, vi 9; viii 283.  
**Sikorsky biplanes**, v 53-4.  
**Silesia**, iv 35; Germans assemble from Posen to, ii 74; operations, ii 81, 87, 217; in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 202-3.  
**Sillackey**, crest of, iii 108.  
**Silver**, Captain (H.M.A.S. *Melbourne*), i 307, 330.  
**"Silver Bullets"**, ii 264.  
**Simon**, Sir John, iv 31; vi 77, 85. — Captain V. H., M.C., iv 260.  
**Sims**, Vice-Admiral, vii 35-6. — Lieutenant T. C., iii 269.  
**Sinai Peninsula**, i 332; ii 199; vii 307-36.  
**Singapore**, ii 152.  
**Singh**, Sir Pertab, i 107, 205; ii 21.  
 — Colonel Ragbir, iii 90.  
 — Colonel T. D., M.C., viii 307.  
**Sinha**, Sir Satyendra, v 200.  
**Sinn Aftar**, vi 7, 9.  
*Sinope*, Russian battleship, i 54.  
**Sippe**, Flight-Lieutenant S. V., i 150, 293-5; ii 298.  
**Sirhind Brigade**, Indian army, ii 29; at Givenchy, ii 30, 31 32; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 206-7.  
*Sir John Moore*, British flagship, iv 275.  
**Sirmur**, iv 8.  
**Skeen**, Brigadier-General, iv 122.  
**Skjerniewice**, ii 74, 79, 83, 208, 210.  
**Skinner**, Major-General P. C. B., viii 254.  
**Skipwith**, Captain H. L. d'E., R.N., i 122; ii 161.  
**Skoloudis**, M., iv 188.  
**Skrava River**, ii 209.  
**Skuptchina**, meeting of, iv 185.  
**Sladen**, Brigadier-General G. C., viii 281.  
*Slawa*, Russian Dreadnought, vii 298.  
**Slivnitsa**, battle of, iv 175  
**Sloggett**, Sir A. T., ii 102.  
**Slovenes**, iv 170; ix 178.



- Smart**, Captain H. S., iii 243.  
**Smirnoff**, General, vi 25.  
**Smith**, Second-Lieutenant A. V., V.C., v 41.  
 — Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington, iii 153, 154.  
 — Lieutenant-Colonel C. L., V.C., vii 318.  
 — Major C. J. L., iii 268-9.  
 — Sir F. E., iv 31.  
 — Major-General W. E. B., vii 317, 325.  
 — **-Dorrien**, General Sir H., Mons and the retreat, i 42, 44, 51, 116, 118; French's appreciation of his work, i 121; at Braisne, i 138; at the Aisne battle, i 140, 142; on line Aire to Bethune, i 267; retires west of La Bassée, i 271; in command of Second Army at Neuve Chapelle, iii 18; succeeded by Sir Henry Plumer and appointed K.C.M.G., iii 189; appointed to East African command, vi 247; retires through ill-health, vi 247.  
**Smuts**, General, and South African revolt, i 312, 318; iii 72, 78-9, 81, 87; East African campaign, vi 246-92; appointed to Imperial War Conference, London, vi 288-9; mission to Bela Kun, ix 176-7; in Peace Treaty, ix 185.  
 — Colonel T., i 318.  
**Smylie**, Flight Sub-Lieutenant G. F., D.S.O., v 33-4.  
**Smyrna**, iii 125, 126; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 286.  
**Smyth**, Major-General N. M., iv 123, 125; viii 264.  
 — Lieutenant, V.C., iii 245-7.  
**Snagge**, Commander A. L., R.N., **Sniping**, iii 266. [i 244.  
**Snow**, Major-General Sir T. D'Oyly, in Mons retreat, i 114, 116; praises "Princess Pat's", ii 143; iii 200, 201.  
 — Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding Western Desert, v 280, 284.  
**Sochaczew**, ii 87.  
**Society Islands**, i 301.  
**Sodon**, German gunboat, i 197.  
**Sofia**, iv 184, 187, 227, 234; v 122.  
**Soissons**, i 126-7, 138, 139, 142; ii 268, 283; viii 144, 153, 162-3, 169, 172, 175.  
**Soizy aux Bois**, i 136.  
**Soko Nassai**, German East Africa, vi 260-1.  
**Soldau**, i 228, ii 81.  
**Solf**, Herr, ix 153.  
**Sollum**, v 282-3, 287, 289, 293-4.  
**Somers**, Sergeant, V.C., iii 318.  
**Somerset**, Second-Lieutenant F. A., M.C., v 149.  
 — **Light Infantry**, north of Cambrai, i 120; ii 6, 8; iv 194, 245; v 145-6; vii 208.  
**Somerwill**, Lieutenant W. F., M.C., iii 32.  
**Somme River**, in opening operations of war, i 125, 126; preparation for great push, vi 35; battle and munitions, vi 88; Sir D. Haig's appeal to the workers, vi 92; battle of (July-Nov., 1916), vi 113-206; operations in 1917, vii 61-6, 70; second battle, March-April, 1918, viii 31-61; final battles 1918, viii 117-207.  
**Sondernach**, iv 106, 109.  
**Songwe**, i 201.  
**Sonnino**, Baron, iii 275-6; ix 153, 186. [88.  
**Sopwith**, Lieutenant G., M.C., iv  
**Sordet**, General, i 31, 118, 122, 125.  
**Souchez**, iv 208, 224, 271-3; v 100, 246, 267; vii 185.  
**Soudan**, campaign in, 1916, v 297-300; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287.  
**Soudanese troops**, in East Africa, ii 93.  
**Souter**, Colonel, D.S.O., Dorset Yeomanry, v 291, 293.  
**South Africa**, German miscalculations regarding, i 98; revolt in, i 103, 310-24; loyalty of, i 103, 104, 311; Government undertakes campaign in South-West Africa, i 104-5; 201-2; military contributions, iv 7; aerial effort, ix 147.  
 — **African Artillery**, iii 74.  
 — **Engineers**, iii 71, 82.  
 — **Mounted Rifles**, i 104, 320, 321.  
 — **Regiment**, in Egypt, v 286-90.  
 — **troops**, on Western Front, arrival, 1916, v 271, 273; operations in France and Flanders, vii 75, 244-6; viii 65-6, 73, 256, 262. See also *East and South-West African Campaign*.  
 — **War**, cost of, ii 264; total casualties, iv 13.  
**Southampton**, H.M.S., ii 153.  
**Southend**, air-raids on, iii 284, 287.  
**South Lancashire Regiment**, at Hooze, iii 262; iv 195; in Gallipoli, iv 131, 137, 138-40, 159; in Mesopotamia, vi 9; in Bulgaria, viii 217-8.  
**Southland**, sinking of transport, v 31.  
**South Staffordshire Regiment**, at Festubert, iii 244; at Loos, iv 306, 310; in Italy, viii 275.  
**South Wales Borderers**, at Givenchy, ii 32, 238; in Gallipoli, iii 147, 149, 159, 306, 309; iv 130, 135, 144; v 13; at Loos, iv 313; in Bulgaria, viii 218, 222; in Mesopotamia, vii 48, 283.  
**South-West Africa**, German colonization of, i 193, 201-2; South Africa carries war into, i 104, 311, 312; De Wet and, i 318; Kemp escapes into, i 320; Botha and situation in, ii 100-2; conquest of, iii 67-98.  
**Sovereignty of the Seas**, **Britain's**, iv 10; effect of war on, ix 103-12.  
**Spanish Government**, and German prisoners from the Cameroons, v 75-6.  
**Spartacus group**, in Germany, ix 179.  
**Spee**, Admiral von, i 301, 302; ii 159, 160, 163.  
**Speedy**, British gunboat, i 166.  
**Sphinxhaven**, iii 92.  
**Spies**, air-ship (French), i 90.  
**Spincourt**, i 32.  
**Spinks**, Lieutenant W. D., M.C., iii 250.  
**Spithead review**, 1914, i 53.  
**Srebrenitz**, ii 57, 58.  
**Staffordshire troops**, in Gallipoli, v 47; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 32. See also *North and South Staffordshire*.  
**Stambouloff**, iv 171, 176.  
**Standish**, Major I. T., D.S.O., v 24.  
**Stanhope**, Captain C. J. L., M.C., iii 222.  
**Stanislau**, ii 219, 223; operations round, iii 50, 330; vi 29, 30, 32.  
**Stanton**, M. C. B., M.P., iv 20.  
**Stapleford**, Sub-Lieutenant, iii 183.  
**Steel-Maitland**, A., iv 32.  
**Steenstraete**, iii 191, 192, 199, 208, 219; v 169; vii 192.  
**Stefanovitch**, Count, iv 331.  
**Steinabrück**, iii 108.  
**Steinbach**, ii 298.  
**Stendal**, prisoners' camp, vi 100, 104, 107, 108.  
**Stephens**, Major-General R. B., viii 80.  
**Stevens**, Lieutenant-General R. B., viii 260.  
 — Second-Lieutenant A. E., iv 69.  
**Stevenson**, Second-Lieutenant J. F., M.C., v 166.  
 — R. L., tomb at Upolu, i 101.  
**Steward**, Captain G. B., M.C., iv 244.  
**Stewart**, Major-General J. M., ii 91; in East African campaign, vi 249-50, 254-9.  
**Stock Exchange**, and the war, ii 261.  
**Stockwell**, Captain C., D.S.O., iii 240.  
**Stoddart**, Rear-Admiral A. P., ii 161.  
**Stoker**, Commander H. G. D., iii 137.  
**Stokes bombs**, vi 335.

- Stokhod River**, operations, vi 27, 29, 33.
- Stoney**, Captain G. B., D.S.O., iii 300; v 41.
- Stonor**, Captain W. G., ii 91, 92.
- "Stony Mountain"**, Festubert, iii 266, 267, 269, 271.
- Stopford**, Lieutenant-General Sir F. W., iv 117-8, 147-8, 150, 152, 154-7, 159 61, 163-4.
- Storey**, Second-Lieutenant K., M.C., iv 88.
- Stossweier**, iii 107.
- Strasbourg**, ix 151, 158, 197.
- Strathcona's Horse**, i 102, 103; at "Bexhill", iii 250, 251 near Messines, iv 96.
- Street**, Staff-Captain, iv 143.
- Strickland**, Major-General E. P., viii 247.
- Strikes**, in Great Britain, iv 19.
- Strong**, Commander F. K. (*Dwvlf*), i 197.
- Strongbow**, H.M.S., vii 108.
- Struma River**, v 121.
- Strumnitz**, iv 236; v 115.
- Stryja**, iii 50, 328.
- Strypa River** operations, vi 27, 30, 33.
- Stuart**, Captain the Hon. R. S., iv 263.
- Lieutenant Viscount, iv 263.
- Stuemer, von**, ix 117.
- Sturdee**, Admiral Doveton, ii 160-5; ii 174, 310; receives K.C.M.G., vii 102.
- Sturges**, Captain C. H. M., D.S.O., iii 258-9.
- Stürmer**, M., vii 16-7, 20.
- Styles**, Captain, Canadian Battalion, v 255.
- Styr River**, vi 27.
- Subahdar Parbat Chand**, M.C., iii 32.
- Subhi Bey**, Governor of Basra, i 332.
- Submarines**, Austrian, attacks of, iv 59-60.
- **British**, number available at beginning of war, i 54; exploits of *E 9*, i 247-8; Dardanelles raid, Dec., 1914, ii 55-6; in Sea of Marmora, record of, v 30-1. See also *Royal Navy*.
- **German**, at beginning of war, i 63; development of submarine warfare, i 165-76, 246-52; ii 42, 55, 137; "blockade" of British Isles, ii 316-36; iii 135, 175-85; operations in 1915, iv 54-9, 61; in 1916, v 301-13; in 1917, vii 102-6. See also "*U*" Boats and *German Navy*.
- Suez Canal**, Turkey plans attack on, i 216, 330, 331; attacks on, ii 200-6; v 275-8, 280; vii 307-8; in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 212.
- Suffolk**, H.M.S., ii 316.
- Suffolk Regiment**, near Cambrai, 1914, i 121; near Givenchy, ii 31; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 24; in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 213, 215; at Loos, iv 244; at Passchendaele, vii 262; at Fleurbaix, viii 64.
- Suffren**, French war-ship, iii 6, 8, 10; torpedoed, vii 104.
- Sugana, Val**, vi 51-5.
- Sugar**, supplies and prices, ii 259.
- Sukhomlinoff**, General, vii 12.
- Sulajik**, iv 152, 158. [251.]
- Sulleban**, Major J. J., D.S.O., vi
- Sultan Selim** (Turkish super-Dreadnought). See *Goeben*.
- Sumana**, gunboat, iv 287; vii 54.
- Surrey Regiment, East**. See *East Surrey Regiment*.
- **Royal West**. See *West Surrey Regiment, Royal*.
- Susa** (Cameroons), i 198; ii 99, 100.
- Sussex**, torpedoed, v 306; vii 28-9.
- Sussex Regiment, Royal**, in Mons retreat, i 51; at Givenchy, ii 236, 240; at Rougebanc, iii 228, 231; at Hulluch, iv 216; at Loos, iv 255.
- Sutcliffe**, Captain A. W., M.C., iv 218-9.
- Sutherland Highland Territorials**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 210, 213-20.
- Switla**, Russian gunboat, iv 63.
- Suvla Bay**, iii 142; Gallipoli operations, Aug., 1915, iv 113-5, 118, 121-2, 128, 131, 135-6, 142-3, 146-65; new advance from, v 12-23.
- Suzuki**, Baron, i 210.
- Sviatoi-Evstafi**, Russian battle-ship, ii 53.
- Swakop River**, iii 74, 80.
- Swakopmund**, iii 71-3, 75, 82, 83.
- Swan**, Second-Lieutenant J. H., M.C., iv 199. [61.]
- Sweden**, and Germany, ii 53; iv
- Swedish gendarmerie**, creation of, v 205.
- Sweet**, Lieutenant R. T., v 318.
- Swift**, British destroyer, vii 111-2; ix 58.
- Swiftsure**, H.M.S., iii 7, 10, 132.
- Switzerland**, and sovereignty of the air, i 294; frontier with Austria, ix 272.
- Sydney**, H.M.A.S., i 307-9; ii 152.
- Sykes**, Captain C. H., D.S.O., iv 267, 292.
- Colonel F. H., v 34.
- Sir Mark, M.P., quoted, iv 288.
- Sir Percy, v 218.
- Syme**, Lieutenant G. A., D.C.M., iv 76.
- Symons**, Lieutenant, V.C., iv 127.
- Syria**, German propaganda in, i 216; in Peace Terms with Turkey, ix 287.
- "Table Top"**, Gallipoli, iv 130.
- Tabriz**, ii 192, 198-9.
- Tafel**, Colonel, ix 116, 118, 121-3.
- Tahiti**, i 301.
- Takachilo**, Japanese cruiser, iv 11.
- Taku**, German destroyer, i 209.
- Takum**, iii 95, 96.
- Talaat Pasha**, ix 182.
- Talbot**, H.M.S., iii 311.
- Talbot**, Lieutenant G., iv 83-84.
- Rev. Neville, iv 83-4.
- Tamar**, S.S., ii 316.
- Tanga**, unsuccessful attack on, ii 95, 96; iii 88.
- Tanganyika, Lake**, operations on, i 201; v 271-2, 274.
- Tangestan**, S.S., ii 326, 328.
- Tanks, British**, operations on the Ancre, vi 200-1, 303, 305, 310, 321; in Cambrai battle, 1917, vii 268-85. See also "*Whippet*".
- **German**, ix 214, 215.
- Tannenbergl**, battle of, i 228-33.
- Tara**, British auxiliary cruiser, ii 333; sunk, iv 279; v 280, 294-5.
- Tarantula**, H.M.S., vii 52, 54.
- Tarleton**, Lieutenant G. W. B., M.C., iii 221.
- Tarnopol**, iv 53.
- Tarnow**, ii 217-9; iii 47, 62.
- Tasker**, Dr. Ludwig, ii 110.
- Tasmania**, ii 153.
- "Tasmania Post"**, Gallipoli, iv 121.
- Taubes** (monoplanes), i 162.
- Taunton**, Lieutenant O., M.C., iii 304.
- Taurus Mountains**, v 188.
- Taveta**, vi 248, 254-5.
- Taylor**, Captain K. C. C., D.S.O., v 140.
- Teheran**, v 211-5.
- Tekke Burnu**, iii 142, 161.
- Telegraphic Conventions**, in Peace Treaty, ix 239.
- Tenedos, Island of**, iii 139, 140.
- Tennant**, H. J., M.P., ii 186, 189; iv 32; v 55; vi 85.
- Captain J. E., D.S.O., v 164.
- Teodoroff**, General, iv 233-4, 236 8; v 114, 116-7.
- Terias**, British S.S., v 277-8.
- Termonde**, i 148, 249, 253; ii 250, 253; German White Book on, vi 101.
- Territorials, British**, Lord French on, ii 32; Bernhardt's expectations regarding, ii 190; first in action, i 275; ii 10, 254; Territorials arrive in India, i 332; numbers, ii 179, 189; vi 79, 80.
- Tewfik**, Khedive, i 329, 335.
- Thann**, i 32, 34; ii 294, 296, 298.
- Thapa**, Rifleman, V.C., iv 199.
- Théodor**, M. Léon, v 104.
- Theseus**, H.M.S., i 249; iv 148.
- Thesiger**, Major-General G. H., iv 253.
- Thessalay**, iv 169.
- Thiaucourt**, ii 288; iii 110.

- Thiaumont Redoubt**, Verdun, 230-7.  
**Thielt**, i 287; iii 207.  
**Thiepvail**, v 262; operations after capture by the British, vi 293-6; retaken in Ludendorff's offensive, viii 51; recovered in decisive Allied advance, viii 196.  
**Thionville**, i 264.  
**Thomas**, Lieutenant A. S., M.C., iv 209.  
 — of Savoy, Prince, v 10.  
**Thomson**, Second-Lieutenant A. A. B., M.C., iv 73-4.  
 — Graeme, ii 255.  
 — Sir J. J., iv 33.  
**Thordis**, S.S., ii 326, 332.  
**Thorn**, ii 80, 81, 83, 208; iv 30.  
**Thornley**, Commander, R.N., vi 272.  
**Thornton**, Second-Lieutenant L. I. L., v 208.  
**Thourout**, i 278; viii 261.  
**Thrace**, i 324; iv 170.  
**Throswell**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., v 25.  
**Tibet**, Lamas offer troops, i 108; v 199.  
**Tientsin**, in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 210.  
**Tiflis**, ii 195.  
**Tiger**, German gunboat, i 209.  
 — H.M.S., ii 133, 135, 137, 140.  
**Tighe**, Major-General Sir M. J., iii 88, 90; preparing the way for Smuts's campaign in German East Africa, vi 249, 250.  
**Tigris**, operations on the, iii 120-1; iv 280, 288-90; v 176, 214-7; vii 41-59; viii 283. See also *Mesopotamian campaign*.  
**Tillie**, Lieutenant W. K., M.C., iv 250.  
**Tilloy**, vi 333-4.  
**Tilsit**, ii 212.  
**Timok**, iv 233.  
**Timsah, Lake**, ii 200, 203, 205.  
**Tinto**, iii 95.  
**Tipping**, Lieutenant-Commander G., iv 276.  
**Tirlemont**, i 27, 35.  
**Tirpitz**, Admiral von, threatens frightfulness, ii 43; submarine policy foretold, ii 316, 317, 321; on development of submarines, ii 324; iii 176; iv 55; v 304, 306. See also *German Navy*.  
 — Lieutenant von, i 73.  
**Tiszá**, Count, ix 176, 177.  
**Tochi Valley**, v 197-8.  
**Togoland**, i 193, 195-6.  
**Tokomaru**, S.S., ii 318, 320, 325.  
**Tolmino**, iii 279; v 5-6; viii 114 8.  
**Tomaszow**, i 231; iii 332.  
**Tombeur**, Major-General, vi 272, 284.  
**Tombs**, Lance-Corporal, V.C., iii 268.  
**"Ton-for-Ton" Clause**, in Peace Treaty, ix 229. [54].  
**Torgot Reis**, Turkish battleship, ii  
**Toronto Regiment (Queen's Own)**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 193; at La Quinque Rue, iii 249, 268.  
**Tosetti**, Captain D., M.C., iv 220.  
**Toul**, i 115; ii 291; iv 103.  
**Tourcoing**, ii 5.  
**Tournai**, i 49; iii 25, 34; viii 266, 331.  
**Toussoum**, ii 200, 202, 203, 205.  
**Townshend**, Major-General Sir C. V. F., iii 121; in Mesopotamia, iv 288-9, 293-9; siege of Kut, v 314-36; reply to the King, Feb., 1916, v 333-4.  
**Trablock**, S.S., i 179.  
**Trade, British**, effect of the war on, i 109; ii 256; first year of war, iv 14-7; second year of war, vi 97; third year of war, vii 219-20; fourth year of war, viii 105-6; clauses in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 236-8.  
**Trades Union**, and the war, iv 20; vi 92.  
**Transvaal Horse Artillery**, i — **Scottish**, iii 75. [104].  
**Transylvania**, iv 186.  
**Tranter**, Lieutenant, Canadian Regiment, iii 269.  
**Travers**, Brigadier-General J. H., iv 130, 135.  
**Trawlers**, work of, i 55, 166.  
**Treaties**, affected by Peace Terms with Germany, ix 239.  
**Trebizond**, iv 323; v 185-8.  
**Treffry**, Lieutenant-Colonel E., iii 260.  
**Treitschke**, Heinrich von, i 2, 192.  
**Trembowla**, iv 53.  
**Trenchard**, Brigadier-General H. M., iv 75.  
**Trentino**, iii 276, 278, 280; 1915 operations, v 1-10; Austrian attack, summer, 1916, v 21, 23, 25, 33, 48, 57, 60; in 1917 campaign, vii 144-55; in 1918 operations, viii 113, 120, 130, 277, 279-81.  
**Trevelyan**, Second-Lieutenant C. W., M.C., iii 219.  
**Treves**, i 22; ix 157, 158.  
**"Treves, Gap of"**, iii 104.  
**Trevor**, Lieutenant K., M.C., v  
**Tricoupis**, M., iv 176. [153].  
**Trieste**, iii 276, 279; vii 140-5.  
**Trimmer**, Lieutenant A. S., M.C., v 141.  
**Triple Alliance**, i 3, 16; iii 274-5. — **Entente**, i 6, 8.  
**Tri-Sviatitelya**, Russian battleship, ii 54.  
**Triumph**, H.M.S., iii 6, 7, 10, 128, 135, 137; iv 11.  
**Trônes Wood**, battles for, vi 133-40, final recapture of, viii 100).
- Trotsky**, M., vii 156-9, 291-2, 290, 301, 304.  
**Troubridge**, Vice-Admiral E. C. T., iv 59.  
**Trouchaud**, General, vii 119.  
**Troyon**, i 141.  
**Trueman**, Temporary Second-Lieutenant K. W., M.C., iv 201-2.  
**Truerfontein**, i 315.  
**Tsar of Russia**. See *Nicholas II*.  
**Tsava**, i 200.  
**Tsingtau**, i 206-10, 222.  
**Tubb**, Lieutenant, V.C., iv 124-7.  
**Tudor**, Rear-Admiral F. C. T., ii 170.  
 — Major-General H. H., viii 85.  
**Tukholka Pass**, operations, ii 218, 219, 223, 224.  
**Tunnelling Companies**, work of, iv 316-8.  
**Tunis**, i 328.  
**Turcos**, on Western Front, i 42.  
**Turkestan**, i 18.  
**Turkey**, entry into the war, i 210-23; campaign (Nov.-Dec., 1914), i 324-36; takes offensive in Caucasus and Persia, and on the Suez Canal (Dec., 1914-Feb., 1915), ii 190-206; relations with Italy, iii 274-5; defeat of (March, 1917-Oct., 1918), viii 282-311; in Peace Terms with Germany, ix 212; Peace Treaty with Allied Powers, ix 285-93. See also *Gallipoli, Palestine, and Mesopotamian campaigns, &c.*  
**Turner**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., iv 264.  
 — Major-General, V.C., iii 192, 202; assumes command of 2nd Canadian Division, v 131.  
 — Captain, of the *Lusitania*, iii 178, 179.  
 — Captain G., D.S.O., iv 93.  
**Tuscany**, treasures restored by Austria, ix 278.  
**Tussum**. See *Toussoum*.  
**Tuxford**, Colonel, 5th Canadian Battalion, iii 251.  
**Tweedie**, Captain H. J., R.N., iv 276. [iii 283].  
**Tynemouth**, and Zeppelin raids,  
**Tyrwhitt**, Admiral, at Heligoland battle, i 70, 71; at Dogger Bank action, ii 133, 134; his flagship *Arethusa*, v 307; Harwich command during Jutland battle, ix 6; in later operations, ix 53, 91.  
**"U" Boats**, in Armistice Terms with Germany, ix 90; in Peace Terms, ix 218-9. See also *Submarines, German*.  
**U 8**, ii 331.  
 — 12, ii 331, 332.  
 — 14, iii 183.  
 — 15, i 63.  
 — 16, ii 325.



- U 17, i 251.  
 — 18, ii 41.  
 — 19, ii 320.  
 — 21, ii 42, 318, 320.  
 — 23, iii 137.  
 — 28, ii 333.  
 — 29, ii 330, 331.  
 — 33, vi 112.  
 — 35, vii 102.  
 — 53, vii 102-3.  
**Uganda**, i 195, 199; ii 98.  
**Uhlands**, Germans, i 27, 49, 116, 125, 268; ii 74.  
**Ujiji**, occupied by British troops, vi 274.  
**Ukraine**, iv 35; separate Peace of, vii 303-4.  
**Umbe River**, iii 88-90.  
*Undaunted*, H.M.S., i 249; ii 126, 134, 184.  
*Undine*, German cruiser, iv 277.  
**United States**, German ships in (outbreak of war), i 58; German attempt to conciliate, i 179; British action and trade of, ii 40; danger of German raid on Canada from, ii 147; *William P. Frye* incident, ii 315; against closing of North Sea, ii 316; and treatment of neutral flags, ii 322, 323; on Britain's blockade of Germany, ii 327; on sinking of *Lusitania*, iii 176-82; iv 55, 58; entry into war (April, 1917), vii 23-40; naval position of, vii 37-40; military operations on Western Front, viii 81-3, 86, 87-101, 146-50, 330-2; in Italy, viii 278, 280; Council of National Defence, viii 99-101.  
**Unwin**, Commander, V.C., iii 132, 134.  
**Upington**, i 314.  
**Upolu**, i 101.  
**Upton**, Corporal, V.C., iii 232.  
**Urbal**, General d', i 265.  
**Urmia**, ii 198.  
**Uruguay**, in Peace Treaty, ix 185.  
**Usambara Railway**, ii 95.  
**Usedom**, Admiral von, iii 137.  
**Ushitz**, ii 65-8.  
**Uskub**, iv 233-4, 237, 240; viii 223.  
**Ussher**, Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. H., vi 39.  
**Uzok Pass**, operations, ii 218, 219, 223; iii 48, 50, 59, 60.  
**"V" Beach**, Gallipoli, iii 131, 132, 149, 150, 152, 153, 155, 157-9; v 49.  
**Vailly**, i 142; vii 94.  
**Valabrègue**, General, i 31, 126.  
**Valcartier**, ii 144.  
**Valenciennes**, vii 67; viii 266, 322-4, 326-7.  
**Valievo**, operations, ii 58, 60, 62-7.  
**Vallarsa**, vi 53, 56.  
**Valona**, iii 276; iv 170, 175; v 129; vi 58, 62-3.  
**Valparaiso**, i 305; ii 312.  
**Val Sugano**, iii 278.  
**Van, Lake**, ii 187; v 176-7, 179, 182-4, 188, 215.  
**Vancouver troops**, at La Quinque Rue, iii 249.  
**Vandeleur**, Major C. B., vi 102.  
**Vandenbergh**, General, vii 121.  
**Van Deventer**, Major-General, in South African revolt, i 315, 320; in South-West African campaign, iii 73; in East Africa, vi 245-92; ix 113-20.  
*Vandyck*, S.S., i 300.  
**Vanga**, ii 91.  
**Vanier**, Lieutenant G., v 138.  
**Vansittart**, Colonel E., iv 250.  
**Vardar River**, iv 228, 234, 236; v 113-5, 121-2.  
**Varenes**, ii 285, 286; v 231.  
**Varna**, iv 170.  
**Vassel**, Dr., v 214.  
**Vassitch**, Colonel, v 113-4.  
**Vauban**, i 114.  
**Vaughan**, Second-Lieutenant J. M.C., iv 250.  
**Vauquois**, ii 286.  
**Vaux Fort** (Verdun), vi 226-34.  
 — **Village**, v 236, 241-2, 244.  
**Vauxcéré**, i 138.  
**Veldhoek Wood**, iii 209.  
**Veles**, iv 233-4, 236.  
**Vendresse**, i 140.  
*Venevay*, H.M.S., i 244, 245.  
*Vengeance*, H.M.S., iii 6-9.  
**Venizel**, i 140; ii 269.  
**Venizelos**, E., iv 170, 175, 177, 179-82, 187, 188; v 119; viii 210; ix 186. See also under *Greece*.  
**Verdun**, early operations, i 134, 263; ii 285, 288, 289, 291; threatened by German Crown Prince (June-Sept., 1915), iv 101; defences described, iv 103-4; spring offensive (1916), v 169, 225-46; German reasons for attacking, vi 21; battles from April-Dec., 1916, vi 225-44; Fourth Battle of, vii 225-31; closing operations in 1918, viii 243-4.  
**Verecke Pass**, iii 48, 55, 59, 60.  
**Vereeniging**, Treaty of, i 312.  
**Verlorenhoek**, vii 195.  
**Vermaas**, Captain, i 315.  
**Vermand**, i 121.  
**Vermelles**, ii 279; iv 217; v 258, 261.  
**Versailles**, Peace Conference at, ix 183.  
**Vesle River**, viii, 143-4, 146, 171, 227, 236.  
**Vickers**, Private A., V.C., iv 217. — Captain C. G., V.C., iv 308.  
**Victor Emmanuel III**, King of Italy, iii 276; Kitchener visits, 1915, vi 66.  
**Victoria** (August), ii 153.  
 — (B.C.), Scottish detachment at La Quinque Rue, iii 249.  
 — **Cross**, granted to native Indian troops, ii 21.  
 — **Nyanza**, i 201; ii 95, 98; iii 88, 91, 92; operations on, vi 272-3.  
**Vidal**, Captain, vi 109.  
**Viels-Maisons**, i 131.  
**Vienna**, i 233; ix 177-8.  
*Viknor*, armed steamer, ii 131-2, 151.  
**Vilaret**, General de, iii 105.  
**Viljoen**, Commandant, i 323.  
*Ville de Lille*, S.S., ii 325.  
**Villers-Bretonneux**, viii 78-9, 81-2, 146.  
 — **-Cotterets**, i 127; viii 147, 161-3.  
**Villiers**, Commandant de, i 315.  
**Vilna Salient**, iii 334; operations in the, iv 41-51; importance of, v 77; vi 21, 25.  
**Vimy Ridge**, iii 112; iv 192, 224, 271; 1916, iv 273, 306; v 246, 264, 268; vii 67, 74-5, 78; viii 58.  
**Vincent**, Sir William, v 328.  
*Vindictive*, H.M.S., ix 57, 60-2, 65-8.  
**Violaines**, i 271.  
*Viribus Unitis*, Austrian flagship, sunk, viii 280.  
**Visé**, i 23, 24.  
**Viségrad**, i 225; ii 68, 72; iv 229, 233-4.  
**Vistula River**, operations, ii 74, 83, 87, 207, 208; iii 325, 327-29, 331-4, 339; iv 40.  
**Vitry-le-François**, i 134, 136, 146.  
**Vivian**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 15th Sikh Regiment, iii 207.  
**Viviani**, M., ii 19; iv 329.  
**Vlamertinghe**, i 276.  
**Volhynia**, iv 35; 1916 operations, vi 23-5.  
**Volunteer Training Corps**, ii 189.  
*Von der Tann*, German cruiser, ii 45; iv 11.  
*Vorwärts*, ix 170, 171.  
**Vosges**, early operations in, i 21, 31, 32; ii 294; in winter, 1914-5, ii 295, 296, 298; later operations in, iii 100, 103, 107; iv 106-12, 193.  
*Vosges*, S.S., sunk, ii 335.  
**Vouziers**, v 89.  
**Voyékov**, General, vii 10, 19.  
**Vrede**, i 317.  
**Vregny**, i 142; ii 270.  
**"W" Beach**, Gallipoli, iii 131, 132, 149, 155, 157, 158; v 48.  
**Wages**, and the war, ii 260, 261; vii 222.  
**Wahle**, General, vi 287; ix 127.  
**Wake**, Captain D. St. A., R.N., v 207.

- Wales, Prince of**, in France, ii 15, 18, 19, 21, 293; mentioned in dispatches, iii 341; Croix de Guerre presented to, iv 324; visits the Canadian Corps (Jan., 1916), v 142; first visit to the Soudan, v 300; Anzac reception in Egypt, v 300; in Denain, viii 322-3.
- Walfish Bay**, iii 70, 71.
- Walford**, Captain, V.C., iii 153, 154.
- Walker**, Captain J. E., v 31.  
— Sir H. A., ii 261.  
— Captain T., M.C., iv 250.  
— Major-General Sir H. B., iv 123; viii 79, 85, 281.  
— Temporary Lieutenant H. B., M.C., iv 198.
- "Walker's Ridge"**, Gallipoli, iv 131.
- Wallace**, Major-General A., v 283-7.  
— Captain Robert C., i 321.  
— Second-Lieutenant T., M.C., iii 306-7.
- Wallachia**, iv 172.
- Wallsend**, bombs dropped on, iii 283.
- Walsh**, Mr., M.P., vi 79.
- Wankaner**, iv 8.
- Wanton**, Lieutenant H. O., R.N. (*Falcon*), i 244, 246.
- War**, cost of, iv 26-8; vii 215; viii 106-7; ix 159.  
— Bonds, viii 107.  
— Cabinet, 1917, vii 212-3.  
— Honours, ix 296.  
— Loans, iv 26; vii 215; viii 107-8.  
— Office, British, story of, ii 178-90. [308.
- Ward**, Major H. A. C., iii 260.  
— Mrs. Humphrey, on "Britain's Effort", vi 92.
- Wardle**, Captain T. S., D.S.O., R.N., v 311.
- Warlencourt, Butte de**, view of, vi 312; struggle for, vi 313-5; capture of, vi 331.
- Warmbad**, iii 73.
- Warneford**, Flight Sub-Lieutenant, V.C., iii 264, 288-9.
- Warner**, Private, V.C., iii 210.
- Warneton**, ii 6.
- Warnod**, M. André, vi 104.
- Warren**, Captain J. C., M.C., iv 17.
- Warrender**, Vice-Admiral Sir George, i 57.
- Warsaw**, German aims (1914), i 233; the fight for (Oct.-Dec., 1914), ii 73-88; later attempts on, ii 207-24; iv 37; advance on, and fall of, iii 325-36; iv 38-9; operations in Warsaw Salient (Aug.-Sept., 1915), iv 38-44.
- Warta River**, operations, ii 81, 83, 87.
- Warwickshire Regiment**, Royal, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 214; at Festubert, iii 243; in Gallipoli, iv 145; at Hulluch, iv 217; in Mesopotamia, vi 4; vii 48; near Ypres, vii 187; in Italy, viii 133; at Polygon Wood, vii 259; in Persia, viii 297.
- Warwickshire Yeomanry**, in Palestine, vii 311-2; viii 14-6.
- Wassagnics**, i 118.
- Waters**, Lieutenant B., iii 95, 96.
- Waterways**, Terms in Peace Treaty with Germany, ix 254-60.
- Watkis**, Lieutenant-General Sir H. B. B., i 271.
- Watson**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 2nd Canadian Battalion, iii 193, 251.  
— Lieutenant - Commander F. Burges, R.N., i 249.  
— Second-Lieutenant F. R., M.C., iv 95.  
— Second - Lieutenant G. F., D.S.O., iv 316.
- Watts**, Lieutenant-General Sir H. E., viii 37, 260.
- Wavell**, Captain, ii 91, 92; vi 250.
- Webb-Bowen**, Colonel, v 75.
- Weddingden**, Lieutenant-Captain Otto, i 170, 284; ii 330.
- Welchman**, Captain P. E., M.C., iv 315.
- Wellington (N.Z.)**, ii 155.  
— Mounted Rifles, in Gallipoli, iv 132, 137-8.
- Wells**, Sergeant, V.C., iv 216.
- Welsh Fusiliers, Royal**, mining attack (Nov. 24, 1914), ii 26; at Festubert, iii 240; near Givenchy, iv 201, 203; vi 44; at Loos, iv 250; at Thiepval Wood, v 262; in Mesopotamia, vi 5; vii 48; in Italy, viii 273, 275.  
— Guards, at Loos, iv 257-60, 263.  
— Regiment, on the Marne, i 137; at Givenchy, ii 32, 238; iv 201, 203; in Gallipoli, iv 131, 137; at Loos, iv 262; at Beugny, viii 46.
- Wemyss**, Vice-Admiral Sir R., v 50; vii 320; viii 134.
- Wenzil**, Dr., vi 107-8.
- Wervicq**, viii 260, 262.
- Wessels**, Captain (East Africa), ii 93  
— General (South African revolt), i 320, 323, 324.
- West**, Second-Lieutenant Neville, M.C., iii 230.  
— African Frontier Force, i 105.
- Westdahl**, Colonel, v 212-3.
- Westende**, i 245; ii 273, 274, 276; bombed, iv 276.
- Western Australia**, ii 153, 148.  
— Front. See under *British Army*.
- West Hartlepool**, raids on, ii 44.  
— Indies, ii 310, 311.
- West Indies, Military contingents**, iv 8.
- West Kent Regiment, Royal**, at Mons, i 45; on the Lys, i 271; at Loos, iv 250; in Mesopotamia, iv 286, 293; at Messines, vii 180.  
— Lancashire Regiment, round Ypres, vii 195-6, 208, 246; in Scarpe battle, viii 206-7.
- Westminster*, S.S., sunk, vii 105.
- Westminster**, Major the Duke of, D.S.O., v 293-5.
- West Riding Field Company**, in Gallipoli, iii 151.
- **Surrey Regiment, Queen's Royal**, Aisne operations, i 142-3; at Ypres, i 280; at Festubert, iii 243; at Loos, iv 250-1; near Ypres, vii 202.
- **Yorkshire Regiment**, at Neuve Chapelle, iii 24; at Hooge, iv 93; round Ypres, iv 77; in Gallipoli, iv 149; near Ypres, v 156, 158; at Bermericourt, viii 143.
- Wheeler**, Major G. G. M., V.C., iii 118.
- Whigham**, Brigadier-General Sir R. B., iv 335; viii 332.
- "Whippet" Tanks**, in action, viii 181, 183.
- Whitby**, German raid on, ii 44, 46, 48, 49.
- White**, Lieutenant - Commander, V.C., ix 85.  
— Lieutenant-Colonel A. H., iv 128.  
— Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. B., D.S.O., iii 145.  
— Henry, and Peace Treaty, ix 185.  
— Temporary Second-Lieutenant J. C., M.C., iv 195-6.  
— Book, German, i 8; vi 101.
- Whitehaven**, bombardment of, iv 57.
- Whitfield**, Second-Lieutenant E. H., M.C., iii 239.
- Whitlock**, Brand, ii 248; v 105, 108.
- Wiche**, Second-Lieutenant G. J., iv 88.
- Wichura**, Lieutenant-General, ii 270.
- Wiellemans**, General, iv 331.
- Wieltje**, iii 212-3, 220-1; v 258.
- Wielun**, ii 83.
- Wiggin**, Brigadier-General E. A., vii 311-3.
- Wigram**, Captain E., R.N., iv 276.
- Wilde's Rifles**, Indian army, ii 9, 31.
- Wilford**, Lieutenant - Colonel, D.S.O., ix 118.
- Wilhelm II**, ex-German Emperor, returns to Potsdam for war preliminaries, i 8; reputed order regarding French's "contemptible

- little army", i 14, 44; at Nancy (Aug. 25, 1914), i 146; and Agadir incident, i 194; and the Japanese ultimatum (Aug. 15, 1914), i 209; world wide aims, i 212; and "Holy War", i 217, 326; and invasion of East Prussia, i 229; near Rheims (Sept., 1914), i 263; at Soissons reverse (Jan. 10, 1915), ii 270; as Mohammedan, iii 114; message to Kaiserin during Ludendorff's offensive of 1918, viii 40; German troops' threat against, viii 262; German naval mutiny against, ix 89; efforts to save his throne, ix 169; abdication, ix 171, 173-5; in exile, ix 176; demand for punishment of, in Peace Treaty, ix 223. See also under *Germany* and *German Army*.
- Wilhelm III**, ex-King of Württemberg, ix 173.
- Wilhelmina**, Queen of Holland, i 21.
- Wilhelmshaven**, i 56; ii 126; ix 171.
- Wilhelmstal**, iii 80; vi 269.
- Wilkinson**, Lieutenant-Colonel C. W., vi 291.
- Captain G. L., iii 269.
- Willcocks**, General Sir James, ii 29, 32. See also *Indian Army*.
- Sir William, iii 123.
- Willenburg**, iii 44.
- Willerby**, S.S., ii 314.
- William II**. See *Wilhelm II*.
- William P. Frye**, S.S., ii 314; iv 14; vii 39.
- Williams**, Able Seaman, V.C., iii 134.
- Engineer Lieutenant-Commander C. A. R., D.S.O., v 311.
- Captain G., v 294.
- Captain O. T., D.S.O., iv 259.
- Captain R., D.S.O., iv 259.
- Captain Scott, vi 107, and Note.
- General V. A. S., vi 37, 38.
- Second-Lieutenant W. T., M.C., iv 204 5.
- Major-General W. de L., viii 254.
- Lieutenant-Colonel, in Gallipoli landing, iii 153.
- Williamson**, Second-Lieutenant H. W. E., M.C., iv 317.
- Dr. W., iii 223.
- Willis**, Captain, V.C., iii 157.
- Wilmot**, Lieutenant L. A., M.C., v 140.
- Wilson**, Major-General A., v 279 7.
- Sir Arthur K., i 187.
- Second-Lieutenant D. M., M.C., iv 314.
- Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick A., vi 19.
- Lieutenant-General Sir H. F. M., viii 216.
- Wilson**, Lieutenant-General Sir H. H., i 38, ix 101.
- Second-Lieutenant J., M.C., iv 247.
- Lieutenant-Colonel J. B., iii 313.
- Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. R., D.S.O., iii 308.
- Lieutenant-Commander R. A., R.N., i 244.
- Colonel, Royal Horse Guards, i 288.
- Flight-Lieutenant, iii 289.
- Lieutenant-Colonel, 5th Royal Scots, iii 313.
- President Woodrow, viii 87-101; ix 153, 159, 160, 163, 168, 169, 185.
- Wiltshire Regiment**, at the Lys, i 271; at St. Eloi, iii 35; at La Quinke Rue, iii 248; at Hooze, iii 202 63; in Gallipoli, iv 130, 141 2; near Givenchy, iv 201; at "Plug-Street", v 147; in Mesopotamia, vi 5-9; vii 56; near Rheims, viii 143.
- Wimborne**, Lord, iv 32; and Irish Rebellion, vi 85.
- Windhoek**, i 201, 322; iii 68, 70, 72, 75, 77, 80, 81; fall of, 82 3.
- Wing**, Major-General F. D. V., iv 300.
- Wingate**, Second-Lieutenant A. W., M.C., iv 260.
- Lieutenant Malcolm R., D.S.O., ii 239.
- Sir R., v 207 8, 300.
- Winifred**, S.S., iii 91.
- Winnington**, Major J. F. S., D.S.O., iii 32.
- Winnipeg troops**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 200; at La Quinke Rue, iii 249.
- Wintgens**, Major, ix 116, 117.
- Wintle**, Major C. E. H., v 207.
- Wireless Stations, German**, in Peace Treaty, ix 219-30.
- Wise**, Lieutenant, R.N., 246.
- Withers**, Second-Lieutenant F. D., M.C., v 144-5.
- Wloclawek**, German success south of (Nov. 17, 1914), ii 83.
- Woermann liners**, captured by H.M.S. *Cumberland*, i 197.
- Woivre Plain**, i 41, 264; ii 288, 290; iii 109, 109, 110; v 233 4, 239 vii 231; viii 35.
- Wollaston**, Lieutenant C. H. F., M.C., iv 309.
- Wolmarans**, i 320, 324.
- Wolverine**, H.M.S., iii 311.
- Women**, and the war, iv 20-1; police force, iv 21; munition workers, iv 21 2; vi 91; win the vote, ix 150.
- Wood**, Second-Lieutenant J. B., M.C., iv 214.
- Wood, M'Kinnon**, Financial Secretary to Treasury, vi 85.
- Woodgate**, Captain A. B., D.S.O., iii 220-1.
- Woodroffe**, Second-Lieutenant, V.C., iv 82.
- Woodward**, Brigadier-General E. M., iii 171.
- Wooley**, Second-Lieutenant G. H., V.C., iii 41.
- Wooley**, Midshipman J., iii 128.
- Woolly-Dod**, Colonel, in Gallipoli landing, iii 156.
- Woolner**, Lieutenant C. S., M.C., iv 252.
- Worcestershire Regiment**, at Mons, i 45, 46; at Gheluvelt, i 284; at Neuve Chapelle, iii 31; at St. Eloi, iii 35; in Gallipoli, iii 147, 161, 299-300, 308, 318; iv 145; at "Glory Hole", iii 246; in Mesopotamia, vi 4; vii 48; near Lens, vii 127; at Messines, vii 181; in Persia, viii 297; 2nd Battalion at Loos, iv 251, 268; at Richebourg, iii 239; at Neuve Église, viii 70; 4th Battalion in Gallipoli, iii 157, 163, 164.
- **Yeomanry**, in Palestine, vii 311-2; viii 14-6.
- Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils**, ix 154.
- Wormald**, Captain J., M.C., iv 85.
- Worthington**, Lieutenant-Colonel C. A., iv 264.
- Wotan Line**. See *Drocourt-Queant Line*.
- Woyrsch**, General von (1915), iii 332-3; vi 23.
- Wrightson**, Lieutenant A., M.C., v 133.
- Wulverghem**, ii 8.
- Wuri River**, operations, i 198; ii 99.
- Württemberg**, i 16; ix 172.
- Duke Albrecht of. See *Albrecht, Duke of Württemberg*.
- King of. See *Wilhelm III*.
- Wyndham**, Captain P., v 35.
- Wyschaete**, ii 8, 28, 276; vii 175-83; viii 65-8, 70-3, 254; viii 66, 254.
- "X" Beach**, Gallipoli, iii 131, 149, 156-8.
- Xon**, iii 90, 100.
- "Y" Beach**, Gallipoli, iii 131, 149, 301.
- "Y 2" Beach**, Gallipoli, iii 149, 168.
- Yamada**, General Yoshino, i 208.
- Yanushkevitch**, General, vii 13.
- Yarmouth**, bombardments of, i 250; air-raid on, iii 282; naval raid on, v 211-2; ix 80-1.
- Yasaka Maru**, Japanese S.S., v 393.
- Yates**, Second-Lieutenant H. J. F., M.C., v 164-5.



**Yaunde**, in 97; v 62

**Yellow Sea**, i 206

**Yeomanry**, in Flanders, i 275; ii 10. See also under various campaigns and regiments.

**Yola**, in 95.

**York**, German cruiser, i 250; iv 11.

**York and Lancaster Regiment**, near Ypres, iv 75, 90; at Loos, iv 265-6; v 156.

**Yorkshire Light Infantry, King's Own**, in retreat from Mons, i 120; in Second Battle of Ypres, in 215; at Loos, iv 245, 268; later operations round Ypres, vii 208; in Italy, viii 275, 278.

— **Regiment**, in Second Battle of Ypres, iii 210, 214; at Festubert, iii 243; in Gallipoli, iv 149; at Loos, iv 245.

— **East**. See *East Yorkshire Regiment*.

**Young**, Lieutenant Hilton, iv 230.

— Captain J. D., M.C., viii 21.

— Lieutenant T. C. L., iii 269.

— Lieutenant, King's Own Scottish Borderers, iv 212.

"Young Turk" Party, iv 175.

**Younger**, Lieutenant L., M.C., v 111.

**Younghusband**, General Sir G., ii 206; v 320, 331.

**Ypres**, First Battle, i 275-88; ii 12-4; King George near (Dec., 1914), ii 21; results of First Battle, ii 225, 276-7; Second Battle of, iii 186-224; summer operations (1915), iii 225-64; in Sept., 1915, iv 192-3, 197; v 155-6, 162, 169-71; 1916, v 249, 257-8; operations (July-Aug., 1917), vii 184-210; German offensive of (1918), viii 62-73; Allies decisive advance in (1918), viii 250-7. See also under *British Army*.

— Ruins of Cloth Hall, iii 261.

**Yser River**, operations, i 261; ii 271, 273, 274. See also under *Ypres*.

**Yudenitch**, General, v 175, 177, 180, 182, 184, 186.

**Zaanstroom**, ii 333.

**Zabern**, i 35; ii 301.

**Zaimis**, M., iv 188; viii 210.

**Zandfontein**, i 320, 321.

**Zandspruit**, i 323.

**Zandvoorde**, i 276; viii 256-7.

**Zanzibar**, i 178, 195.

— Sultan of, iii 94.

**Zeebrugge**, i 241, 273; ii 42, 48; iii 177; iv 193, 275-6; British naval raid on, ix 52-68.

**Zemstvos**, Russian, vii 15.

**Zent**, British S.S., sunk, v 307.

**Zenta**, Austrian cruiser, iv 11.

**Zeppelin**, Count, i 289.

**Zeppelins**, experiments with, i 81; air-sheds, i 154-7; flying over North Sea, i 164; over Heligoland, i 82; home and history of, i 288-99; at Cuxhaven, ii 124, 125, 126; at Dogger Bank, ii 13; failure of, ix 135. See also *Air-Service* and *Air-raids*.

**Zilghin Burnu**. See *Chocolate Hill*.

**Zillebeke**, i 281, 288. See also under *Ypres*.

**Zlota Lipa**, operations, vi 32, 33.

**Zolkew**, iii 330.

**Zonnebeke**, i 276, 279, 282; ii 239; iii 208.

**Zouave Wood**, iv 85.

**Zouaves**, in Gallipoli, iii 168, 322; on Western Front, ii 274.

**Zugna**, Coni, vi 54.

# INDEX TO PORTRAITS

## PLATES

	Vol.	Facing Page
ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS - - - - -	I	120
ALLENBY, GENERAL SIR EDMUND, K.C.B. - - - - -	VIII	232
BEATTY, ADMIRAL SIR DAVID, G.C.B., K.C.V.O. - - - - -	V	232
BIRDWOOD, GENERAL SIR WILLIAM, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. - - - - -	VIII	120
BOTHA, RIGHT HON. LOUIS, P.C., LL.D. - - - - -	III	<i>Frontis.</i>
FERDINAND, KING OF ROUMANIA - - - - -	VI	120
FISHER, ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET, LORD, G.C.B., O.M. - - - - -	IV	240
GEORGE, THE RIGHT HON. DAVID LLOYD - - - - -	IX	<i>Frontis.</i>
JOFFRE, GENERAL - - - - -	III	120
FOCH, MARSHAL - - - - -	IX	232
FRENCH, FIELD-MARSHAL SIR JOHN, G.C.B., O.M. - - - - -	II	232
GEORGE V, H.M. KING - - - - -	I	<i>Frontis.</i>
HAIG, SIR DOUGLAS, K.T., G.C.B. - - - - -	V	120
JELLICOE, ADMIRAL SIR JOHN RUSHWORTH, K.C.B., K.C.V.O. - - - - -	III	232
KITCHENER, EARL - - - - -	II	120
MAUDE, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR STANLEY, K.C.B. - - - - -	VII	120
NICHOLAS II, TSAR OF RUSSIA - - - - -	I	232
NICHOLAS, GRAND DUKE - - - - -	IV	<i>Frontis.</i>
PETER I, KING OF SERBIA - - - - -	IV	128
PLUMER, GENERAL SIR HERBERT, G.C.B. - - - - -	VII	232
POINCARÉ, M., PRESIDENT OF FRANCE - - - - -	II	<i>Frontis.</i>
RAWLINSON, GENERAL SIR H. S., BART., K.C.B. - - - - -	VIII	<i>Frontis.</i>
ROBERTSON, GENERAL SIR WILLIAM R., G.C.B., K.C.V.O. - - - - -	VI	<i>Frontis.</i>
SMUTS, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE HON. J. C. - - - - -	VI	232
VICTOR EMMANUEL II, KING OF ITALY - - - - -	V	<i>Frontis.</i>
WEMYSS, ADMIRAL SIR ROSSLYN ERSKINE, K.C.B. - - - - -	IX	120
WILSON, DR. WOODROW, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES - - - - -	VII	<i>Frontis.</i>

## PORTRAITS IN THE TEXT

- Abbas Hilmi, Khedive of Egypt, i 218.  
 Abruzzi, Duke of the, vii 146.  
 Aga Khan, Aga Sultan Mahomed Shah, G.C.I.E., v 196.  
 Agar-Robartes, Lieutenant the Hon. Thomas C., M.P., iv 262.  
 Albert, King of the Belgians, i 28; State Entry into Bruges, viii 269.  
 Albert, H.R.H. Prince, ii 15.  
 Albrecht, Duke of Württemberg, i 124.  
 Alderson, Major-General E. A. H., i 102.  
 Alexander of Serbia, Crown Prince, ii 66.  
 Alexandra, Queen, vi 94.  
 Alexis, ex-Tsarevitch of Russia, vi 24; vii 13.  
 Alix, ex-Tsaritsa, vii 16.  
 Allenby, General Sir E. H. H., i 137; viii 306; entering Jerusalem, viii 27.  
 Anastasia, ex-Grand-Duchess of Russia, vii 13.  
 Angus, Corporal William, iii 265.  
 Anthoine, General, vii 114.  
 Aosta, Duke of, v 9.  
 Arbuthnot, Rear-Admiral Sir R. R., ix 31.  
 Arnim, General Sixt von, vi 121.  
 Asquith, Right Hon. H. H., i 7.  
 Augustus III, ex-King of Saxony, ix 173.  
 Austria-Hungary, ex-Emperor of. See *Karl, ex-Emperor of Austria-Hungary*.  
 Auten, Lieutenant-Commander H., V.C., D.S.O., ix 50.  
 Aylmer, Major-General F. J., V.C., v 321.  
 Babington, Flight-Commander J. T., i 293.  
 Bailloud, General, iii 319; vi 210.  
 Baldwin, Brigadier-General A. H., iv 140.  
 Balfour, Right Hon. A. J., iii 184; vii 34.  
 Ball, Captain Albert, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., vii 136.  
 Bassett, Corporal, V.C., iv 137.  
 Battenberg, Prince Louis of. See *Milford Haven, Marquess of*.  
 Beatty, Admiral Sir David, i 71; with the King, vii 107.  
 Belfield, Sir Henry, ii 93.  
 Below, General von, vi 120.  
 Bernhardi, General F. von, viii 72.  
 Bernstorff, Count, vii 27.  
 Berrangé, Brigadier-General C. A. L., vi 291.  
 Berthelot, General, congratulating General Sir A. Godley, viii 174.  
 Bethmann-Hollweg, Herr, vii 223.  
 Beves, Brigadier-General P. S., vi 290.  
 Beyers, General Christian, i 312.  
 Bigsworth, Flight-Commander, D.S.O., iii 286.  
 Bikaner, Maharajah of, v 193.  
 Birchall, Lieutenant-Colonel A. P., iii 197.  
 Birdwood, Lieutenant-General Sir W. R., iii 146, 297; with Flag of Lille, viii 267.  
 Bishop, Major W. A., V.C., ix 147.  
 Bismarck, Prince von, i 192.  
 Bissing, General Baron von, v 107.  
 Böhn, General von, viii 140.  
 Bols, Major-General L. J., K.C.M.G., viii 28.  
 Botha, General, iii 68, 104.  
 Botha, Lieutenant Jantjie, iii 74.  
 Bottomley, Lieutenant-Colonel H. R., iii 242.  
 Boyd-Rochfort, Second-Lieutenant G. A., V.C., iv 96.  
 Boyle, Lieutenant-Colonel R. L., iii 203.  
 Boyle, Lieutenant-Commander E. C., iii 135.  
 Braithwaite, Major-General W. P., C.B., iii 165.  
 Bridges, Brigadier-General W. T., C.M.G., iii 172.  
 Briggs, Squadron-Commander E. F., i 293.  
 Brisset, Lieutenant-Colonel, v 64.  
 Brooke, Lieutenant James Anson Otho, iii 43.  
 Brussiloff, General, ii 218.  
 Bryant, Captain F. C., i 195.  
 Bulfin, Lieutenant-General E. S., K.C.B., viii 15.  
 Buller, Lieutenant-Colonel H. C., D.S.O., vi 39.  
 Byng, Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir J. H. G., v 23.  
 Cadorna, General, iii 277.  
 Campbell, Commander Gordon, V.C., ix 51.  
 Campbell, Lieutenant-General P., inspecting Guard of Honour, vii 40.  
 Capper Thompson, Major-General Sir, iv 251.  
 Carden, Lieutenant-Colonel J., iv 145.  
 Carden, Vice-Admiral S. H., iii 6.  
 Carey, Brigadier-General Sandeman, viii 57.  
 Cavell, Miss Edith, v 103.



- Cavan, Earl of, i 285; viii 126.  
 Cawley, Captain H. T., v 41.  
 Cecil, Lord Robert, ix 33.  
 Chauvel, Major-General Sir H. G., vii 318.  
 Chelmsford, Lord, v 200.  
 Chetwode, Lieutenant-General Sir Philip W., K.C.B., viii 2.  
 Churchill, Right Hon. Winston Spencer, i 70.  
 Clemenceau, M., addressing Marshal Foch, viii 226.  
 Collet, Flight-Lieutenant C. H., D.S.O., i 156.  
 Congreve, Major-General Walter N., V.C., vi 165.  
 Congreve, Major William, V.C., vi 164.  
 Connaught, H.R.H. the Duke of, i 100.  
 Constantine I, King of Greece, iv 180.  
 Cook, Lieutenant, Cameroons campaign, v 64.  
 Cooper, Brigadier-General R. J., iv 143.  
 Cornwall, John Travers, V.C., ix 30.  
 Coventry, Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. C. J., vii 312.  
 Cowans, Major-General Sir J. S., ii 184.  
 Cox, Colonel Sir Percy, iii 121.  
 Cradock, Admiral Sir Christopher, i 303.  
 Crewe, Brigadier-General Sir C. P., C.B., K.C.M.G., vi 272.  
 Crichton-Stuart, Colonel Lord Ninian, M.P., iv 263.  
 Cunliffe, Brigadier-General, v 64.  
 Currie, General A. W., iii 202; with Prince of Wales in Denain, viii 323.  
 D'Amade, General, iii 164.  
 Daniels, Joseph, vii 39.  
 Dankl, General, ii 84.  
 D'Annunzio, Gabriele, v 58.  
 Dast, Jemadar Mir, V.C., iii 205.  
 Davies, Lieutenant-General Sir F. J., K.C.B., v 11.  
 De Chair, Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley, ix 35.  
 Delamain, General W. S., C.B., D.S.O., iv 290.  
 De Lisle, Major-General H. De Beauvoir, iv 164.  
 Derby, Earl of, vi 76.  
 Devonport, Lord, viii 110.  
 Diaz, General, viii 125.  
 Dimitrieff, General Radko, iii 47.  
 Dobell, Brigadier-General C. M., ii 99.  
 d'Oissel, General Hély, vii 115.  
 Donop, Major-General Sir S. B. von, ii 185.  
 Douglas, Sir C. W. H., ii 185.  
 Douglas-Hamilton, Lieutenant-Colonel Angus F., iv 246.  
 Douglas, Major-General W., iv 118. [154.  
 Doughty-Wylie, Lieutenant-Colonel, V.C., iii  
 Drewry, Midshipman George L., V.C., iii 133.  
 Ebert, Herr Friedrich, ix 180.  
 Egerton, Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. E., iv 262.  
 Einem, General von, viii 156.  
 Emmanuel III, King Victor, of Italy, iii 276.  
 Enver Pasha, i 211.  
 Essen, Admiral von, i 186.  
 Eugene, Austrian Archduke, iii 58.  
 Evans, Commander E. R. G., D.S.O., vii 111.  
 Falkenhayn, General von, ii 4.  
 Fanshawe, Lieutenant-General Sir E. A., K.C.B., viii 42.  
 Farquhar, Lieutenant-Colonel F. D., D.S.O., iii 14.  
 Farrar, Colonel Sir George, D.S.O., iii 84.  
 Ferdinand, ex-Tsar of Bulgaria, viii 223.  
 Ferdinand, King of Roumania, vi 221.  
 Fergusson, Lieutenant-General Sir C., K.C.B., viii 38.  
 Fisher, Admiral of the Fleet, Lord, i 101, 184; ii 175.  
 Fitz-Clarence, Brigadier-General C., V.C., i 285.  
 Foch, Marshal, i 264; presentation of Baton as Marshal of France, viii 226; in Victory Procession, London, ix 165.  
 Fox, Captain Cecil H., i 243.  
 Franke, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii 82.  
 Franz Josef, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, i 12.  
 Franz Joseph of Hohenzollern, Prince, i 308.  
 French, Field-Marshal Sir John, i 36; iii 16.  
 Freyberg, Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard C., V.C., D.S.O., vi 308.  
 Fry, General, iv 291.  
 Fryatt, Captain Charles, vi 110.  
 Fuad Pasha, Sultan of Egypt, ix 162.  
 Gallieni, General, vi 70.  
 Geddes, Sir Eric, vii 215.  
 Genoa, the Duke of, v 9.  
 George, Right Hon. David Lloyd, vii 214.  
 George V, H.M. King, vii 107; within range of the German guns, vii 188; with his Canadian troops, vii 204; fourth visit to his armies in the field, vii 205; decorating American troops, viii 249; with Admiral Beatty, ix 109.  
 George of Serbia, Prince, ii 67.

- Gerard, James W., vii 36.  
 Gillespie, Lieutenant-Colonel, iv 135.  
 Glossop, Captain John C. T., i 308.  
 Godley, Major-General Sir A. J., iii 317; receiving congratulations from General Berthelot, viii 174.  
 Goltz, Field-Marshal von der, i 125.  
 Gorringe, Major-General Sir G. F., vi 2.  
 Gough, Brigadier-General J. E., V.C., iii 15.  
 Gough, Lieutenant-General Sir Hubert de la Poer, vi 129.  
 Gouraud, General, iii 167, 319; addressing his troops, viii 155.  
 Grabbé, General Count, vii 13.  
 Graham, Captain John, iii 263.  
 Grahame-White, Claude, ii 309.  
 Grenfell, Captain Francis Octavus, V.C., i 117.  
 Grey, Right Hon. Sir Edward, i 6.  
 Guynemère, Captain, ix 139.  
 Gyles, Midshipman, R.N.R., vii 112.  
 Haig, General Sir Douglas, i 141; iv 334; v 152; vi 115; congratulating Canadians, viii 204; in Victory Procession, London, ix 164.  
 Haldane, Lieutenant-General Sir J. A. L., K.C.B., viii 36.  
 Hallows, Second-Lieutenant R. Price, iv 196.  
 Hamilton, General Sir Ian S. M., G.C.B., D.S.O., iii 140.  
 Hamilton, Private John, V.C., iv 125.  
 Hamilton, Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick T., ii 176.  
 Hamilton-Gordon, Lieutenant-General Sir A. M., viii 139.  
 Hammersley, Major-General F., iv 149.  
 Hannyngton, Brigadier-General J. A., C.M.G., D.S.O., vi 290.  
 Hardinge, Lord, Viceroy of India, iii 114.  
 Henderson, Sir David, i 90.  
 Henry of Reuss, Prince, v 207.  
 Hewlett, Flight-Commander, ii 124.  
 Hill, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii 270.  
 Hindenburg, Field-Marshal von, ii 83; vii 231.  
 Hohenborn, Lieutenant-General Wild von, ii 4.  
 Holbrook, Lieutenant Norman D., V.C., ii 55.  
 Hood, Rear-Admiral, i 245; ix 18.  
 Hoover, Mr., viii 99.  
 Horne, General Sir H. S., viii 51.  
 Horton, Commander Max K., D.S.O., i 169.  
 Hoskins, Lieutenant-General A. R., D.S.O., vi 293.  
 Howard, Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis C., v 145.  
 Hughes, General Sir Sam, vi 177.  
 Hull, Brigadier-General, iii 201.  
 Humbert, General, viii 230.  
 Hunter-Weston, Major-General Sir A. G., iii 164, 316.  
 Hussain I, King of Hejaz, viii 5.  
 Hussein Kamel Pasha, Prince, i 335.  
 Hutier, General von, viii 141.  
 Hyderabad, Nizam of, v 192.  
 Insall, Second-Lieutenant G. S. M., v 160.  
 Ismail Hakki Pasha, viii 310.  
 Ivanoff, General, iv 41.  
 Jackson, Admiral Sir Henry B., iii 185.  
 Jackson, Brigadier-General R. Whyte-Melville, v 35.  
 Jellicoe, Admiral Sir John, i 57.  
 Joffre, Marshal, i 29; v 229; at Lafayette celebration, vii 35.  
 Jones, Lieutenant Richard Basil B., v 268.  
 Joseph Ferdinand, Archduke, vi 23.  
 Judenich, General, v 216.  
 Karl, ex-Emperor of Austria-Hungary, vi 31; viii 223.  
 Keary, General H. D'Urban, v 331.  
 Kenna, Brigadier-General P. A., V.C., v 17.  
 Kent, Lieutenant S. H., M.C., v 141.  
 Kerensky, M., vii 159.  
 Keyes, Vice-Admiral Sir Roger, K.C.B., ix 53.  
 Kiggell, Major-General L., iv 335.  
 Kilby, Captain Arthur F. Gordon, V.C., v 271.  
 Kitchener, Earl, i 36; visit to Western front, iv 7; visit to Gallipoli, v 36; departure for Russia, vi 67.  
 Kluck, General von, i 44.  
 Koe, Lieutenant-Colonel A. S., iii 150.  
 Korniloff, General, vii 292.  
 Laidlaw, Piper, V.C., iv 211.  
 Lake, Lieutenant-General Sir Percy, vi 3.  
 Lansdowne, Marquess of, iv 31.  
 Lansing, Robert, vii 26.  
 Law, The Right Hon. A. Bonar, iv 30.  
 Lawrence, Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert, ix 152.  
 Lechitzky, General, vi 28.  
 Leckie, Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. E., iii 248.  
 Lenin, M., vii 156.  
 Leopold of Bavaria, Prince, iv 43.  
 Leopold of Belgium, Prince, ix 92.

- Leroy, Mlle., ii 270.  
 Lesh, General, vi 29.  
 Lettow-Vorbeck, General von, vi 266.  
 Levinge, Lieutenant-Colonel H. G., iv 141.  
 Lichnowsky, Prince, i 14.  
 Liddell, Captain J. A., V.C., iv 71.  
 Limpus, Rear-Admiral, i 214.  
 Linsingen, General von, iv 40.  
 Lipsett, Lieutenant-Colonel, iii 200.  
 Locker-Lampson, Commander Oliver, M.P., C.M.G., vii 170.  
 Loraine, Captain Robert, M.C., v 161.  
 Loxley, Captain A. Noel, ii 129.  
 Ludendorff, General von, vii 231.  
 Ludwig III, ex-King of Bavaria, ix 172.  
 Lukin, Brigadier-General H. T., v 290.  
 Mackensen, Marshal von, iii 329.  
 Maclagan, Major Sinclair, D.S.O., iii 146.  
 Mahon, Lieutenant-General Sir Bryan T., iv 150.  
 Maistre, General, vii 236.  
 Malafeeff, Constantine, ii 221.  
 Malleson, Midshipman Wilfrid St. A., iii 133.  
 Mangin, General, viii 163.  
 Marie, ex-Grand-Duchess, vii 13.  
 Maritz, Lieutenant-Colonel, i 315.  
 Marix, R. L., i 155.  
 Marshall, Captain Anthony, D.S.O., iii 264.  
 Marshall, Lieutenant-General Sir W. R., iii 157; vii 46.  
 Martinovitch, Mitar, ii 70.  
 Mary, H.M. Queen, inspecting convalescent troops, vii 190.  
 Maude, Lieutenant-General Sir F. Stanley, vii 43.  
 Maunoury, General, iii 105.  
 Maurice of Battenberg, Prince, ii 11.  
 Max, Adolphe M., ii 245.  
 Max of Baden, Prince, ix 169.  
 Maxse, Lieutenant-General Sir Ivor, K.C.B., viii 37.  
 Mayes, Sergeant Charles, C.G.M., ii 166.  
 Mayo, Admiral, vii 37.  
 M'Cudden, Major J. B., V.C., D.S.O., M.C., ix 139.  
 M'Harg, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Hart, iii 202.  
 Mellis, Major-General Sir C., V.C., v 316.  
 Mellish, Rev. Edward Noel, V.C., v 252.  
 Mercer, Brigadier-General M. S., iii 196.  
 Michael, The Grand Duke, vii 21.  
 Michaelis, Dr., vii 224.  
 Milford Haven, Marquess of, ii 174.  
 Milne, General, viii 214.  
 Mir Dast, Jemadar, V.C., iii 205.  
 Mirko, Prince of Montenegro, ii 71.  
 Mischitch, General, viii 214.  
 Mohammed V, Sultan of Turkey, i 211.  
 Moltke, Helmuth von, i 124.  
 Monash, Lieutenant-General Sir John, viii 181.  
 Moreau, Mlle., iv 213.  
 Müller, Captain Karl von, i 179.  
 Munro, General Sir Charles, iv 335.  
 Murray, General Sir Archibald, vii 335.  
 Murray, Lieutenant-General Sir J. Wolfe, ii 182.  
 Mysore, Maharajah of, v 193.  
 Nachtigal, Gustav, i 191.  
 Nasmith, Lieutenant-Commander Martin E., V.C., iii 137.  
 Nawanagar, Jam Sahib of, v 195.  
 Nicholas II, ex-Tsar of Russia, vi 24; vii 13.  
 Nicholas, Grand Duke, i 232; v 175; addressing Russian troops, ix 160.  
 Nicholas, King of Montenegro, ii 70.  
 Nicholson, Admiral, iii 307.  
 Nivelle, General, vi 229.  
 Nixon, General Sir John, iii 119.  
 Northey, Brigadier-General E., vi 273.  
 Nunn, Lieutenant-Colonel M. H., iv 144.  
 Olga, ex-Grand-Duchess, vii 13.  
 O'Sullivan, Major J. J., D.S.O., vi 251.  
 Pau, General, i 30.  
 Peachmont, Private George, V.C., iv 217.  
 Pégoud, v 54.  
 Peirse, Vice-Admiral Sir R. H., K.C.B., v 273.  
 Pershing, General John J., viii 92; inspecting Guard of Honour, vii 40.  
 Persia, Shah of, v 213.  
 Pertab Singh, Sir, i 107.  
 Pétain, General, v 229.  
 Peter I, King of Serbia, ii 66; in exile, 1916, vi 208.  
 Plumer, Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert, iii 189; restoring Wytschaete's bell to King Albert, vii 183; inspecting effects of mine explosion, vii 245.  
 Pohl, Admiral von, ii 320.  
 Poincaré, M., i 128; at presentation of Baton to Marshal Foch, viii 226.



- Primrose, Captain the Right Hon. Neil, M.C., M.P., viii 22.
- Pulteney, General Sir William, i 265.
- Putnik, Field-Marshal, iv 228.
- Quenington, Lord, vii 313.
- Rasputin, Gregory, vii 17.
- Rawlinson, General Sir Henry, i 277; vi 128.
- Raynes, Sergeant J. C., V.C., iv 305.
- Read, Captain A. M., iv 216.
- Redmond, Major William, M.P., v 260; vii 178.
- Rennenkampf, General, i 230.
- Rey, General De la, i 313.
- Rhodes-Moorhouse, Second-Lieutenant, W. B., V.C., iii 207.
- Riddell, Brigadier-General, iii 204.
- Robeck, Rear-Admiral J. M. de, iii 9.
- Roberts, Field-Marshal Lord, ii 16.
- Robertson, Lieutenant-General Sir William, iii 224; inspecting Highland regiments, ix 154.
- Roumania, Queen of, vi 220.
- Rupprecht, Crown Prince of Bavaria, ii 291.
- Russell, Brigadier-General A. H., iv 131.
- Said Halim, Prince, i 215.
- Sakharoff, General, vi 30.
- Samson, Commander Charles R., i 155.
- Sanders, General Liman von, i 210.
- Scherbatcheff, General, vi 32.
- Schroeder, Admiral von, i 254.
- Slater, Lieutenant-General Sir H. C., ii 183.
- Scott-Moncrieff, Brigadier-General W., iii 313.
- Scrimger, Captain Francis A. C., V.C., iii 199.
- Seely, Brigadier-General, J. E. B., D.S.O., M.P., Selous, Captain F. C., D.S.O., vi 249. [ii 148.
- Serbia, Crown Prince of. See *Alexander of Serbia, Crown Prince*.
- Serbia, King of. See *Peter I*.
- Shaw, Major-General F. C., iv 146.
- Sims, Admiral, vii 36.
- Sippe, Flight-Lieutenant Sidney V., i 157.
- Sloggett, Surgeon-General Sir A. T., ii 105.
- Smart, Captain Hugh S., iii 243.
- Smith, Major C. J. L., iii 269.
- Smith-Dorrien, General Sir Horace, i 37.
- Smuts, General, i 312.
- Smyth, Lieutenant J. G., iii 245.
- Snow, Major-General T. D'Oyly, iii 201.
- Spee, Admiral von, i 303.
- Stopford, Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir F. W., iv 148.
- Sturdee, Admiral Sir F. C. Doveton, ii 163.
- Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy, v 217.
- Tania, Mlle., vii 8.
- Tatiana, ex-Grand-Duchess, vii 13.
- Tennant, H. J., M.P., ii 186.
- Thesiger, Major-General G. H., iv 253.
- Thomson, Mr. Graeme, ii 255.
- Throswell, Second-Lieutenant H. V. H., V.C., v 25.
- Tighe, Brigadier-General M. I., iii 89.
- Tirpitz, Admiral von, ii 317.
- Tisza, Count, ix 177.
- Townshend, Major-General C. V. F., iv 294.
- Travers, Brigadier-General J. H., iv 134.
- Trotsky, M., vii 157.
- Truwanoff Ivan, ii 220.
- Tubb, Lieutenant Frederick H., V.C., iv 124.
- Tudor, Rear-Admiral Frederick C. T., ii 177.
- Turner, Brigadier-General R. E., V.C., iii 193.
- Turner, Captain, of *Lusitania*, iii 178.
- Turner, Second-Lieutenant A. Buller, V.C., iv 264.
- Unwin, Commander Edward, V.C., iii 132.
- Venizelos, M., iv 179.
- Vickers, Captain C. G., V.C., iv 309.
- Wales, H.R.H. Prince of, ii 14; v 299; viii 86; in Denain, viii 323.
- Warneford, Sub-Lieutenant R. A. J., V.C., iii 288.
- Weddingen, Captain, ii 330.
- Wemyss, Vice-Admiral Sir R. E., K.C.B., v 49.
- Westminster, Duke of, D.S.O., v 294.
- Wet, General Christian de, i 317.
- White, Lieutenant-Commander Geoffrey S., V.C., ix 85.
- Wilhelm III, ex-King of Württemberg, ix 173.
- Williams, Brigadier-General V. A. S., vi 37.
- Williams, Captain O. Traherne, D.S.O., iv 258.
- Wilson, Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur K., i 185.
- Wingate, Sir Francis, i 334.
- Wing, Major-General F. D. V., C.B., iv 300.
- Woodroffe, Second-Lieutenant Sidney C., V.C., iv 82.
- Woolley, Second-Lieutenant G. H., iii 42.
- Wright, Major, 'Cameroons campaign, v 64.
- Younghusband, Major-General, v 320.
- Zeppelin, Count, i 291.







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